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No. 1

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etch of Fort Laramie in 1864 donated to the Wyoming State Historical Department by S. McCullough of Clifton, Ohio. For a fee of one dollar, the original water color sketch bed ticking was made by an unidentified soldier, a German, for Mr. McCullough's uncle, eph McCluskey of Company G, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Second Battalion, which ived at the fort on October 13, 1863 under the command of Col. William O. Collins and the guidance of James Bridger.

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Soldiers drilling on the parade ground at Fort Laramie, about 1885. Note peaked helmets. Officers Quarters in background. Gibbon collection, Wyoming Historical Department.

Fort Laramie, Guardian of the Oregon Trail

A COMMEMORATIVE ESSAY

By Merrill J. Mattes*

Historian for Fort Laramie National Monument

I

In these fateful days marked by the scream of aerial bombs and the rolling thunder of artillery, when Americans are once more summoned to defend their freedom, Fort Laramie National Monument becomes a vivid reminder of another time when history was written with the blood of courageous fighting men. The time was nearly a hundred years ago, and the battlefield was Wyoming, but the victory belonged then, as now, to the United States Army.

From its weak beginnings of 1776 to its colossal growth of 1944, the Army has been an invincible sword of Democracy, carving out the tortuous pathway of America to nationhood and enlightened world leadership. After fighting the war for American Independence, the Army protected the advance of civilization from the Appalachians to the Pacific Coast, meanwhile defending the Union in the agony of Civil War; and since the "conquest of the continent" it has twice been called upon to uphold the banner of freedom in world-wide conflict. The proud military tradition is symbolized by heroic names—

*Merrill J. Mattes, an employee of the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior, was officially designated Historian for Fort Laramie National Monument on November 1, 1941, although he has been engaged in research activities connected with that area since 1938, when it was deeded to the Government by the State of Wyoming. His research work has covered broad phases of the Western fur trade, the Oregon Trail and Indian warfare, in addition to the more specific problems pertaining to Fort Laramie. The research program which is being undertaken at the present time is an essential preliminary to the improvement program which is scheduled for Fort Laramie after the war.

In addition to his Fort Laramie duties, Mr. Mattes has served since 1935 as Custodian of Scotts Bluff National Monument near Gering, Nebraska. The interests of Scotts Bluff and Fort Laramie are closely tied together by the Oregon Trail. While Fort Laramie, like Fort Bridger and Fort Hall, was one of the famous way stations on the Oregon Trail, Scotts Bluff compares with Register Cliff and Independence Rock as one of the prominent landmarks on that great Highway of Western expansion.

Mr. Mattes was born at Congress Park, Illinois in 1910, graduated from Central High School at Kansas City, Missouri, received an A. B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1931, a Master's degree from the University of Kansas in 1933, and was awarded a fellowship in Special Studies at Yale University in 1938-39, taking graduate courses in American History and Prehistoric Archeology.

Saratoga, Tippecanoe, New Orleans, Buena Vista, Gettysburg, San Juan Hill, Argonne, Bataan, Normandy and a host of others. These are all battlefields. In the period of westward migration there were battles too—Beecher Island, Sand Creek, Julesburg, Platte Bridge, Little Big Horn, Wounded Knee—but the name which stands out is the name of a frontier Army post—Fort Laramie, Guardian of the Oregon Trail!

Today's titanic battles of Africa, Asia and Europe are far removed in space and time from the Indian warfare which once reddened the Wyoming Plains. And today millions are involved; then the combatants could be numbered by the hundreds. Further, the global concepts of World War II seem hardly related to the territorial problems of the Nineteenth Century. But the differences are not as profound as they seem. The remoteness is illusory. The warriors of the American frontier, on foot or horseback, fought just as bravely as the mechanized and air-borne troops of today; they died from an arrow point or a lead ball just as surely as they die today from the explosion of a four-ton bomb. And they fought then as they do now for one primary reason, love of country, faith in the American destiny. Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail was as much a part of America's destiny as Valley Forge or Guadalcanal. The great highway of westward expansion had to be defended then, as the world's highways and skyways have to be defended now. And then, as now, the job was done by the United States Army!*

A monument to another heroic age, old Fort Laramie still stands on the banks of the Laramie River near its junction with the North Platte. Of the sixty-odd buildings which once comprised the fort only a score remain today, huddled together in various stages of decrepitude—long rambling barracks and grotesquely ornamented officers' quarters with sightless windows, buildings of whip-sawed pine and rough concrete and adobe, and mere skeletons of buildings, with walls gaunt, white and crumbling. These are the veterans of an heroic age, honored survivors of the endless battle against time and the elements, standing mute and resolute and defiant in the same lonely, desolate setting of a century ago. They eloquently tell of men who lived dangerously, fighting for the land, of the men who molded Western America.

*Let this remark be not misconstrued by members of the U. S. Navy or the U. S. Marine Corps, who are very much "on the job" in the present war. But there were no sailors or marines at old Fort Laramie!

II

It was in 1849 that Fort Laramie was transformed from a sleepy decadent trading post of the American Fur Company to a bustling garrison of the United States Army. Although the California gold rush of that year was the immediate cause, the wisdom of setting up such an establishment had long been determined by the earlier migrations to Oregon and Utah, when lengthening ox-drawn wagon trains frightened the buffalo away from their accustomed haunts along the North Platte, much to the alarm of the Indians. Reporting on his expedition of 1842 Lt. John C. Fremont had described the point of land at the confluence of the Laramie and the Platte as ideally suited for a military establishment. In his account of his travels of 1846 Francis Parkman urged that troops be speedily stationed in the Fort Laramie region, as a precaution against the mounting Indian fury; and in 1847 Thomas Fitzpatrick, government agent for the wild tribes on the upper Platte, strongly recommended an army post at this point. Through Missouri's fiery Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Congress became fully aware of the perilous situation and on May 19, 1846 it enacted a law providing for the establishment of military stations on the route to Oregon. The Fort Laramie project was delayed by the Mexican War and by the prior establishment in 1848 of Fort Kearny on the lower Platte; but early in 1849 rumors of the impending gold rush spurred the army to decisive action.

On June 16, 1849 Major Winslow F. Sanderson arrived at Fort Laramie with four other officers and fifty-eight men who comprised Company E, Mounted Rifles. Lt. Daniel P. Woodberry of the engineer corps was commissioned to negotiate the purchase of the American Fur Company's quadrangular adobe fort. This business was transacted with Mr. Bruce Husband, the proprietor, who was glad to get rid of the place for the \$4,000 offered, since the fur business was in a decline. Company C, Mounted Rifles and Company G, Sixth Infantry, augmented by large stocks of supplies, arrived later in the summer; and the sleepy trading post became a large military encampment, alive with soldiers hauling and sawing timber, burning lime, erecting buildings, making hay and otherwise indicating that the stars and stripes of the Federal Union had come to stay, and to conquer the wilderness. Thus began the epic history of Fort Laramie as the frontier headquarters of the United States Army, an epic of empire-building which began with the "forty-niners" and ended with the era of the "homesteaders" in 1890.

The primary function of Fort Laramie during its forty-two years of military service was to protect the emigrants

and the transcontinental communications which followed the Oregon Trail, and in the fulfilling of this function are to be found some of the most stirring episodes in American frontier history. There was a multitude of duties which the troops performed to aid the emigrants, such as operating a ferry across the Platte, succoring parties stricken by cholera, or stranded in the mud, or bereft of provisions; but the one big problem was that of the Plains Indians, whose justifiable indignation at the white man's invasion was a perpetual menace.

Among the frontiersmen and in official circles alike there was always a quota of irresponsibles who believed that there was only one solution to the Indian problem, namely, a war of extermination. In the light of subsequent history and the dominant "hero versus Indian" theme in American fiction, it might seem that the Indian was always officially foredoomed; yet Fort Laramie history reveals that the majority of serious-minded citizens, and those most influential in government quarters, hoped to profit by the bitter lesson of Indian warfare east of the Mississippi, and find a peaceful solution to the Indian problem of the Great Plains. Fort Laramie was the scene of the greatest council of Indian tribes in western frontier history, and this was a council of peace.

Congress appropriated \$100,000 to finance the Fort Laramie treaty council of 1851. Here assembled more than 10,000 gaily bedecked and mounted savages from a radius of five hundred miles, Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapahoe from the Plains, Snakes and Crows from the mountains, Assiniboines, Minnetaree and Arickaree from the upper Missouri country. Besides a few hundred Dragoons, the white men assembled included the commissioners D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick, the missionary Father de Smet, and Robert Campbell, a St. Louis merchant, one of the founders of the original Fort Laramie. The horses of so vast a throng made it necessary to move the council to the mouth of Horse Creek, near present Lyman, Nebraska, where grass was more abundant. Here, after much ceremony and delicate maneuvering to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between hereditary enemies, the Commissioners offered the assembled chiefs an annuity of \$50,000 in merchandise and provisions to compensate for the hunting grounds ruined by the emigrant trains, and as an exchange for promises of unmolested passage of white men, and the right to build military posts. These terms were solemnly acceded to by all, and thus was concluded the "First Treaty of Fort Laramie." Following the lavish distribution of gifts by the Commissioners, the council broke up and the several tribes returned to their accustomed haunts. The outlook for peace and brotherly love on the High Plains was bright.

The peace so auspiciously begun was shattered by a massacre in August, 1854, at a point about eight miles east of Fort Laramie, near present Lingle, Wyoming. Sioux Indians assembled near the fort awaiting the distribution of annuities killed and feasted upon a stray cow. In response to the complaint of a Mormon emigrant, Lieutenant Fleming in command sent Second Lt. L. Grattan, 6th Infantry, with twenty-nine men and an interpreter to apprehend the culprits. Not being properly versed in Indian psychology the rash young lieutenant marched into the large Sioux encampment and precipitated a fight which resulted in the annihilation of himself and his comrades. Subsequently the fort itself was in great danger; and the small garrison there would quickly have been overwhelmed by the maddened Indians, but for some reason the attack did not come off, although due to the temper of the savages who hovered about it was virtually in a state of siege until late in the year when Col. William Hoffman arrived with reinforcements. This was the nearest that Fort Laramie itself ever came to being assaulted.

In August of the following year Col. William S. Harney set out from Fort Kearny with 600 men, included four mounted companies, on a punitive expedition. On Blue Water creek near Ash Hollow, about 150 miles east of Fort Laramie, he encircled an encampment of hostile Sioux and, in the subsequent attack, the band was virtually massacred. This served to quiet the Sioux difficulties temporarily; but in 1856 the Cheyennes committed a series of hostile acts along the Oregon Trail, and the following spring an expedition under Col. Edwin V. Sumner set out against them from Fort Leavenworth via Fort Laramie. The Cheyennes proved too slippery, and the campaign was indecisive, leaving the Indians only more hostile and embittered than before.

Meanwhile federal agents reported that the Mormons in Utah were in rebellion against the United States, and in 1857, a regiment of 2,500 troops under Col. E. B. Johnston, later a Confederate general, was dispatched towards Utah by way of Fort Laramie. This expedition entailed an unprecedented problem for the quartermaster, and interminable supply trains rolled across the prairies. East of Fort Laramie the Cheyenne Indians made destructive lightning raids on the supply columns; while in the mountains Mormon raiders, deep snows and transportation difficulties combined to end the expedition in a fiasco. In the following year, just when the dispatch of reinforcements under General Harney promised a successful campaign against Salt Lake City, a peace was effected, putting an end to the "Utah War," which had cost the government around five million dollars, no small sum in those days.

During the sixties the responsibility of Fort Laramie as the guardian of the Oregon Trail was greatly augmented by the exigencies of the Civil War, which broke out in the spring of 1861. In addition to the continuing emigrant and freighting trains there came the first transcontinental telegraph, following close upon the heels of the Pony Express, all following the great Central route past Fort Laramie. To the duty of protecting these was added the daily overland stage coach and mail service, transferred from the southern route via El Paso. At the same time, notwithstanding the increasing signs of Indian unrest, the Fort Laramie garrison was reduced considerably below the normal complement of 300, to aid in the defense of the Union.

In 1862 there were sporadic outbreaks of violence at isolated stage stations, which were only momentarily quelled when Col. William O. Collins and his battalion of Ohio Volunteer Cavalry established outposts between Fort Laramie and South Pass. The stage line was subsequently moved south to the Cherokee or Overland Trail, 100 miles south of Fort Laramie, but the telegraph line and the emigrant road remained. By this move the local danger was heightened because now the frontier troops were spread out more thinly than ever. In 1863 attempts to negotiate a peace treaty with the Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes proved fruitless, and Colonel Collins went east to recruit more men in anticipation of the approaching crisis. By now the Indians understood the bleak future destined for them by the white men who came in ever-increasing numbers. Considering their desperation, and the attitude of most white men that all Indians were enemies, capable of any atrocity, it is clear that a major conflict was inevitable.

In 1864 commenced a series of Cheyenne and Arapaho raids on the stage road along the South Platte. To keep the Sioux from joining in hostilities General Robert B. Mitchell, commanding the Platte district, held a series of councils with them, to no avail. The warlike intentions of the Sioux were demonstrated by a sortie in which they stampeded a number of cavalry horses from the Fort Laramie parade ground, right under the nose of the post commander. Late in the summer the raids were intensified along the Platte, paralyzing all travel for several weeks. Bungling peace negotiations on the part of Colorado authorities and the infamous massacre at Sand Creek of a peaceful Arapaho band by General Chivington's volunteers, made the Indians furious. Early in 1865 Julesburg and other stations on the South Platte were sacked, after which the hostiles moved toward the North Platte. At Mud Springs near modern Bridgeport, Nebraska they were intercepted by troops from Camp Mitchell (at Scottsbluff)

and Fort Laramie, under Colonel Collins, but this engagement was indecisive, and the Indians withdrew to the Powder River country.

The end of the Civil War and the release of large numbers of troops for frontier duty did not awe the Indians, who were made insolent by their success to date; and in the spring of 1865 their raiding and murdering on both branches of the Platte was resumed. Colonel Moonlight in charge at Fort Laramie failed in an attempt to engage the enemy, who preferred guerilla warfare. In June a band of friendly Sioux, while being escorted from Fort Laramie to Fort Kearny, decided to become hostile and escaped from their guard with some bloodshed, at the mouth of Horse Creek, the scene of the great treaty council of 1851. Colonel Moonlight attempted a large-scale pursuit, but only succeeded in having all his horses stolen, and a 120 mile hike back to the fort, for which failure he was mustered out of the service. In July 3,000 warriors of the combined tribes laid siege to Platte Bridge station on the upper North Platte. In the fights which ensued twenty-six white men lost their lives, including the gallant Caspar Collins, son of the former Fort Laramie commander, from whom the present metropolis of Casper, Wyoming derived its name.

Despite the eagerness of General Grenville M. Dodge, who commanded the western troops, and General P. E. Connor, in charge of "the district of the plains," retaliation for the Indian outrages was slow in forthcoming, due to enlistment and transportation difficulties; but in mid-summer of 1865 the famous Powder River expedition got under way from Fort Laramie. Although an Arapaho band under Black Bear was destroyed near the site of modern Ranchester, Wyoming, several detachments of troops barely escaped starvation and annihilation. General Connor was recalled and the expedition was considered a failure, due partly to inexperience in the art of Indian warfare, and partly to hamstringing of the military by peace advocates in Washington, D. C.

Peace commissioners assembled at Fort Laramie in June, 1866, together with about 2,000 Sioux. The gesture of Col. H. E. Maynadier, post commander, in permitting Chief Spotted Tail to bury his daughter at the fort, augured well for the success of the conference, but the hopeful atmosphere was shattered by the appearance of Col. Henry B. Carrington and a large expedition intent on establishing posts along the Bozeman trail to Montana, through the heart of the Sioux hunting grounds. Due to this glaring demonstration of the conflicting policies of the War Department, and the Office of Indian Affairs, a large contingent of Sioux under the implacable Red Cloud withdrew in enmity; and this action nullified the signature of the peace treaty by the few Sioux and Cheyenne

chieftains who remained. When Colonel Carrington moved north to establish Forts Reno, Phil Kearny and C. F. Smith along the Bozeman Trail, Red Cloud's warriors opened up a bitter campaign of sniping and harassment which steadily undermined the morale of the garrisons, and culminated in the massacre of eighty men under the reckless Capt. W. J. Fetterman, in the vicinity of Fort Phil Kearny, near modern Buffalo, Wyoming. Advised of the disaster on Christmas



Group of unidentified officers from the Fort Laramie garrison, on field maneuvers, about 1885. Courtesy of Mrs. May Morrison of Torrington, who was born at old Fort Laramie.



Infantry from Fort Laramie on field maneuvers, about 1884. Courtesy of Mrs. Joe Wilde of Lingle. Mr. Wilde was for many years proprietor of the tavern at Fort Laramie which was converted from the old Cavalry Barracks.

night, 1866 by a trader and scout named "Portugee" Phillips, who rode 235 miles through bitter cold, Gen. W. H. Wessels immediately set out from Fort Laramie to relieve the beleaguered garrison. In 1867 these hostilities continued, highlighted by the so-called Wagon Box Fight near Fort Phil Kearny in which a small force under Capt. James Powell, armed with new breech-loading rifles successfully withstood the repeated assaults of an overwhelming force of Sioux. Meanwhile the savages made incessant raids on the Union Pacific construction gangs which were pushing westward from Omaha to Cheyenne and Promontory Point.

In the spring of 1868 peace commissioners again arrived at Fort Laramie, with instructions to abandon the Bozeman Trail. This was bitter medicine for the Army men, who felt that all of their heroic sacrifice had been in vain. Red Cloud did not sign the peace treaty until late in the year, after all soldiers were withdrawn and all the stockades along the Bozeman Trail were destroyed. This treaty was ratified by the Senate in February, 1869.

Although the "Second Treaty of Fort Laramie" conceded the Dakota lands to the Sioux, it also stipulated they abandon the North Platte (Oregon Trail) country entirely. This was, in turn, "bad medicine" for the Indians. Fort Laramie had been their trading center since the establishment of the original fur company post in 1834, and they were reluctant to part company with it, for it was like home to them. For a time, therefore, a concession was granted by the United States in the form of a temporary agency for Red Cloud's people about thirty miles east of Fort Laramie, near the site of modern Henry, Nebraska, on the Nebraska-Wyoming line. This was occupied from 1871 to 1873, when an agency site was selected on the White River in what is now Western Nebraska. Meanwhile certain factions of the Sioux and Cheyennes under the aegis of Sitting Bull remained in the Montana country, and demonstrated their continuing hostility by attacks on Northern Pacific railroad surveyors. Inspired by their example, the agency Indians, bored by civilizing influences, trickled away from their reservation to join the malcontents.

The final conclusive struggle between red man and white for the possession of the Plains was precipitated by the alleged discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874. Excited miners who illegally entered the Sioux country were arrested by the military and sent to Fort Laramie for confinement. To verify the gold situation the government in 1875 sent Prof. W. P. Jenney of New York City to the Black Hills in 1875. At Fort Laramie he was given a cavalry escort under Col. R. I. Dodge. Arriving at the Black Hills he found hundreds of white miners ahead of him, defying the government edict to stay away.

Subsequent efforts by the government to purchase the Black Hills from the Sioux were unavailing, while the Black Hills gold rush became a torrent which the authorities were unable to check. Anticipating trouble, particularly with the outlaw Sioux under Sitting Bull, an elaborate military campaign was launched early in 1876.

From his Fort Laramie base General Crook pushed north with ten troops of cavalry and two companies of infantry. The first general engagement near the mouth of Little Powder River was a victory for the Sioux, and a withdrawal of the troops was compelled. A second campaign was launched from Fort Fetterman, eighty miles northwest of Fort Laramie, with fifteen troops of cavalry, five companies of infantry, and several hundred Crow and Shoshone allies. On the banks of the Rosebud, Crook met a force of Sioux and Cheyennes under Crazy Horse, greatly augmented by deserters from the agencies. After a fierce melee, in which the Sioux general demonstrated his remarkable prowess, Crook's campaign was virtually stopped cold. Meanwhile General Terry moved up the Yellowstone River, directing Col. George Armstrong Custer to effect a junction with him in the valley of the Little Big Horn. The ensuing disaster to Custer's command on June 25, 1876 was perhaps the most famous as well as the most hotly debated episode in the annals of the frontier; but it is not within the scope of this story. While Terry and Crook nursed their wounds, the frenzied Indians scattered in all directions.

Later in the year, while Gen. Nelson A. Miles was on the trail of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, Gen. Crook started another Powder River expedition from Fort Laramie, consisting of twenty-five well equipped companies, cavalry, infantry and artillery. The upshot of this last important campaign based at Fort Laramie was the destruction of a Cheyenne village under Dull Knife, on the Crazy Horse fork of Powder River. Early in 1877 most of the hostiles recognized the hopelessness of their case, and surrendered; but Sitting Bull and a small band of irreconcilables took refuge in Canada. The Cheyenne escape from Indian Territory (Oklahoma) into Wyoming in 1878-79 and the Wounded Knee massacre at Pine Ridge, South Dakota in 1890 were isolated incidents, without portent. After the tragedy of the Little Big Horn the power of the Plains Indians was broken forever.

Though there was an end to large-scale warfare, Fort Laramie continued in active service for fourteen more years. Depredations by small bands of revengeful Indians and white outlaws continued, making it necessary to use troops for scouting and escort duty. By this time the Oregon Trail had declined in importance, but the new Cheyenne-Deadwood Trail,

alive with gold-seekers, desperadoes and mail-coaches, became a serious problem.

During the eighties the successive commanders at the fort were Col. Wesley Merritt, Col. John Gibbon and Col. Henry C. Merriam, all seasoned Indian fighters. The garrison varied up to 350 men. As the cattle-ranchers who invaded the buffalo land gave way to settlers, and a semblance of peace settled upon the Wyoming plains, the doom of old Fort Laramie was sealed. Although orders for its abandonment came in 1889, this was postponed at the request of Governor Warren of Wyoming, who pointed out the value of the garrison as the only competent authority in that region. But in 1890 the flag was hauled down, the last trooper marched away, movable property was salvaged, and buildings and fixtures sold at public auction, while the wood and timber reservation was thrown open to homesteaders. It was the end of an era.*

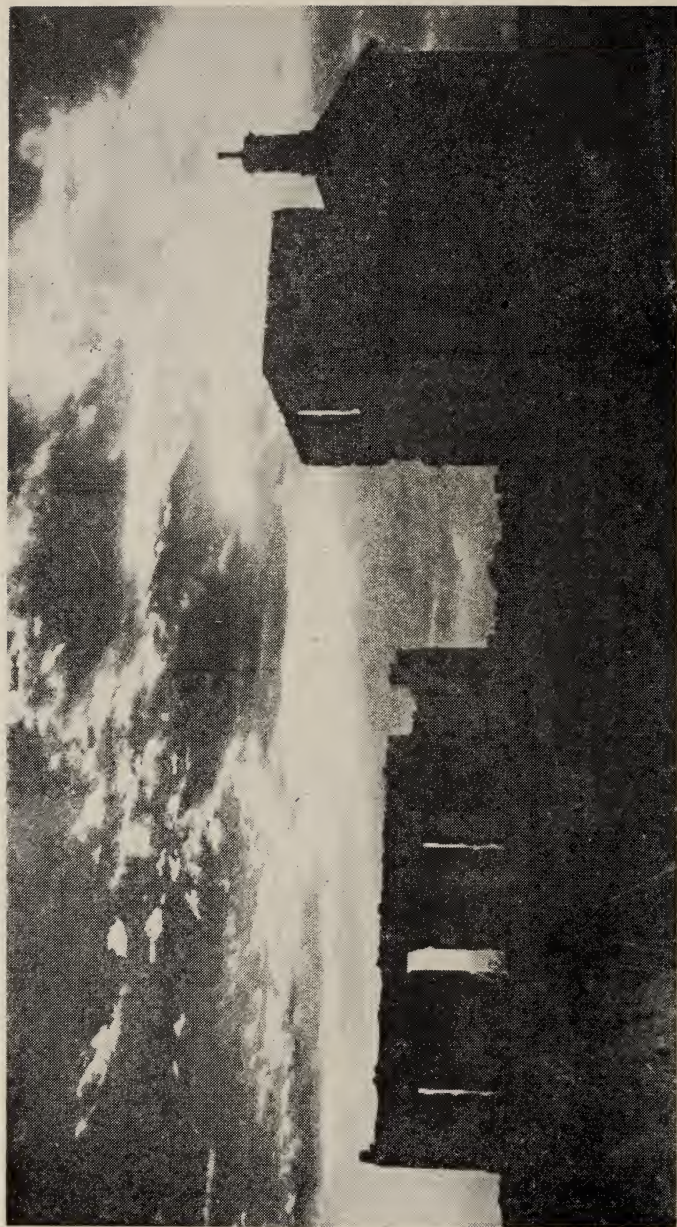
III

The stranger approaching Fort Laramie today might find little on the surface to suggest the vigorous military post. His first impression, rather, might be that of a deserted village, perhaps the scene of a deflated mining boom, possibly a decadent cowtown sleeping peacefully between Saturday nights. There are no visible fortifications, no walls, no bastions, no battlements, no bristling armaments. But upon closer inspection the visitor becomes aware that he is turning back in time, that this is no mere village, no ghostly tenement, but indeed, the frontier headquarters of the United States Army!

To be sure, this is not the Fort Laramie of 1849, when the California gold rush swept by, or the Fort Laramie of 1876, when disastrous news came from the Little Big Horn, or even the Fort Laramie of 1890, when the United States put it on the auction block. No, it bears the scars of a half century of neglect and even destruction by a public which had not learned to treasure its historic shrines. It is no longer the capital of the Wyoming plains, perhaps, but it is still Fort Laramie, picturesque, proud, challenging!

Old Bedlam there, a hotel-like two-story frame and grout building with a Southern mansion veranda, you might call it the patriarch of the tribe, still dominates the rolling landscape

*Historical data is derived from various authorities listed in the "Selected Bibliography" appended to this essay. The standard history on the subject is *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* by LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1938). This is a scholarly and comprehensive review designed for the serious student of history, but equally rewarding to every "Westerner" who takes pride in his heritage.



Ruins of the Old Hospital at Fort Laramie, taken against the haunting background of a Wyoming sunset.

Photograph by C. E. Humberger, 1939.

as it did in 1849 when it was erected, when the sound of saws and hammers combined with the creaking and grinding of the emigrant's wagon wheels to make a strange symphony in the ears of Sioux and Cheyenne spectators, grim with foreboding. Old Bedlam now is silent as a tomb, its shattered windows mercifully boarded; yet there was a time when its hallways echoed with the jangle of spurs and officers' crisp commands; when its windows of a summer evening, festooned and sparkling with candle-light, gave forth sounds of music and merriment as amorous young blades and gay hoop-skirted belles sought to assuage the tedium and tension of a frontier army post.

Yes, there is the Sutler's Store, a rambling, mongrel sort of building, a curious mixture of adobe, grout, frame and sheet-metal. It is not a very handsome structure, and it is so decayed that it has to be buttressed by heavy timbers to prevent its collapsing into a heap of rubble; but it is another building hoary with tradition, rivalling Old Bedlam in antiquity. Here the soldiers, rubbing elbows with curious emigrants and Indians, invested their pay-checks in worldly goods, principally liquor, which flowed prodigiously across the bar. Jim Bridger, Kit Carson and William Cody were here, also Mark Twain, Horace Greeley and Jack Slade, veteran "mountain men" and pale-faced Easterners, gentlemen and desperadoes. Here the whole of the fantastic social strata of the frontier assembled, and tossed coins at the bartender, blew clouds of foam, gurgled barrels of whisky, engaged in occasional knifings and shooting scrapes, plotted robberies and assassinations, boasted of Indian scalps and gold-nuggets; and dreamed of (or dreaded) a time when this vast wild land would be tamed and civilized.

Fort Laramie a relic, deserted and forgotten? Why here is the very heart and soul of the West, the stalwart, headstrong child grown to a wise maturity, witnessing the greater America which it helped so notably to conceive. Those ruins high up there on the hill-top, stark and vivid against the sunset, they are a perfect monument to that old Hospital where soldiers came back to suffer their wounds and their agonies, perhaps to die, those same who had gone forth bravely and with light hearts to meet the savage foe. Over there to the north are the Cavalry Barracks. That was the home of hundreds, perhaps thousands of troopers who lived beyond the pale of civilization, with its soft comforts and conveniences, that the West might be reclaimed. Yonder by the river is the Old Guardhouse, that sinister-looking building with the thick "grout" walls and barred windows. Evil-doers languished here, sometimes preliminary to swinging in the breeze for obstructing the orderly processes of civilization. Before us is the same parade ground where soldiers would drill smartly during

a lull in Indian warfare; and overhead still floats the flag of the United States, now with forty-eight stars instead of thirty which were contained in the flag of 1849; but this flag now as then is the banner of Democracy and Freedom.

IV

The National Park Service is the appointed guardian of Old Fort Laramie, which in 1938 achieved the status of a national monument. It is no accident that this agency was entrusted with the responsibility. "Conservation" is the watchword of the Department of the Interior, and the National Park Service is that branch of the Department which protects the national parks and monuments so that they may be enjoyed unimpaired in their naturalness by generations of Americans to come.

Scenery, timberland, water resources, wildlife—these are not the only things which are implied by the word "conservation." There is perhaps something even more important still than these physical resources—*our cultural heritage*. We must conserve our American Democracy, the Bill of Rights, and all of the ideals therein implied. Indeed, it is the preservation or "conservation" of these things for which we fight today with all our vast national strength.

The history of America is the history of an ideal—a bright shining vision of Freedom and universal Justice. History, too, is something which must be conserved, so that we may be forever reminded of our heritage, and our responsibility to our children to preserve this heritage.

We would not cancel a billion dollars of our national debt in exchange for the original Declaration of Independence which is "conserved" in the Library of Congress. All the skyscrapers in all the big cities cannot conjure up half the reverence for America that the patriotic citizen feels when he is in the presence of Mount Vernon or the Alamo, or the battlefield of Gettysburg. The loftiest snow-crowned mountain range is not more truly a part of America than the little hill called "Bunker Hill" where our Flag received its baptism of blood, or the Little Big Horn Valley in Montana where Custer and his troopers rode to their doom.

We are proud of these things and these places which mark the climaxes of American History. Yet if they had not been "conserved" by a few conscientious citizens, if Mount Vernon had been auctioned off to real estate promoters, or if the field of Gettysburg had been converted into farms, then they would not be there today for us to be proud of, and our cultural heritage would be the poorer.

Fort Laramie is an historic shrine as truly as these others, being an important trading post, a way-station for travelers on the Oregon Trail, and headquarters of the United States Army on the Great Plains for over half a century. Buildings yet exist there which greeted the emigrants on their way to California gold. From here fur traders launched their keel-boats down the Platte, and blue-clad cavalymen rode forth to battle the Sioux and Cheyenne and Arapaho. Past here rolled the great natural highway to the Pacific, and here youthful Pony Express riders, gaunt and dust-covered emigrants and profane bullwhackers paused to rest, the hostile Plains behind them, the forbidding mountains ahead.

Being such a unique capital of the Western frontier, such a priceless jewel in the treasure of our national heritage, was it not "conserved" after its abandonment by the Army in 1890? No, unfortunately it was not. It probably occurred to few at the time that here was an irreplaceable and invaluable asset to our patriotic traditions. There was no visible history here, only so many buildings, which included much useful salvageable lumber. Accordingly the buildings were auctioned off. Shortly thereafter over half of these were unroofed and stripped of every vestige of timber. Adobe buildings crumbled to earth and the concrete buildings were left only naked walls. The few buildings which were untouched were used as ranch dwellings and shelters for cows, pigs and chickens. Strange treatment for a great shrine of American history!

The ranchers who occupied the Fort were not at fault, but rather the American people, whose conscience in such matters had not yet been aroused. It may be that in the East, with ample reminders of the Revolution and the Civil War, people were more conscious of their traditions. But Westerners had a tremendous job to be done, a blistering, back-bending job of breaking the soil and building homes in 1890. They can be pardoned for not giving too much thought to "conservation of history." History in western Wyoming was still in the making. Perhaps the Indians were still a little too much in the thoughts of the settlers, still too close a reality to think of Indian warfare as merely a "tradition." Also, the practical problem of securing lumber in a Plains country, with transportation problems to be considered in terms of wagonloads, might make it understandable why lumber from an abandoned building would be so highly prized, while the historical significance of the building itself might be overlooked.

So if Fort Laramie was not recognized as an historic shrine by the Army lieutenant who auctioned off the buildings, or by the people who bought them, it was the fault of the times. Actually, we should not express disappointment that so much of Fort Laramie was lost, but rather surprise that so much of it

has been saved. What comparable historic site in the West survives, with some buildings almost a century old? For this rare bit of conservation we should perhaps thank John Hunton more than any other man.

Hunton came to Fort Laramie in 1867, to clerk for the post sutlers, Ward and Bullock. In 1888 he became post sutler. When the post was abandoned in April, 1890, Hunton felt that the fort was so much a part of his life that he decided to stay on. At the auction he bought twelve of the Fort Laramie buildings for \$368.50, including the Officers' Quarters Row on the west side of the parade ground. Apparently he already owned the old Sutler's Store. In any case it was due to his appreciation of historical values that the picturesque building known as Old Bedlam, and the Sutler's Store, both dating back to 1849, were saved, as well as several other officers' quarters, including one in which he resided until around 1920; and he undoubtedly used his influence on other owners to prevent the complete destruction of other buildings.

From 1890 to until his death in 1928 John Hunton was the main "conservationist" of Fort Laramie; but early in the 1920's several prominent citizens of Wyoming took an interest in saving the old Fort. The idea caught on and was popularized by newspaper editors. The Wyoming State Legislature and the Wyoming Historical Landmarks Commission became actively concerned. After several disheartening set-backs the property was finally acquired from private owners by the State of Wyoming in 1937. The priceless historic site was then generously deeded to the United States, just forty-eight years after the United States threw away the whole fort, complete, at auction, for a paltry \$1,395.00.

Since 1939 the National Park Service has had a Custodian residing at Fort Laramie National Monument, who has supervised a three-point program—protection, interpretation and improvement, all designed to "conserve" old Fort Laramie as one of the country's historical shrines. "Protection" has included fencing of the area of approximately 200 acres, and enforcement of Government rules and regulations pertaining to national parks. "Interpretation" includes occasional guide service for visitors, use of educational signs, archeological investigations, historical research work and museum planning.

Improvements made during the past few years with CCC and WPA funds include stabilization measures on historical buildings and ruins, conversion of Cavalry Barracks into temporary Custodian's Office and quarters; removal of debris and overgrowth which accumulated since 1890, and installation of electric, telephone and water facilities.

Of course the war program has brought improvements to a standstill, since manpower and critical materials are needed

elsewhere; but Fort Laramie has not been forgotten. The war will not last forever, and there will come a day when plans can be pushed actively forward to give old Fort Laramie the full status and dignity of a national historic shrine, which has so long been deferred.

In the five years past that records have been available, there has been a total of 22,352 visitors at Fort Laramie National Monument. This is not an imposing figure compared with the hundreds of thousands of visitors who go annually to the large national parks; but it must be remembered that Fort Laramie is off the beaten tourist path, so to speak, and furthermore it is new as a national monument, and it has not yet had an opportunity to become nationally known.

In 1943 there were 1,359 visitors at Fort Laramie compared with the peak of 10,102 in 1940. But this decrease is nothing exceptional, being comparable to the war-time decrease in travel to all of the nation's parks and monuments. In 1944 there may be even fewer visitors, but Old Fort Laramie can wait. It mouldered nearly fifty years before it received recognition as an historic shrine; it can wait in relative quiescence until the present foe—the Japs and the Nazis—can be rounded up and put back on their “reservations.”

Old Fort Laramie is not an inanimate thing, a mere collection of time-shattered ruins. It is a thing of spirit, a tradition, woven out of a half century of convulsive human history. Here is something still “worth fighting for,” something to give the soldier of today more pride in his citizenship, a deeper consciousness of his national traditions, and faith that there still survives the fundamental pioneer virtues which will lead America to new heights of world leadership in war, and in the peace that will follow.

* * * *

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FORT LARAMIE NEWS ITEM

Jess Lombard, Custodian of Fort Laramie National Monument since 1939, left that post in April of 1944 to become Custodian of Dinosaur National Monument at Vernal, Utah. Dinosaur contains 203,965 acres, a lot more land to take care of than 214 acres which comprises Fort Laramie, but then the importance of the old fort is not measured by the extent of the property. It is one of our national historic shrines, and Mr. Lombard has served it well during the past five years. He was the contributor of an article on "Old Bedlam" which appeared in the *Annals of Wyoming* (XIII, 2, April, 1941).

The new Custodian at Fort Laramie is Thor Borresen, a Norwegian by birth, but a legal resident of New York, who became a research technician in archeology for the National Park Service at Colonial National Historical Park, Va., in 1934, later doing historical work in the Service's Region One Office at Richmond, Va. In the latter capacity, he was consultant on military and domestic structures, restoration of military battlefields, ordnance, and other military accoutrement. Beginning in 1942 Mr. Borresen spent two years at a shipyard in Brooklyn as a contribution to the war program. Before joining the National Park Service, he worked for the U. S. Construction Quartermaster for eight years, supervising the restoration of Old Fort Niagara.

Associated with Mr. Borresen are Coordinating Superintendent John E. Doerr, with headquarters at Rocky Mountain National Park, at Estes Park, Colorado, and Mr. Mattes, author of the Fort Laramie article in this issue.

DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE

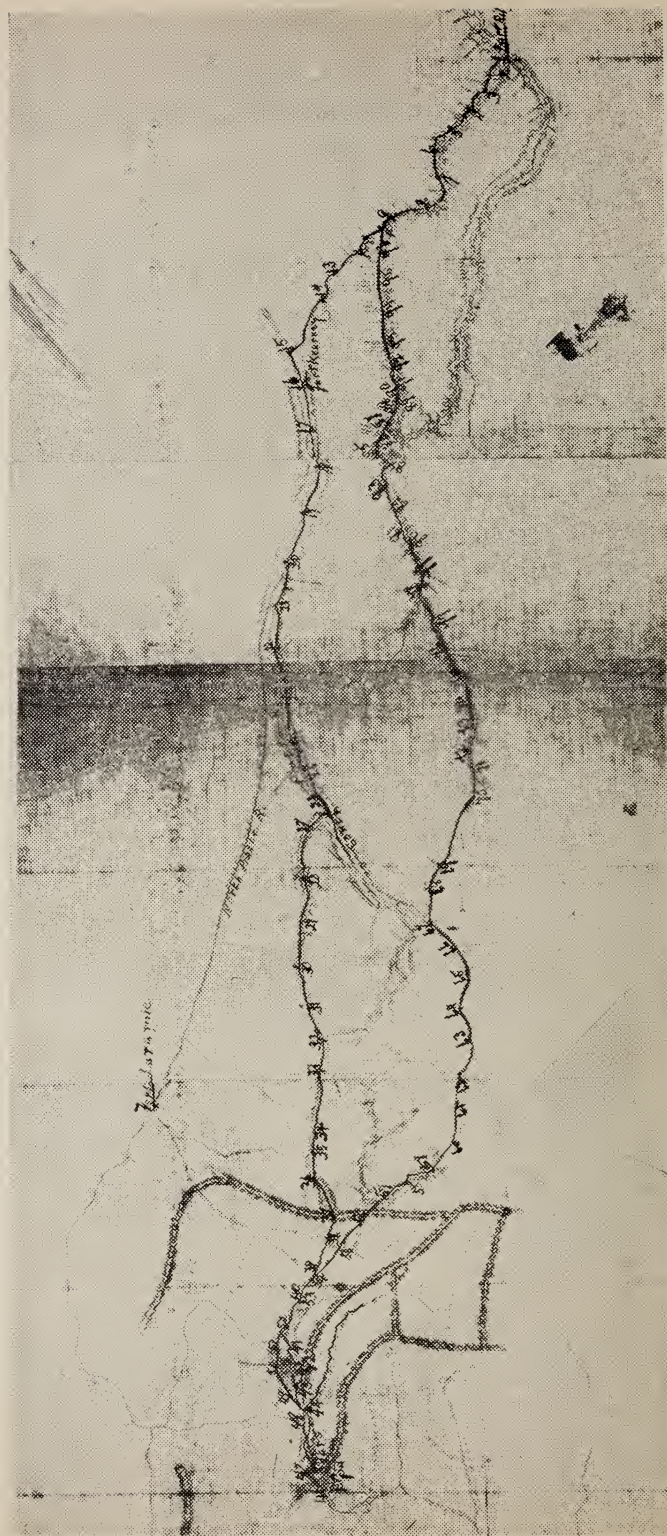
Douglas C. McMurtrie, who so generously contributed to the ANNALS OF WYOMING, passed away September 29, 1944, at the age of 56.

Mr. McMurtrie was well known as the author of many books and pamphlets on printing.

His passing will be felt by his many friends. His home was Chicago, Illinois.

BRYANT B. BROOKS

Wyoming is honored in having the opportunity to claim Bryant B. Brooks as one of her outstanding pioneers, and as one of her governors. Wyoming has lost a great citizen in his passing, December 8, 1944.



Reconnaissance of a Road from Fort Riley to Bridger's Pass made in obedience to instructions from the War Department in June, July, August, September and October 1856, by Lieut. F. T. Bryan, United States Topographical Engineer.

Numbers represent camps along the route. Numbers from one to forty-six show the route going to Bridger's Pass; numbers forty-seven to ninety-six show their return route to Fort Riley.

Documents and Letters

Report of Lieut. F. T. Bryan Concerning His Operations in Locating a Practicable Road Between Fort Riley to Bridger's Pass 1856.¹

When these plains were virgin country meagerly intersected by Indian or buffalo trails, the War Department early realized its responsibility and the great necessity to locate and build wagon roads, bridges, etc.

In 1856, the Department undertook to find the most practicable route from Fort Riley (Kansas) to Bridger's Pass (Nebraska, later Wyoming) and assigned Lieut. Francis T. Bryan of the Topographic Engineering Corps to command a survey expedition to locate a military road between these two points. Lieut. Bryan was accompanied by Mr. John Lambert, topographer; Mr. Henry Engelmann, geologist; Mr. Charles Larned in charge of the barometers; Mr. Cooper and Mr. Wood, rodmen. They met their escort and thirty-three wagons at Fort Riley and left that post June 21, 1856.

Mr. Lambert wrote an interesting report² on the topography of the country traveled. Mr. Engelmann made one of the first, if not the first, geological report³ of the country. We are not including these two reports which are attached to Lieut. Bryan's report in the Congressional Document, where they may be found.

Many of these military wagon roads were the highways of today in the making.

It will be noticed all through Lieut. Bryan's report the spelling of *Medicine-Bon*. Mr. Lambert and Mr. Engelmann also used this form of spelling in their reports. It is evident it is not a misprint nor a misinterpretation as *Medicine Bow Creek* was known by the Indians as "good Medicine"—"Medicine-Bon". Some seem to think the word, *Bon*, through usage, was transposed to *Bow*. It is also understood the name *Medicine-Bow* was used by the Indians with reference to the type of wood they found in those mountains for their bows and arrows. The name of *Medicine-Bow* appears on Fremont's Map of 1842 as applying to both the stream and mountain.—M.H.E.

Two routes presented themselves for consideration and survey before a location could be definitely fixed upon. One from Fort Riley to Fort Kearney, crossing the divide between the Republican and the Platte, and skirting the headwaters of the small streams running into the Blue; then from Fort Kearney, along the Platte valley, to near the mouth of Pole creek; thence up Pole creek, through the Black Hills, to its head; and thence along the foot of the *Medicine-Bon Mountains* to the North Platte, and thence to Bridger's Pass, about forty miles distant from the crossing of this stream. The other lay along the Republican fork of Kaw river for three hundred and sixty

1. Congressional Documents. 35th Cong. 1st Sess. S. Ex. Doc. 11, pp. 455-481 [Serial 920]

2. Ibid. pp. 481-488.

3. Ibid. pp. 489-517.

miles; thence across the divide to the South Platte, where it turns to run into a southeasterly direction; thence up the South Platte, along its right bank, crossing Beaver, Bijou, Kioway, and other small creeks; thence on the left bank of the Platte to the mouth of Crow creek; and thence over to the Cache la Poudre, and up it to the foot of the Medicine-Bon range, in the Laramie plains, and thence to Bridger's Pass, over the same ground as by the other route. It was determined to examine the route along the Platte first, and take the route along the Republican on the return. For this purpose the party left Fort Riley, and followed along the left bank of the Republican for more than a hundred miles, and as long as the direction of the river coincided with that from Fort Riley to Fort Kearney. Leaving the Republican fork, there was about thirty-five miles of a high, dry, rolling prairie to the Little Blue. This space was intersected by the heads of creeks running into the Republican and the Blue, and is entirely destitute of timber, except the small quantity which grows immediately on the banks of the streams, and which consists generally of hard woods, such as oak, ash, etc. Very little obstruction is offered, generally, to the passage of wheeled vehicles—now and then the steep banks of a creek which require several hours to cut away and make passable. The crossing of the Blue was effected without difficulty, the river being here not more than fifty feet wide and two and a half feet deep; bed sandy and banks easily prepared for crossing. At this point this route turns into the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney, and coincides with it up to that point. This part, for some thirteen miles, lies along the river valley and then leaving, leads to the valley of the Platte over a high, dry, rolling country. It is supplied with water at intervals of fifteen, eight, and then four and a half miles, to the Platte river, by large water holes, which are considered permanent. From the point of touching the Platte, the distance to Fort Kearney is fifteen miles, and over a smooth, level country, being along the valley of the river.

In this division of the road lies most of the labor necessary to render the routes between Fort Riley and Bridger's Pass easily travelled. Most of the creeks which are crossed are deep, with steep banks, and, in some instances, require bridging, and in almost all the approaches to the crossing need grading. Leaving Fort Kearney, the route lies along the valley of the Platte to a point about sixteen miles beyond the Laramie crossing. It is the route generally travelled to Fort Laramie, and has been so often noticed that no description of it is necessary here. The route followed by my party and its escort crosses the Platte at sixteen miles above the Laramie crossing, keeping to the right bank of the river thus far to avoid the bluffs and rough ground which here juts close in upon the river. The cross-

ing used by the party was an excellent ford at a point where the river is about six hundred and ten yards wide. The water scarcely came up to the axle-trees of our wagons; the bottom was of fine, hard gravel, so that our crossing was effected without any difficulty. This, however, like all the crossings of the rivers in this part of the country, is liable to injury from flood, and to become affected by quicksand. As to the expediency of bridging this stream, it is a matter totally out of the question. There is not a particle of material of any sort near enough to be used, especially within the limits of the present appropriation. Trains passing must, therefore, always be prepared to take the chances of the ford. From the crossing of the Platte to the head of Pole creek forms the next division of this road. Our route lay along the Platte to Pole creek, a distance of eight miles, over a very level country. Our crossing was effected without difficulty at a point about a mile above the mouth. The creek is here a swift flowing stream, between high banks, with a width of six or eight feet. The country here, and for some miles further up, is a high, dry prairie—a dead, flat, burned up piece of ground. Our route lay on the right bank. The valley of the creek is here two or three miles wide, but becomes narrow further up. About five miles from our crossing brought us to a spring running from the bluffs on our left into the creek. Here was the first appearance of green grass that we had seen along the creek, except immediately between its banks. Three or four miles further on was another green spot, where we camped, having made eighteen miles. The country is extremely barren and burnt up; nothing green to be seen except the willows and grass immediately along the banks. The higher ground is covered with buffalo grass, which is now burnt dry.

Scarcely have we seen anything resembling a tree since we were many miles below the Laramie crossing of the Platte. The soil is mostly sand and gravel. On the higher ground the soil is almost as light as ashes. During yesterday and today we have made quite a bend. Had we known exactly the direction in which the creek ran in this part of its course, we might have come straight over from the Platte. This line across this bend deserves a reconnaissance.

Wednesday, July 23.—The country today shows more grass. With this exception it is the same as yesterday, very barren, light and dry. The surface is almost all that could be wished for our teams; some few hollows appear, but offer no serious obstructions. The valley is of varying width, and the creek, in its windings, touches the bluffs on one side and then the other. Camped at the end of 20.10 miles.

Thursday, July 24.—At $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from camp we crossed without difficulty to the left bank, the bluffs coming so close

on to the creek as to interfere with our purpose on the right bank. The country is varied but little from yesterday, the bluffs being higher and more irregular and the valley narrower. The grass appears better now; not so much parched up. Cedars, too, appear, scattered on the bluffs, intermingled with a few pines. The creek is very crooked, and with quite a swift current, indicating a great fall. Made today 18 miles.

Friday, July 25.—Kept along the valley of the creek until we came to a point of the Pine Bluffs, which jutted close in to the creek. This rough place in the road (the only one of any consequence which we have met with) occasioned some little delay to the passage of the train. About a mile beyond this point the water of the creek suddenly disappeared, and was not seen again for twelve miles, although it had just previously been a bold running stream, more so, indeed, than usual, from the recent rains which had somewhat swollen it. At $8\frac{3}{4}$ miles from our camp we crossed the dry bed of the creek and kept on our course till we had made $19\frac{1}{3}$ miles, when we camped on the right bank of the creek, where the water was running as briskly as ever. Our course today has been very straight and over a fine, hard prairie, having a gradual and constant rise, giving an excellent location for a road of any sort. The bluffs gradually fell as we ascended the creek, and have now almost entirely given way to gentle swells on either side. The grass is also much better than below, and affords pasture to immense herds of buffaloes. This part of the valley is a favorite winter residence of the Sioux and Cheyenne bands.

Saturday, July 26.—Kept our way up the creek, finding all the way a fine hard soil for the road. There were several gulleys to cross today, affluents of the creek. None of them presented any difficulty. The valley of the creek is now so narrow that we have been obliged to cross it several times, but always without difficulty or delay. Camped on the right bank, after a march of 16 miles.

Sunday, July 27.—In camp.

Monday, July 28.—Marched today $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Pine Bluffs, where we camped on a small spring running into Pole creek, which is dry at this point and for about eight miles further up. Just below our camp a branch, called Didies' branch, comes into Pole creek on the northern side. It takes its rise in a line of bluffs which lead on to Horse creek. A route from this point to Laramie is said to be feasible, passing by the head of Didies' branch, thence on to Horse creek, and then to the Platte river, eight miles below Laramie. In favor of this route is urged the constant supply of running water, a fine hard soil to travel over, and the absence of the sand hills, which interpose such a serious obstacle to the passage of heavily loaded trains. These Pine Bluffs afford an abundance of dwarf pine,

which answers well for fuel. As this article is very scarce beyond this point, and until the Black hills are reached, it is necessary to transport enough for several days' use—buffalo chips, which have answered heretofore, being scarce. The bluffs run in a northerly and southerly direction, and Pole creek cuts directly through them, making a wide, level valley, through which wagons can pass without the slightest difficulty. Pawnee creek heads to the south and in the same bluffs. In Didies' branch the water is always running.

Tuesday, July 29.—Marched 13 miles, to the point where the New Mexico and Laramie road crosses Pole creek, and camped as the creek again sinks; and we are ignorant how far it is to where water again appears. Water, however, can always be had by digging. Road today very good, and soil of the same gravelly character as yesterday.

Wednesday, July 30, 1856.—Course today over a high, dry prairie, rising rapidly all the time, but furnishing a most excellent smooth road. Travelled over this country for twelve miles, where we found water again running in the bed of the creek. At seventeen miles we intended to make our camp, but found the creek at this point again dry and water difficult to obtain by digging. Made $24\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and found water running and made our camp. The route today has been over ground singularly smooth and good. In the latter part of the day's march there were some hollows, but not very difficult to cross. Timber and buffalo chips have almost entirely disappeared, and, but for the wood brought from Pine Bluffs, we should suffer for fuel. The grass on the upland is very poor, short, and dry, the soil hard and gravelly.

Thursday, July 31.—Marched about 7 miles today, merely to change camp, over a high, rolling country to another point of the creek, where was good grass and a fine spring. Camped for the day, as the animals are much fatigued by yesterday's long march. Country the same as yesterday, very poor and desolate. Pole creek is now a very small stream, the water running only at intervals and the bottoms very narrow, and the supply of grass for our animals very limited.

Friday, August 1, 1856.—Followed today a high ridge on the right bank of the creek, which furnished a fine, smooth track for our wagons. The country still rises rapidly. After eight miles travelling there were some hollows, but no difficulty was experienced in crossing them. Three and a half miles further brought us to our camp at the foot of the Black hills, and on Pole creek. Here we found quite wide bottoms, with plenty of grass for our animals. The two forks of Pole creek here met to make the main stream. The creek has so far furnished an excellent route, so far as the track is concerned, but there is a great deficiency of fuel, other than buffalo chips,

and at this season of the year grass is very scarce. Water at this time of the year is met with at intervals along the bed of the creek in the upper part of its course. It is flowing whenever seen, but, owing to the porous nature of the soil, it disappears and the bed of the creek is dry for several miles together. Water can generally be obtained, wherever the stream has sunk, by digging under the bluffs and in the bed of the stream. Large quantities of drift wood were found here, which proved of great assistance to us in the way of fuel.

Saturday, August 2.—Following the southernmost of the two prongs between which we had encamped, and after passing over some high prairies, we arrived at the entrance to the Black hills, a steep ascent, which was accomplished, however, by our teams without much difficulty. The ground was rough and strong, and for about a mile and a half further on the pulling was quite even, being up hill and down. At this point there was a fine spring, at which the road ascended a ridge, and kept afterwards on the divide between the northern and southern prongs of Pole creek. This was exceedingly smooth and of a very gradual ascent, giving an excellent road. This ridge was followed for about twelve miles, and then the country became rolling, with scattered boulders of granite. A little work was necessary to put aside some of them, and we proceeded easily. Four miles further, over a rolling country, brought us to our camp, on a side hill and near a spring running into the southern fork.

On the other side of this south fork, and directly opposite our camp, the mountain was thickly covered with straight young pines, affording lodge poles to various bands of Indians who resort to this point to supply themselves. From this circumstance the creek derives its name. Our route today lay for the most part along an Indian trail, information of which was obtained from Eagle Head, an Arapahoe.

Sunday, August 3.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 4.—Leaving camp about 9 o'clock, in about a mile and a half we reached the summit of the Black hills, the dividing ridge between the waters of Pole creek and Laramie river. The ascent was difficult to this point, but there was no necessity to double teams, the road having been somewhat prepared before leaving camp. Near the summit is a fine spring, which is considered the head spring of this branch of the creek. The descent from this point was easy and gradual, and about 1 o'clock we found ourselves on the right bank of the east fork of Laramie river; the last five miles being across the rolling prairie of Laramie plains. The country is poor and sandy; sandstones appearing in abundance in our descent. The Laramie river at this point very much resembles the Platte, affords good water and grass, but no wood. Our fuel was brought

in wagons from the hills which we had just left, and which furnish a great deal. These hills appear to have been once covered with trees, but they have been torn up by the winds, the thin, rocky soil not furnishing sufficient hold for their roots.

Laramie river has a quicksand bottom; but we found a fine, hard ford, the water reaching only to the axletrees of the wagons.

Tuesday, August 5.—Our route for today was across the plains from the east to the west fork of Laramie, a distance of fifteen miles. Camped on the right bank of the west fork, a beautiful mountain stream, flowing from the Medicine-Bon mountains; on our left over a fine, hard bed of gravel and pebbles. The water is clear and of an icy coldness.

Wednesday, August 6.—Today crossed the west fork without difficulty, and in about a mile struck into the emigrant road along the foot of the Medicine-Bon. This road we suppose to coincide with the train followed by Captain Stansbury. The road today is very good, having occasional ascents and descents, and over a fine, hard gravel; it is, however, very destructive to the feet of our animals, many of them losing their shoes, and becoming tender footed in consequence. Trains travelling through this country should be well provided with those indispensable article, horse and mule shoes, and shoe nails, as many are worn out and lost. A forge would be necessary for a large train. Camped after a march of fourteen miles on a small creek of good water. This we called Cooper's creek; it runs into a large lake some ten miles off in the Laramie plains. Several large lakes were passed today lying to our right; they are visible from the hills near the camp.

Thursday, August 7, 1856.—The train moved on today over the beaten track of the emigrant route, and, crossing a number of small creeks, on which it could not encamp on account of the lack of grass for animals, passed on to the west fork of Medicine-Bon creek. The road was generally very good, being very much like that of yesterday. In some places the ground was covered with loose stones, which it is only necessary to remove to insure a good road. In other places there are several long ascents and descents; but these cannot be avoided, as they are caused by spurs from the hills which run for a long distance into the plain, and must be crossed almost at right angles. To cut through them, for the sake of a more level road, would cost immensely, especially in the present unsettled state of the country, as a party and its means would have to be transported so far. The hills to the left of our route are covered with pines; they are from six inches to eighteen and twenty-four in diameter, and, were they more accessible, would furnish inexhaustible supplies of fuel and timber. In many places this timber can be reached without much difficulty. The

head valley of the west fork of Laramie river is one of these places, and would make an excellent site for a military post and settlement, as there is abundant grass for grazing and hay for winter use, excellent water, and timber for building and fuel. The train arrived at camp at 6 o'clock, having had a long and fatiguing march. From the rough, hard soil, and many loose stones, many of our animals lost their shoes and became lame. We found it necessary to remain in camp next day to put on fresh shoes and make repairs.

Friday, August 8, 1856.—Remained in camp on the Medicine-Bon (west branch). The bottom of this creek is broad and stony; soil sterile, and grass very poor, thin and scanty, especially at this season. Fuel is abundant. This fork of the Medicine-Bon creek is said to be famous as a trapping ground for beaver. The Medicine-Bon butte, and the interval between it and the main Medicine-Bon range, is a noted region, in which the different bands of Indians—Sioux, Snakes, Utahs, Arapahoes and Cheyennes—settle their difficulties. From the frequency with which war parties of these different tribes are met, it behooves any party of whites passing through the country to be well on their guard.

Saturday, August 9, 1856.—Marched eight miles to find camp at the head of Pass creek, and under the Medicine-Bon butte, and to the south of it. There is good water here from the creek, and a fine body of good grass, which proves very acceptable after the short rations at West Medicine-Bon creek. The fuel is at some distance on the hills; we were obliged to bring it in our wagons. The creek, I suppose, takes its name from the locality of its head, being in a pass between the Medicine-Bon butte and the main Medicine-Bon ridge. We experienced here very cold weather for the season; ice forming in our tents at night. Today was again mostly taken up in shoeing animals which had loose shoes, and had become lame from the effects thereof.

Sunday, August 10, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 11, 1856.—Crossing the creek, we followed an Indian trail leading down the right bank, until the hills came so close to the creek that we were obliged to take to the road again. This we had avoided as much as possible today, as it led over a succession of ascents and descents. Even after we entered the road again we were obliged, for about three miles, to make our way almost at right angles across the spurs coming down from the Medicine-Bon butte on our right. In some places the road ran over side hills so steep that it was necessary to hold up the wagons with ropes. Two wagons overturned in making the passage. This three or four miles through the canon of Pass creek would require a good deal of work, a week's work for a company. The road should follow the creek

more closely than the present one does, and when the hills come too close it might take the immediate valley crossing, and recrossing the creek as became necessary, and without difficulty, as there is a fine pebbly bottom. After leaving the canon the present road keeps the left, or south bank of the creek. It might be changed to the north bank for some distance from the canon, and be improved. After leaving the canon the road is generally very good, being through a sage prairie, and over a hard, gravelly soil. We passed an emigrant's grave (Pickens'), at a good camping place, where the road touches the creek; kept on, making eleven miles to good grass and water and plenty of fuel. Sunday was spent making a reconnaissance of a pack trail, which it was supposed would furnish a better route than the road. This, however, proved not to be the case, as the country was more broken, and would have required more work than through the canon of Pass creek.

Tuesday, August 12, 1856.—Eleven miles of travel this morning through sage bushes, and over a hard, gravelly soil, brought us to the North Platte, a beautiful mountain stream, flowing over large stones, pebbles, and gravel. The bottom of this stream is several hundred yards wide from the bluffs on one side to those on the other. The bluffs on the west, or left bank, at this point are not high, and are of earth; those on the right bank are several hundred feet in height, and composed of layers of stone, and very steep. They enclose the river for miles, and render access to it, except at certain points, impossible for wheeled vehicles. The country for several miles back has been rolling, or rather in plateaus, one below another, as we approach the river. Over these wastes no vegetation is to be seen except the sage plant. The river bottom, in which we encamped, is wide and level, and furnishes tolerable grass for our animals. Fuel is abundant from the cotton-wood trees, which abound at this point. On the western bank there are several unfinished houses. These were put up for trading houses, but subsequently abandoned, as being too much exposed to the assaults of hostile Indians.

Wednesday, August 13, 1856.—Leaving the North Platte, and following the beaten road (Evans'), for about twelve miles, we came to a narrow stream running between steep banks, which we supposed to be Sage creek. The country over which we passed is a good deal broken and water washed, and miserably poor and desolate. It is almost entirely destitute of vegetation except the sage plant, and an occasional tuft of grass, the intervals between these being quite bare, or covered with fragments of broken stone and gravel. The surface is much cut up by gulleys and ravines, and sudden descents from one plateau to another, which caused the road to wind a great deal. A sufficient amount of cutting to make a straight road

would involve a great deal of expense in such a desolate country, so far from supplies of all kinds, and especially of forage. A few miles from the creek we left the road, and turned more to the left, towards the mountains, for the sake of grass for our animals, of which there was not a particle to be found on the creek, or anywhere else on the more level portion of the country. After crossing the creek the surface of the country is more level and favorable for a road, still of the same clayey nature, however, and covered thickly with sage plant, which proves a great impediment to our animals and marching men. Some miles beyond the first creek we cross a small gully, with yellowish water standing in holes; still not a particle of grass to be seen. Finding no grass, we made towards the mountains, which we reached about sunset, after a most fatiguing and wearying march of twenty-four miles over a loose soil and unbroken sage plants. The soil is very light, and soon gave plenty of dust, sinking under foot like snow, and fatiguing the marching men. The mountain under which we encamped has its sides covered with aspen trees, and is supposed to be the Aspen mountains, mentioned by Captain Stansbury in his report on this part of the country. At its foot there is a beautiful stream of clear water, with a little grass on its banks. This stream is one of the heads of Sage creek, crossing the more level country to the main stream. Other small streams break from the sides of the hills, and on their heads we found sufficient grass for our almost starved animals.

Thursday, August 14, 1856.—The trains remained in camp today to rest the animals, to give an opportunity to make a reconnaissance of the country ahead. As none of the guides had ever been through "Bridger's Pass," though they had been long in the mountains and in that part of the country, and as the appearance of the country did not tally with Captain Stansbury's description of that about the Pass, we supposed that we had not struck the exact locality. The result of our examinations made us still more strongly of opinion that we were at a different point from that described as Bridger's Pass, but we could not be far off, and provided we could get through a practicable pass over to the western slope, it was not of much consequence as to the exact spot. I wished to go to the exact spot of course but there was not one of all the guides and mountain men who had ever heard of such a place. The Pass, as laid down on the map, appeared between the head of Sage creek, flowing eastwardly into the Platte, and Muddy creek, flowing westwardly into some of the branches of Green river. If an easy route could be found from Sage creek to Muddy creek, it would answer all purposes. Accordingly, a party left camp, and climbing to the top of the hill before us, we found an open, smooth plateau, inclining gently to the west, and

answering the description given by Captain Stansbury of the country over which he travelled after leaving Muddy creek. Following the edge of this plateau in a westwardly direction, we found a valley on our right of two or three miles in width, having an appearance as if the high table land had been cut through from one side to the other. From the edge of the plateau the head prongs of Sage creek could be seen running eastwardly, and those of Muddy creek to the west, interlocking so closely that, at some distance, it was difficult to distinguish the channels of the two creeks. Thinking that through this valley lay the proper location of the road, we descended from the plateau and followed down the valley of Muddy creek for some distance, making sure that its waters flowed westwardly. On our return the valley was examined as to its practicability for passage by our wagons. The result of the examinations corresponded with our expectations, and it was determined to bring the train through on this route.

Friday, August 15, 1856.—Left camp at six o'clock this morning, and after eight hours' marching and cutting on the banks of a few gulleys and small streams, found ourselves in camp on Muddy creek. The surface of the ground was very favorable, but the thick growth of sage was very much in our way, obstructing the passage of the wagons, and fatiguing men and animals very much. This, however, forms no permanent obstacle, as the passage of a few trains would soon break down the sage and cause it to disappear. In about seven miles we attained the highest point of this valley. There is an ascent to this point, both from the east and from the west, by keeping along the valleys of the small streams which run into Sage and Muddy creeks. The water in Muddy creek was running slowly; some trout were taken in the pools of Muddy creek. The only grass in this part of the country lies along the small streams, where they issue from the hills. We found it necessary to herd our animals on those spots, in succession, no one place having sufficient for the whole of them. On this account, a large train could scarcely travel through this country, much less remain any time in it. If it did, it would be necessary to transport forage for its animals. The sage plant furnishes quantities of fuel, and of a good kind for camp purposes, being dry and easily kindled. Opposite to the summit there is a green place in the hills on the north, indicating a spring. Here grass enough may be found for a small train for several days, and also in the dry hollow running into one of the heads of Sage creek. The soil is of clay, the surface to the south much cut up by water. Spurs from the hills on the south run nearly across the valley in some places, in others ridges run nearly parallel to the general course of the valley. These caused the road at some points to wind a good deal.

Distance travelled today, twelve and three-quarter miles.

Having thus completed the reconnaissance to Bridger's Pass, or to the nearest practicable point to it so far as we could ascertain, gone through the Pass and encamped on the western slope on waters running into the Pacific streams, it only remained to find out on our return if there was any route preferable to that by which we had come. We were forced to commence our return forthwith by fear of starvation for our animals, so little subsistence of any kind does this region afford.

Saturday, August 16, 1856.—Today retraced our steps of yesterday for about eight miles to a beautiful little valley, and camped in front of a growth of pines, where we found good grass, wood and water.

Sunday, August 17, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 18, 1856.—After a march of three miles came opposite the camp of August 13 and 14. Here we turned to our left (north), instead of following the outward route. This change gave us an excellent road, much smoother than the route before followed, and nearer to the creek. This route inward has a few places where the banks have to be cut down, but it is generally much smoother, and better ground for traveling. There is less of the sage plant to be encountered, also. The camp was pitched on an island, in the North Platte, where there was plenty of good grass, water and fuel. Here it was deemed advisable to remain for a few days to rest our animals and burn coal for forge. The point where we are now encamped is some five miles below where we crossed the river on our outward route. The country is a scene of utter desolation as far as the eye can reach. High bluffs, deep ravines and a most sterile soil are the characteristics of the scene. The bluffs are composed mostly of clay, with layers of sandstones, and are formed by the action of water washing out the deep intervening ravines. The river near the camp is still enclosed by the same precipitous walls of rock, which permit ingress and egress only at certain points. As we had determined to examine the north side of Medicine-Bon butte, to avoid, if possible, the canon of Pass creek on the south side, this crossing of the river is very favorable for our purpose. Captain Stansbury had already reported that a practicable route existed to the north of the butte, but, as it had never been attempted with wagons, we hesitated somewhat to make the trial with so many teams. An examination in advance, however, showed where there was a practicable route, and it was determined to follow it.

August 19, 20, 21.—Remained in camp on the Platte.

Friday, August 22, 1856.—After a very circuitous route through the bluffs, and some work for the pioneers, we got on the level plateaux which hold on to the foot of the mountain. This gave a very level, straight road to Pass creek, where

we encamped. At one point the inward and outward routes came close to each other; the former, though, is over much better ground. The bottom of Pass creek, where we encamped, is wide, and affords abundance of nutritious grass. The water, too, is clear and of excellent flavor. Fuel, however, is scarce, most of what we used being buffalo chips and drift-wood. Wood is more abundant higher up the stream.

Saturday, August 23, 1856.—Left our camp on Pass creek at 6¼ a. m., and marching on our course came, in a couple of miles, to the spurs running down from the Medicine-Bon butte. The ascent to the first of these hills was very gentle; most of them were so. About four miles from camp there was one very difficult to ascend, and which obliged us to double teams. This was the only real obstruction on the route. The other obstacles were only such as were caused by small drains of ten or fifteen inches in depth, and the dense growth of sage plants. About eight miles brought us to a small creek, which we think is the Rattlesnake creek of Captain Stansbury. Here a few minutes' work was necessary; then following along the valley we turned up the valley of one of its affluents, and followed it to its divide from Elk creek. Descending on the eastern side of this divide we found ourselves in the broad grassy bottom of a small creek running from the Medicine-Bon butte. It sinks in a marshy plain about a mile below our camp. Elk abounded in this vicinity, from which circumstance the creek gets its name. The grass on this creek, as on Pass creek, was good and abundant. Wood is in plenty, and the water excellent.

Sunday, August 24, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, August 25, 1856.—March this morning seven and a quarter miles, to the west branch of Medicine-Bon creek. We passed several small creeks during the march, which appeared to sink in the prairie at the distance of a mile or two from our crossing. They furnished abundance of wood, water, and grass of the best quality. There were several ponds to our left (north), which appeared much frequented by ducks and geese. After crossing the west fork of Medicine-Bon, we turned to the left down the creek, and found a camp ground where the grass was luxuriant. The crossing was of the same character as that above, the bottom of the creek being covered with large rounded stones. At this crossing there are several channels, most of which are dry. The valley here is narrow, and shut in by high bluffs.

Tuesday, August 26, 1856.—Left camp this morning at six o'clock, and ascending from the narrow, deep valley of the west fork, we emerged upon an open plain, and, keeping our course, reached in about eight miles, a small running stream at the foot of some bluffs. Bridging this with little difficulty, we were obliged to clear away some loose stones, and then

ascended the bluffs without trouble. Country then became rolling, and easily passed to Birch creek, where the ascent from the bed of the creek was difficult an account of loose stones and boulders. These were cleared away, and, after ascending, we kept on the course for a few miles, and, on the top of a ridge, came in sight of the outward road near Aspen creek. Bearing towards it, we came into the road, and camped on the creek at one o'clock. Where the new road comes into the old one, a pile of stones was made and a flag-staff put in. This will mark the point of divergence by the two routes of the north and south sides of the Medicine-Bon butte. From the camp on Muddy creek to this camp the return route is shorter by three and a half miles, and is, besides, much better provided with wood, water, and grass, and a better surface to travel over. The grass at this camp is thin and much parched.

August 27 and 28.—Followed the emigrant road by which we went out; camped on the 28th on the west fork of Laramie, about a mile above where we camped on our outward route. No fuel, except a little scattered drift-wood. Higher up the stream there is wood, and in the mountain from which this stream flows there is plenty of pine timber. The bottom of the west fork is very extensive, and much cut up by small streams. The soil is clayey, and lying low, is very liable to overflow in wet weather, and to make travelling over it difficult. Grass, wood, and water are found in abundance at the head of this stream, and would furnish a post plentifully.

Friday, August 29, 1856.—Followed the emigrant road today, which is excellent, being over smooth, hard, gravelly soil, and very straight. Arrived in camp on East Laramie at 12 m., where we found excellent grass and water, and some fuel furnished by cotton-wood trees, of which there are a few scattered along the river. This stream furnished fish, of which the men caught a large supply.

Saturday, August 30, 1856.—Marched today over an excellent road to camp on a ridge lying between the head of two branches of the east fork of Laramie. The road crosses the branch on which we are encamped some distance below camp, making quite a bend to the south. This bend could be avoided by crossing the creek higher up, and obtaining just as good a location, though at the expense of cutting. Our camp is abundantly and excellently supplied with wood, water, and grass; wood is mostly of willow and aspen.

Sunday, August 31, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, September 1, 1856.—Left camp at the usual hour; the road, considering the nature of the country, is a very good one. It is circuitous, crosses many small streams, affluents of Cache la Poudre, and has some hills, where the pulling is somewhat difficult. But for a mountainous, broken country, it is

very good, though there are several places where it might be improved, either by working it or by a change of location for a few rods. The rocks are granitic, and the soil partakes of the same character, and forms a fine hard road bed. The country today has not been equalled in its broken character, except by the Pole Creek pass, through the Black hills. Even there, I think, the scenery is inferior to this. Made our camp on a small branch of the Cache la Poudre. Wood is scarce immediately at the camp, but plentiful at a short distance; water clear and good; grass thin and a good deal parched and dry.

Tuesday, September 2, 1856.—Crossing easily the creek on which we were encamped, and ascending a hill which offered little obstruction, we kept on over a very good road for some six or seven miles, to a creek on which were encamped a band of Arapahoes, under Little Owl, one of their chiefs. At the crossings of the small drains the road was encumbered with loose stones, which should be removed for a good road. This is caused partly by the breaking away of the earth and partly by stones and gravel brought down from the hills by heavy rains. These would always render these crossings rough and filled with stones. Bridges would obviate the difficulty, but there is not water enough, nor are these places sufficiently difficult of passage to warrant such an expense. A little beyond the Arapahoe camp the road wound through a narrow gorge and up a hill covered with loose stones, causing very severe labor to our animals for a short time. There was no avoiding this place, as a deep canon of great extent prevented us from turning it. A little labor would make a good road up the hill. The rest of the route for this day was good to another branch of Cache la Poudre, where we found wood and water good and abundant. The grass, however, is thin and dry. This is a favorite camping place for emigrants from Arkansas and Texas.

Wednesday, September 3, 1856.—Our road today ran through a valley all the way, bounded on both sides by rough hills. It is somewhat winding, frequently crossed by small drains, which are rough from being water-washed and the loose stones left on the surface of the ground. These only require to be removed to make an excellent road. The banks of the drains require to be smoothed somewhat, but every heavy rain would wash them again and make them rough. Most of these drains flow from our right to the left into a large, dry, hollow, which crosses the road and empties into the creek. The creek itself, which is the main stream of Cache la Poudre, comes from the hills on our right. At ten o'clock we camped on it, at a point well provided with wood and grass. The bottom here is very extensive, and would furnish many tons of hay. Timber could also be obtained from the adjacent hills. This point possesses many of the requisites for a good military site, when-

ever it shall be deemed requisite to station troops in this part of the country.

Thursday, September 4, 1856.—Left camp at six o'clock, and in the course of a mile the road led through a narrow, steep defile. We found some difficulty in getting through our wagons from the steep ascent, but, as the cutting here would not be difficult, it would not take long to make an easy grade for wagons. From this defile we emerged into an open prairie country, and, turning the hill on our right, came again to Cache la Poudre, which we crossed, the bottom being here, as elsewhere, covered with loose round stones, making the crossing laborious and difficult. Thence our route lay through the valley of the creek for twelve miles, and on its right bank. Crossing again, we camped on the left bank, after a march of fifteen miles, and having good grass, wood and water in abundance. The right was preferred, as we obtained on that bank a smoother and straighter road, avoiding crossing Box Elder creek, which comes into Cache la Poudre from the east, and was reported to be deep and miry. The bottoms of Cache la Poudre are wide and beautiful, and the soil good.

Friday, September 5, 1856.—Today continued on our way down the left bank of Cache la Poudre, which furnished us a smooth, hard road. The soil today was poor, producing little vegetation, and consisted mostly of reddish sand and gravel. Occasionally the surface was thickly covered with dwarf prickly pears, making the marching difficult and painful for our men and animals. Banks of the creek today have been steep and high, in places resembling bluffs. Camped on the creek about three miles from the South Platte, of which it is a tributary. Grass and fuel abundant.

Saturday, September 6, 1856.—Marched today over a very smooth prairie, bordering on Cache la Poudre and the South Platte, to our camp on the river at the mouth of Crow creek, where we had an abundance of the requisites—wood, water, and grass.

Sunday, September 7, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, September 8, 1856.—Remained in camp. The party which had been sent to explore Crow creek not having come in the night before, it arrived in good health and condition today at 11 o'clock.

Tuesday, September 9, 1856.—Left camp at six o'clock, and, crossing the dry bed of Crow creek, directly afterwards crossed the South Platte. Crow creek is dry for about twelve miles from its mouth. At this point is a spring, and above water is to be met with in holes. At the forks there is a little timber. On the east side of the mouth of Crow creek there are the remains of some adobe trading houses. The Platte crossing is at this time a very good ford, and we passed over with-

out any difficulty. These fords of the Platte, however, are very variable, being liable to be injured by the flood in the spring, and in some instances to be entirely destroyed, so that where fords have been quicksand bottom is found in place of them. Our road down the Platte today was mostly good and smooth, the greatest difficulty arising from the extensive beds of prickly pear during the first part of the march, and afterwards from the sandy nature of the soil. The route lay over an Indian trail for the greater part of the distance, and has been used at times by the wagons of Indian traders.

Wednesday, September 10, 1856.—Left camp at the usual hour, and marching along the Platte over a very rolling country composed of loose sand, made $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles to camp, having during the day crossed the wide sandy bed of Kiowah creek. The banks are high, and the road winds along the sandy slope to find a crossing. The creek is dry at this point, but about twenty-five miles above it is a beautiful running stream, with timbered banks and wide, grassy bottoms.

Thursday, September 11, 1856.—Continued our march today over an excellent road to Bijou creek, a distance of eleven miles. The surface of the ground was undulating, and the soil of sand, which was the only drawback; but this was not so loose or deep as yesterday, but afforded a fine hard road bed. We confined ourselves to the lodge trail, as it was generally straight and lay in our course. In fact, it would have been dangerous to deviate from it, as large tracts on either side are densely covered with prickly pear, which would have proved very injurious to our mules. Bijou creek is here a small stream, with a wide sandy bed; the water is slightly brackish. As with Kiowah creek, it is a fine stream nearer to its head than where we crossed it, though even there it is better than Kiowah creek.

Friday, September 12, 1856.—Still kept the trail today along the river, and at the end of $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles camped on the river just above the mouth of Beaver creek. Our road for today was remarkably fine, being over a wide open plain and a hard gravelly soil. At this camp there were several bodies of dead Indians suspended in trees and lodges.

Saturday, September 13, 1856.—Marched today, 14 miles, to the point where we intend to leave the river. The route still followed the Indian trail, and lay over a country smooth, and was covered with grass, and of a hard gravelly soil. There is now nothing like wood to be found on the river, except a few small willows. A tree is very rarely to be seen. Our course today was nearly northeast to our camp on the river. We leave the river at this point to cross over to the Republican fork of Kaw river, anticipating a dreary march over sand hills and clay ravines.

Sunday, September 14, 1856.—Remained in camp. The water here, in the river, is nowhere more than 18 inches. One of the men of the party, Frederick Borthaux, died here at 10½ a. m., and was buried at one o'clock, on a ridge to the rear of the camp.

Monday, September 15, 1856.—Leaving the river, we marched for two or three miles over a good road, then into a belt of sand hills. The sand here, no doubt, is easily moved by winds, except when covered and protected by grass. Passing this sandy range, we came to a flat sandy prairie, covered with dog holes and gopher hills. A short distance after passing the sand hills was a large pond, apparently of permanent water. On our arrival we found this pond covered with ducks. Five or six miles further over an alternation of sandy flats and slopes brought us to our camp, on the headwaters of a creek tributary of the Platte. It has a sand bottom, and is thoroughly dry, except at its head, where a small stream is running, and there is water in holes. Wagons are apt to bog on crossing the bed of this creek. However, there is no necessity for this, as the creek can be turned by its head. The grass at this camp is only tolerable, water good, and fuel, except buffalo chips, entirely wanting. The road today, though heavy, is much better than was expected, and, in fact, would do very well for trains crossing from the Republican to the Platte.

Tuesday, September 16, 1856.—Ascending from the valley of the creek up which we were encamped, we came upon a high rolling prairie, surface hard and smooth. For the first mile or two, the character of the country was wild, from the deep ravines and precipitous banks, caused by the action of the water. We passed on, however, without the slightest trouble or difficulty, and came to a gently undulating prairie, covered in many places with a luxuriant growth of buffalo grass. At several points the water was standing in holes; the grass in these places was green and good. Continuing our march over this pleasantly undulating surface, we came, at the end of about twelve miles, to a creek with bluff banks, in which water was standing in holes, on which we encamped. Dog towns were passed today. Near the camp was one of these towns, which was thickly inhabited. The water in one of the holes of the creek was brackish; the others, however, furnished very good drinking water, though it was too warm. This camp was well supplied with good grass; fuel, except buffalo chips, wholly wanting. The road travelled today is over a fine hard surface, and if water can always be had, which is somewhat doubtful, would make a very good route.

Wednesday, September 17, 1856.—Leaving the valley of the creek on which we were encamped, we presently found ourselves on a wide open prairie. About a mile and a half from

camp, and about four hundred yards to the left, there was a large pond of water, which appeared to be deep, and was covered with ducks when we passed. From this point the country presented almost a dead level, so slight were the undulations. The ground was fine, hard, and level, and composed mostly of fine sand covered thickly with weeds. Grass was very scarce. At fourteen miles from camp, we arrived at a hollow where there was a little water, but not enough to camp on. Continuing our march, we came, at the end of twenty-two or three miles, to the foot of a range of sand hills, which rise between us and Rock creek; passing these, which were covered several miles across, we descended into the valley of a branch of Rock creek. This was a dry hollow, destitute of wood, grass, and water. Good grass was thinly scattered over the sand hills; but as there was no water, and the sand was too loose to hold picket pins, we did not dare to encamp here. Continuing our march four or five miles further, we arrived at another hollow, also belonging to Rock creek, where there was water on springy ground covered with rushes and tolerable marsh grass. Here we encamped at 8 p. m., after a march of thirty-five miles. The range of sand hills is composed of loose sand, which, but for the grass, would be easily moved by the winds. The travel through these hills is very fatiguing to our draught animals.

Thursday, September 18, 1856.—Remained in camp to recruit our animals after the fatigue of the long march of yesterday.

Friday, September 19, 1856.—A march of eight miles this morning brought us to the crossing of the main Rock creek. Here it is a beautiful stream, flowing over a sandy bed, about eight or ten inches deep, and six or eight feet wide. It comes in from behind a ridge on our right. This ridge forms the divide between Rock creek and the tributary on which we were encamped yesterday. Today our route is over a barren sandy soil, slightly covered with cactus and weeds of different kinds. The ground was fine and rolling, making us a good road. Rock creek runs under rocky bluffs composed of material similar to that making the bluffs on Pole creek. It is very fine sand mixed with lime and limestones, and, in other instances, mostly made up of gravel from granite rocks; color, a yellowish white. Crossing the creek without difficulty, we kept down its right bank for about a mile, and then crossing a small spring branch coming from the bluff, we made our camp on the bank of the main stream. The bottom of this stream is well supplied with excellent grass. Fuel very scarce indeed; mostly buffalo chips.

Saturday, September 20, 1856.—Today marched down the creek for seven miles, when, meeting quite a large party of Cheyenne Indians, and the sky threatening rain or snow, we

turned into the creek and made our camp. Our way lay along the creek bottom under the bluffs, and was mostly a good road for wagons, as it was over a large lodge trail. A little cutting was requisite here and there, but not much. The bluffs in one or two places came close to the creek, which is very tortuous in its course. Once or twice we thought of taking the high prairie, but, on inspecting the surface, it was found to be so cut up with deep ravines as to deter us. The Cheyennes whom we met were at first disposed to proceed to hostilities; some of them, in fact, had formed part of the band which was attacked by Captain Stuart a short time before. On discovering the strength of the party, however, and that it was prepared to receive them, they concluded to be friends. They were not allowed to enter the camp, the commander of the escort, Major Armistead, stationing sentinels to prevent them. At half past ten o'clock a cold steady rain set in, which lasted nearly 48 hours, making our situation extremely disagreeable, as there was no fuel but buffalo chips, which cannot be used during wet weather. The bluffs on this creek, so far, are almost entirely confined to the right bank of the creek, only rolling hills appearing on the other side, of various degrees of steepness. Stone in these bluffs is composed of fine sand, lime, and coarse gravel, and is very friable.

Sunday, September 21, 1856.—Remained in camp.

Monday, September 22.—Still keeping the right bank, we found an excellent smooth road all along the bottom. At the end of about nine miles we arrived at the junction of Rock creek with the Arickaree fork of the Republican. Made our camp about a mile below the junction of the two streams, having crossed Rock creek and found a convenient place on the left bank of the stream, resulting from the junction of these two. Road today very good and smooth. A few miles from camp this morning the rock bluffs ceased on our right, and undulating hills appeared on both sides of the creek. The grass on Rock creek is abundant. The stream widens to quite a river, much resembling the Platte both in its bed and in its bottom. No fuel to be found, except a little drift-wood, which we secured at the mouth of Rock creek; soil sandy. After crossing Rock creek, and for some time before, the hills on the left bank became high and more abrupt and precipitous. They were entirely of sand, with a thin covering of grass.

Tuesday, September 23, 1856.—Left camp this morning in a very heavy fog, and crossed the river (the Arickaree fork) within half a mile. The bottom was soft from recent rains, but nevertheless easily passable. Route today lay along the bottom of the Arickaree fork, which afforded excellent ground to travel over. Occasionally our progress would be retarded by one of those deep ravines, with almost vertical banks, which

are so common in this country. It was necessary to expend two or three hours of labor in cutting and grading the banks at each of these places. These ravines could not be avoided by crossing the river, as it is at this place, and in fact throughout nearly its whole extent, of a quicksand bottom. Even individuals found it difficult to get single animals across without bogging in it. On the left bank of the river rough looking sand hills come close down to the water's edge. They are also to our right, on the right bank of the stream, and would no doubt be very difficult to pass over. The secondary bottom of the stream affords a much better locality for a road. There are traces here and there of wagons, probably those of traders with the Indians who spend the summer on the Republican. The soil passed over today seems to be of sand, and at intervals the water cuts ravines with precipitous banks, which always require more or less labor before trains can pass.

Wednesday, September 24, 1856.—Today we had a very easy march for twelve miles along the bottom of the Arickaree fork. The route lay mostly over very smooth, level ground, avoiding the sand hills to our right. This bottom was, in places, very soft from recent rains, but in dry weather is easily passable. The hills are not to be thought of for a road, as on both sides of the river they are rugged and irregular, and composed almost entirely of loose sand. Arrived at 11 o'clock at the Republican fork, which we crossed without difficulty, although we had feared it would prove miry and full of quicksands. Today the first clump of timber was seen which has appeared since we left the Platte; it was on the Republican fork, and to the right of our crossing. Camped at the crossing of the Republican.

Thursday, September 25, 1856.—Continuing over a range of barren sand hills, we found ourselves, at the end of half a mile, in the bottom of the Republican, which gave us an excellent travelling ground; here and there, as usual, it was necessary to grade the bank of a ravine before crossing, but nothing more serious impeded us. Timber appeared in clumps today, both on the right and left bank of the river; these were always in hollows. At 11 o'clock a creek was crossed, which had a good deal of drift-wood scattered on its banks, indicating a supply of timber near its head; indeed, a quantity could be seen from the point where we crossed it. It is called by the Indians Big Timber creek. A few miles further we crossed a spur of the sand hills, and, entering a wide, grassy bottom, camped near a grove of cotton woods, which furnished an abundance of dry fuel.

The sand bluffs just below this camp came close into the river, and nearly 100 feet in height. The whole country on both sides of the river appears to be confused and broken masses

of sand hills, composed of pure sand of various degrees of coarseness, and seemingly only retained in place by its covering of grass; even this is wanting in some spots, and the pure white sand appears. Being loose, it is excessively annoying to travellers when the wind blows, being then raised in clouds. The river bottom, as far as we can judge from what we have seen, offers the only location for a road. Today we have again reached the region of game, buffalo and antelope having been killed. As we descend the river the country seems to lose something of the desolate character which has marked it since we left the Platte.

Friday, September 26, 1856.—Continuing our march through the grove of cotton-woods, at the end of half a mile, we mounted a ridge, which ran parallel to the bluffs, and thus passed the bend of the river without difficulty. This bend we feared would force us to cross the river—an operation of some danger and difficulty, as the quicksands are numerous. Having passed the bend, we marched for one or two miles through rough sand hills, which fatigued and wearied our animals no little. Leaving the sand hills, the river bottom gave us a smooth, hard road. This bottom was well covered with grass, and had a gentle inclination to the river. On the stream and on the creeks coming in on the left bank there was plenty of cotton-wood timber. Here might be made a camp for several companies of cavalry for some weeks, as wood, grass, and water are all convenient, and this point is, moreover, the furthest west on the river where these three requisites are found. It is, too, in the very home of the Cheyennes, who claim this valley as their particular hunting ground, and threaten to prevent the whites from passing along the river. Buffaloes were seen in abundance today. Passing over more creeks, which again caused delay in preparing its banks, a few miles over a very level country brought us to our camp on the river, where we found plenty of good grass and fuel.

Saturday, September 27, 1856.—Today a march of thirteen and a half miles brought us to our camp; country smooth; occasionally a gully or ravine would delay us for a short time. The landscape improves visibly as we descend the river. More clay appears in the soil than previously. Several wooded gullies appear on the other side of the river. About three miles from camp a large creek with treeless banks appeared on the other side of the river. On examination it was found to contain more water than the Republican itself; this led us to suppose that this might be the Frenchman's fork, or Viho Mappy of the Indians. Camped at 12 o'clock above the mouth of a creek coming in on the north side of the river. Its banks were heavily timbered with elm, ash, hickory, &c.

Sunday, September 28, 1856.—Train remained today in camp. Examined today the large creek on the north side of the Republican, and found it larger and deeper than the Republican itself. No trees are near its mouth, but clumps of cotton-woods appear five or six miles further up. Several smaller streams came into it from above. At fifteen miles from its mouth are the forks. These, according to an Indian guide, rise about thirty-five miles from the Platte, at the mouth of Pole creek. An Indian trail runs along this stream, and from its head over to the Platte, touching in the interval at several water holes. The soil along the banks of this stream is sandy; few trees appear. Fuel consists mostly of buffalo chips.

Monday, September 29, 1856.—Still keeping the right bank of the Republican, we reached, at 11 o'clock, the creek (Beaver) with very deep cut and vertical banks, and well wooded. Several hours being necessary to prepare a crossing, we camped on the river, near the mouth of this creek. Near the mouth the banks were soft and water deep; at the crossing there was little or no water. About halfway of today's march, the Indian trail followed by us ran into the river. At this point the river was close in under the bluffs, not leaving room for a wagon road at the bottom, thus forcing us to cross the stream or to pass over the hills. We took the latter alternative, after examining the river and finding the bottom too soft and miry to trust to. Some cutting was necessary in one or two places, and the route over the hills and heading deep hollows was circuitous, with several ascents and descents; but there was little of it. Passing this place, we struck on to the broad prairie, which continued to the creek, near which we encamped.

Tuesday, September 30, 1856.—Crossing the creek this morning, our way still lay on the right bank of the river, which affords us an excellent hard road. At 10 o'clock, having a creek with steep banks in front, the route inclined a little to the left, so as to cross lower down where the banks were not so high, and so, for a short time, left the secondary plateaux for the river bottom. Probably the detour may be avoided at the expense of some cutting. At 12 o'clock we reached a point where the river runs close under vertical bluffs; this forced us to cross the hills. The detour thus made was about four miles, and brought us to the river about two miles below where we left it. Our camp today was pitched in a small nook in the hills, where we were very much crowded. Grass very poor and scarce. The hills and rough ground now appear to keep close on the right bank of the river. Hitherto they have been confined mostly to the left bank, leaving excellent country for a road on the right bank.

Wednesday, October 1, 1856.—This morning we crossed the river immediately at the camp, and marched for six or

seven miles along the left bank to our camp on the bank of a creek. The river had here a hard, fine bottom, and we crossed without difficulty, the water at this time reaching only to the axle-trees of the wagons. We were compelled to cross at this point, as our Delaware guides report that the bluffs now mostly are on the right bank, and that the face of the country is generally rough. The bottoms, or smooth, level grounds, are now to be found on the left bank. The hills slope away gradually from the river. The creeks which we passed yesterday, and the one crossed today, are reported by the Delaware guides as long streams, well wooded, and with running water. They head within fifteen miles of the Platte, and a supply of wood and water for a route from the one to the other of these two streams. The creek called the Beaver creek by the Delawares, and which is supposed to be identical with the Prairie Dog creek of Colonel Fremont, is also a very long stream, taking its rise very near to the "Point of Rocks."

Thursday, October 2, 1856.—Made today ten miles down the left bank of the Republican, over an excellent country for a road. At eight miles from camp arrived at the banks of a large creek; water about three feet in depth and twenty feet in width. It is reported to be a very long stream, having plenty of timber on its banks. It rises very near to the Platte river. Today both sides of the Republican offer smooth country for a road. For the last four days our progress has been much retarded by the almost total absence of grass, a want which tells seriously on our animals. The soil is good and produces abundantly, but the number of buffaloes which have pastured here during the summer have left very little for the animals of travellers.

Friday, October 3, 1856.—Continued our way down the Republican; country same as yesterday; grass everywhere eaten off by buffaloes. The soil is good, and in many places thickly covered by large sunflower plants. Passed, about the middle of today's march, a deep creek, which cost about two hours' labor to prepare for crossing. It was called "Parsnip creek," from the quantities of that vegetable growing wild on its banks. Striking from this crossing into the river, we found a sandy soil and no grass; afterwards a good camp was found at a spring branch running into a creek where there was a sufficiency of grass for our train. The party examining the right bank of the river report a very rough country, which forced them to keep some distance from the stream—a very serious difficulty, as most of the subsistence for our animals lies on the river.

The character of the Republican continues the same as it has been described for the last three or four days up to the point where we left it to cross over to the Platte on our out-

ward route. It is, for the most part, a wide, level bottom, lying generally considerably higher than the river. It is intersected by many creeks, which are deeply cut and have very steep banks. These occur, sometimes, every mile or two; sometimes every three or four miles. The banks are generally well wooded with ash, elder, box elder &c. From their number and the steepness of their banks we were much retarded in our march. Almost all of them required an hour's labor to prepare their banks for crossing, and some of them two and three hours.

The bottoms of this river afford subsistence to immense herds of buffaloes and elks. The Cheyennes, Comanches and Kiowahs make it their favorite hunting ground, and on that account have repeatedly expressed their intention of preventing the making of any road along the river. I suppose it would, therefore, be necessary to overawe them by posts, in case a route was laid out along this valley, as they would stop trains and rob them, if they did no worse. Fortunately, the nature of the country is such that many favorable points for the location of posts may be found, and the fertility of the soil would very soon attract settlers, if they were once assured of protection. As compared with the valley of the Platte, this valley is much superior, either for the establishment of posts or settlements. The Platte valley furnishes no wood for fuel or for building, and no cultivable soil. The creeks which run into the Republican are numerous, and the banks of all of them are well timbered with hard woods. The bottom, also, at many points, is of great fertility.

On the 8th of October I left the main body of the train, taking with me a party for the reconnaissance of the Solomon's fork of the Kaw river and the country between it and the Republican. After my departure the reconnaissance and survey were carried on by Mr. John Lambert. Upon him, also, devolved the reconnaissance and survey of a route along Pawnee creek, from the Platte to the Black hills, and of one along Crow creek, from the Black hills to the Platte.

Report of the Reconnaissance of the Country Along Solomon's Fork, and of That Between Solomon's Fork and the Republican.

On the 8th of October I left the train with a party of men provided with pack-mules for the transportation of the provisions, &c. We crossed the river a little below our camp of the 8th. The water was about 18 inches deep, and bottom firm. We made, by estimate, $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles over a high rolling prairie; soil was generally good and covered with curly buffalo grass. At ten miles from the Republican crossed a large creek called by the Delawares Beaver creek; it was about three feet deep and twenty feet wide. The water resembled that of the Republican in color and taste; banks steep and of clay. Leaving this, we

kept on for 12 miles, over similar country, to Wolf's creek, where we camped; wood, grass and water convenient.

Thursday, October 9, 1856.—Travelling, this morning, over the same high rolling country, we came, in 8 or 12 miles, to the banks of a creek, a tributary of Solomon's fork. Crossing this creek, we followed the right bank, over a level bottom, for ten miles further. Crossing then, we made our camp at the end of 19½ miles of travel. The country passed over today is a good deal cut up by water; buffalo grass covers it. Limestone appears in several places cropping out, and, where the ground is cut, beds of shell and fragments of limestone are seen. The soil contains a good deal of clay, and in the hollows are seen strata of blue clay indurated.

Friday, October 10, 1856.—Remained today in camp, detained by a storm of wind and rain.

Saturday, October 11, 1856.—Left our camp today at 1 o'clock, and kept our way for about ten miles, to camp on the left bank of the creek whose course we had been following. The country is very favorable for a road, the only obstacles being occasionally a creek with precipitous banks. These are easily crossed, though, after a little labor. The country is still high prairies, covered with a short buffalo grass, which is eagerly eaten by our animals.

Sunday, October 12, 1856.—Our route today is still over the same kind of country, crossing many of the affluents of the creek which we are following. These affluents are all of the same character, the beds lying very deep, banks very steep, and now, from recent rains, very slippery to descend and ascend. The soil contains much clay. A good deal of labor must be expended at these crossings to make a good road for wagons; but these places are the only obstacles presented. Camped on Solomon's fork, about three miles below the mouth of the creek which we have followed during the day. Solomon's fork was for a long distance with high bluffs on its right bank; on the left, wide bottoms, covered with the red top grass, affording excellent pasturage to the immense herds of buffaloes which frequent this stream. The banks where we touched the river, beyond camping, are very high, almost vertical, and much worn by water.

Monday, October 13, 1856.—Detained in camp by rainy weather.

Tuesday, October 14, 1856.—Continued our way down the left bank of the river, keeping generally on the level, lying between what is called the river bottom and the hills. This gives an excellent location for a road, the only obstacles being the numerous creeks which are met with at distances from each other of from three to five miles. Camped at 3 o'clock, being well provided with excellent grass.

Wednesday, October 15, 1856.—Getting out of camp this morning, we left the hills behind us covered with buffaloes. Strata of fossiliferous limestone appeared on the crests of these hills. As we descend the river, the face of the country improves vastly; broad bottoms appear covered with a luxuriant growth; the soil is of a rich black mould, covered with a thick growth, in places, of large sunflower plants. Many creeks were passed today, whose banks were heavily timbered with oak, ash, elm, and other hard woods. Occasionally we distinguished creeks coming in on the other side of the river, though, from our distance from the river, no doubt many escaped our observation. The country today has been very beautiful and fertile, resembling much that lying about the Pottawatomie Mission in eastern Kansas. Buffaloes are so abundant that no notice is taken of them, except when it is necessary to kill one for a supply of fresh meat.

Thursday, October 16, 1856.—The country travelled today continues of the same character as yesterday, wide fertile bottoms intersected by deep lying creeks; the bottoms are covered with red grass, as yet not touched by buffaloes. The bluffs on this side of the river have sunk to mere swells, well covered with grass. On the other side they are precipitous and close to the river, rendering that side unfavorable for the location of a road. Several bands of antelopes appeared today, but they were not molested, as there was plenty of fresh meat in the camp. Camped today at 3 o'clock in a fine bottom, well protected from the wind and easy of access to the water.

Friday, October 17, 1856.—Travelling through the same kind of country as yesterday, and still along the left bank, we camped at 3 o'clock. Except at one point, where they come close to the river, the bluffs have sunk to mere swells in the prairie. On the other side they are still at times precipitous, and close to the river.

Saturday, October 18, 1856.—Keeping our course still down the river and over the same wide and well grassed bottoms, we arrived at one o'clock at the point of junction of this river with the Kaw, having first crossed the road made last year from Fort Riley to the Arkansas river, and thus terminated this reconnaissance. For some miles back the grass has appeared burnt up, and encampments must be sought close to the river's edge for the sake of the animals. The banks of the Solomon's fork are generally very high and precipitous, and it is only at certain points that encampments can be made conveniently, on account of the difficulty of watering the animals of a party. The left bank of the river presents many favorable circumstances for the making of a road and many inducements for settlements. The face of the country is favorable; soil fertile and hard; grass and water in abundance, and of good

quality. The only obstacles to the passage of wagons are the numerous deep cut creeks with precipitous banks. A pioneer party, however, for any train would very soon make them easily passable, as very little is needed beyond a little cutting and filling.

Having reached the road made last year, I proceeded between, as far as Kaw river, to examine and inspect the bridges built during the summer over the following streams: the Kaw river, Saline fork, Solomon's fork, Armistead's creek, and Sycamore creek. The party then returned to Fort Riley, where it arrived on the 24th of the month. The party left on the Republican not having arrived, I was obliged to wait till the 1st of November for their appearance. The next day we took up our line of march for Fort Leavenworth, where we arrived on the 7th of the month. The party was then discharged, except such as were needed for office work, and care of animals and property. The material belonging to the survey was carefully packed away in the quartermaster's storerooms, and the animals left to recruit for service during the ensuing summer.

In considering the several routes that might be followed from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass, I think, having in view the smallness of the appropriation now available for the road, that the route followed in the outward journey presents the greatest claim to be adopted. In its favor are to be mentioned the following facts: It is well supplied with running water throughout its whole extent—first the Republican, then the creeks between the Republican and the Platte; this section is over entirely new ground. From the point where the Platte is touched to the Laramie crossing, the road is already made, and it is an excellent hard road, well supplied with water and grass by the Platte. From the Laramie crossing to the head of Pole creek, the supply of good water is constant. The grass is generally short, as on all of the uplands, though there are spots occasionally met with where a more liberal supply than usual may be had. From the head of Pole creek over to the west fork of Laramie no obstacle of any sort is presented, and the streams furnish abundance of grass and water. From the west fork of Laramie river to Bridger's pass there is but one route to be followed; and, it has already been described, as I need not speak of it again here. The great objection to locating a road over the ground just described is the total want of fuel, by buffalo chips being all that can be expected from Fort Kearney to the Pine Bluffs, near the head of Pole creek, a distance of about 300 miles. The absence of timber and the inapplicability of the soil to purposes of agriculture, prevent the establishment of posts and the settlement of the country along the Platte. This absence of timber, and consequently of fuel and shelter, must always make the travelling along the Platte in

the winter hazardous and painful, especially as there are no posts or settlements whereat assistance might be obtained when needed.

The route along the Republican up to the head of Rock creek, and thence over to the South Platte and up Cache la Poudre creek to Laramie Plains, is, in many respects, more favorable than the one just spoken of. For more than 200 miles up the Republican, the soil is fertile, and there are numberless creeks, the banks of which, being wooded, furnish timber and fuel. No obstacle is presented to the passage of wagons, except by the steep banks of these river streams; settlements are already formed some distance out from Fort Riley, and these will rapidly extend, as the country becomes known, especially if protection should be extended to them by posts, or otherwise.

The portion of this route which lies along the South Platte is destitute of fuel, resembling much the route along the main Platte. The part lying along the Cache la Poudre and its branches passes over a country somewhat rough, but supplied with fuel and grass, and water, and convenient spots where parties could be sheltered from storms in the winter time. The strongest and only objection to this route is the desert sandy country that must be crossed in passing from the Republican to the Platte. This space is almost 60 miles in width, and may be said to be destitute of fuel, water, and grass, so little of any of these requisites is to be had. In passing over this track coming from the westward, we made two marches of twelve and thirteen miles for the first two days, camping at spots which could scarcely be said to be reliable for water for a road that should be travelled by large trains, and repeatedly during the same season. The third march was of thirty-five miles, to the head of a branch running into Rock creek. Several points were passed where there was a little water, but not enough for a large party, and what there was did not seem to be permanent. It is very possible that other and more extended reconnaissances over this tract of country may result in discovering other supplies of water, and a better route than that followed by my party. But with the information now in my possession, I could not recommend this one as the proper one for the location of a permanent road.

After leaving Fort Riley, information was obtained concerning the Republican and some of its larger branches, which were not previously known to exist, which makes it probable that other routes than the two spoken of above may be found from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass, which would possess advantages over those travelled during the last summer by us. It is thought that a very good and direct road might be had along the Republican as far as the mouth of the Viho Mappy,

or French fork; then following the French fork to its head, to cross the divide by an Indian trail, leading by water holes, to the Platte. But as this route has not as yet been reconnoitered, I cannot speak advisedly of its merits. The probability that the valley of Solomon's fork might furnish a good location for a road, joined to the fact that there was no information existing as to the character of the country through which this stream flowed, induced the reconnaissance of that region. In its soil, face of the country, and general advantages, it very much resembles the valley of the Republican. It is not more in a direct line between the two termini of the road than the Republican; and, after leaving the head of the stream, the route would be subject to the disadvantages which have been indicated as existing with regard to the route along the upper Republican and the French forks.

Barometrical observations were made throughout the expedition; they are now in process of computation. The approximate altitudes given by some of those computations for certain points are as follows:

Fort Riley	1,180 feet
Fort Kearney	2,250 feet
Mouth of Pole creek.....	3,750 feet
Black hills, near head of Pole creek.....	8,480 feet
Dividing ridge	8,680 feet
Crossing of North Platte.....	6,900 feet
Camps 45 and 47, on Sage creek.....	7,500 feet
Camp 46, Muddy creek.....	7,330 feet
Ridge north of the pass.....	8,400 feet
Camp 56, Black hills.....	8,180 feet
Mouth of Crow creek.....	4,800 feet
Camp 67, South Platte.....	4,200 feet
Plateau, between Platte and Republican.....	4,500 to 4,700 feet
Camp 72, Rock creek.....	3,340 feet
Pass in mountains.....	7,700 feet

It will be seen that the altitudes of the pass through the mountains is very much the same as that given by Colonel Fremont for the South pass. The altitudes for the South pass from Fremont, 7,400 feet. In passing over the Black hills, altitudes considerably greater are obtained.

During the ensuing summer I propose to go over the route from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass, and work such portions of it as may need improvement, and put up such temporary bridges as may be necessary, so far as the appropriation may extend. I am inclined to think that a route along the Republican river, as far as the mouth of French fork, and thence up to its head, and then over to the plateau, would be most direct; but as

before remarked, this country needs examination before anything can be positively stated as to its merits. Until last summer, the existence of the French Fork was known only to a few traders and trappers, and no mention has hitherto been made of several large streams emptying into the Republican on its north side. The whole of the western portion of Kansas is almost completely unknown, and should be examined as speedily as possible. The reconnaissance and survey of last summer made known a kind of country and numberless streams that were not supposed to exist. In my opinion, the residue of the appropriation for this road could not be better employed than in the reconnaissance of the large streams flowing into the Republican, the head waters of the Republican itself, and the large stream flowing into the Kaw river, called the Saline fork. All of that country is almost completely unknown, and, from my experience of last summer, I think it very probable that it is much better than it is generally supposed to be.

The exploration proposed would at least make known whatever resources might exist. The creeks, according to our Delaware guides and others, are large and better wooded than the main streams themselves. The road between Fort Riley and Bridgers' pass, as it now stands, is practicable in every part for wagons, as is shown by the fact that a train of 33 wagons was taken over it last summer. I would call the attention of the department to the fact, however, that the road leads through a pass in the mountains, and there suddenly stops. To make the work already done, and to be done, on the road to the east of the pass, available for any purpose, the road should be continued to some post or station where it might be connected with other roads. As it at present stands it leads only to the heart of the mountains. Many parts of this road lie over prairie, and require only use to become well marked; some points require working. The whole work would be best done by the passage of a large train, supplied with its own pioneers, and the track would be made indelible for some years at least. In the mountains some places are passed over that no amount of labor within the command of the appropriation would render good road, still they may be easily passed with ordinary care on the part of the teamsters. On those parts of this road which lie over prairies the trace would soon be obliterated by successive crops of grass and the fires which generally sweep over them at least once in the year. The track on such country can only be preserved by immediate use; if not used shortly after being made, a guide would be necessary for every train attempting to travel over the same ground.

Along with this report I have the honor to forward the report of Mr. Henry Engelmann geologist; also, the report of

Mr. John Lambert, on the topography of the country on Pawnee creek and Crow creek and its branches.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

FRANCIS T. BRYAN,
Lieut. Top. Engineers.

Colonel J. J. Abert,
Chief Corps Top. Engineers, U. S. A.

STOCK RAISING ON THE PLAINS, 1870-1871*

Report by Dr. Si'as Reed, First Surveyor General of Wyoming Territory.

Silas Reed, the first Surveyor General for the Territory of Wyoming, included in his 1871 annual report to the U. S. Commissioner of the General Land Office, some interesting remarks and statistics on the early day cattle and sheep industries in Wyoming. It is with a great deal of interest we are including the bulk of his report on cattle and sheep in this number of the Annals.—M. H. E.

So much has been written by Dr. Latham and other gentlemen of experience, in regard to the advantages and facilities for raising stock on these plains, and the remarkable fact, proven by many years of past experience, that it will subsist through the winter upon the summer-cured grasses as they stand on the ground without shelter or other care than for the herdsmen to guard them from separating and wandering off, that I need not recapitulate.

Below I give the list of stock, so far as I have been able to obtain reliable data, which has been pastured this season in the localities named, along the Union Pacific Railroad, between the waters of the North Platte and the Laramie plains. It has been introduced here within the last two or three years, and very largely within the present year. There is abundance of room for many times as much more:

*Congressional Document—42d Cong. 2d sess. H. Ex. Doc. 1, PP. 294-296, 296-298, 300-301. (Serial 1505).

Name of Owner	Residence	Where Herded	What Kind	No.-of Head
E. Creighton & Co.		Laramie Plains	Stock Cattle	15,000
E. Creighton & Co.		do	Calves	1,800
E. Creighton & Co.		do	Mares	1,000
Dr. Latham and Captain Coates	Laramie	do	Stock and Calves	4,000
L. Fillmore	do	do	Stock	300
L. Fillmore		do	Dairy Cows	100
Ora Haley		do		700
.....Bennett		Elk Mountain	Stock	400
.....Carmichael		Laramie Plains	American	300
Clarence King and N. R. Davis	California	Lone Tree Creek		500
Thomas & Hay	Cheyenne	do		150
J. W. Iliff	do	Crow Creek and Platte		12,000
D. & J. Snyder	do		Beef and Stock	5,000
M. V. Boughton	do	Horse Creek		600
J. H. Durbin & Bro.	do	do		600
F. Landan	do	Pole Creek		200
Tracy & Hutchinson	do	do		700
J. M. Carey & Bro.	do	Crow Creek		700
Nuckolls & Gallagher	do	Platte		3,000
Frank Ketchum	do		Milch Cows	150
W. D. Pennock	do		do	40
James A. Moore		Pole Creek		1,300
W. G. Bullock	Fort Laramie	Horse Creek		4,000
Ed. Creighton	Omaha	do		3,500
Texas Owner		do		1,500
Milner & Davis		do		200
.....Farrel		Laramie River		300
.....Tracy		Muddy Creek		500
.....Whitecomb		Box Elder	Beef Cattle	1,000
J. S. Maynard		Lone Tree		200
Generals Duncan, Perry, and Short		Horse Creek		2,400
Keith & Barton		North Platte		3,000
.....Brown		do	Yearling	1,300
Major Walker		do	Stock	500
Coe & Carter		do	do	9,000
E. Creighton		do	Beef Cattle	800
Taylor, Galylord & Co.		Cache la Poudre	Beef and Stock	5,000
D. C. Tracy	Pine Bluffs	Pine Bluffs	Stock	700
Ecoffey & Co.		Sabylle Creek	do	350
.....Powell		North Fork Laramie	do	1,500
Benjamin Mills		Chugwater	do	400
R. Whalen		do	do	250
John Phillips		do	do	250
.....Simpson		do	do	100
H. B. Kelley		do	do	750
John Hinton		do	do	125
W. G. Bullock		do	do	125
F. M. Phillips		do	do	2,100
Adolph Cuny		North Platte	do	1,000
Dickey & Sloan		Muddy Creek	American	80

The editor of the *Western World* has published in his New York paper the following observations in regard to stock and grazing on these plains, being the result of what he saw and learned while on a recent tour through here to California. In his estimate he includes the large herds in the neighborhood of the junction of the two Platte Rivers, and in the Humboldt Valley, and is therefore larger than the list of herds principally in Wyoming. I have introduced these remarks from the *Western World* in order that stock-growers in the States may see what impartial *non-residents* say of this great industrial interest on the late "American Desert":

"On a recent visit to the Pacific coast over the Union and Central Pacific Railroads, I took some pains to ascertain the amount of cattle now being pastured along those roads. I have more than once insisted that the belt of country on the Laramie Plains, and just east of the Rocky Mountains, and a portion of the Humboldt Valley adjacent to the Pacific road, embraced some of the finest grazing lands on the continent, and had heard a good deal recently about the large herds which have been driven from Texas and the Indian Nation during the past year, to be fattened on the nutritious grasses of the Platte River and Laramie Plains, preparatory to shipment over the railroad to the markets of the East. I knew that the business had become a large one, but had no idea of the extent to which it has attained—a business, be it remembered, which is but just commenced, as two years ago there was not a hoof in the whole country, except draught-cattle belonging to trains, and a few ranchero's cows, where today there are not less than 140,000 head of cattle, 5,000 horses, and over 75,000 sheep, on the Union Pacific west of Fort Kearney.

"On the Laramie Plains, and east of Laramie Mountain, Wyoming, are a great many small herds of from 100 to 500 beef and stock cattle, and large flocks of sheep, of which we were unable to learn the names of the owners, and which many good judges estimate would swell the figures far above the aggregate which I have just ventured to state. The greater portion of these cattle were driven hither from the southern part of Texas. It is estimated that more than 400,000 head have been driven out of Texas during the past year alone."

* * *

"There is no doubt in my mind that the tendency which has attained the above startling proportions in a single year is a permanent one, and will grow with every season. For a space fully seven hundred miles long and two hundred broad, along the base of the Rocky Mountains, there is one of the finest and cheapest grazing countries in the world. The valleys, bluffs, and low hills, are covered with a luxuriant growth of grama or 'bunch' grass, one of the most nutritious grasses that

grows. It grows from 6 to 12 inches high, and is always green near the roots, summer and winter. During the summer the dry atmosphere cures the standing grass as effectually as though cut and prepared for hay. The nutritive qualities of the grass remain uninjured, and stock thrive equally well on the dry feed. In the winter what snow falls is very dry, unlike that which falls in more humid climates. It may cover the grass to the depth of a few inches, but the cattle readily remove it, reaching the grass without trouble.

"Again, the snow does not stick to the sides of the cattle and melt there, chilling them through, but its dryness causes it to roll from their backs, leaving their hair dry. There is no stabling required; stock 'run out the year round,' and the cost of keeping is just what it will cost to employ herders—no more—and with the great Pacific road traversing it from east to west, it is always within a few days of the eastern markets. The advantages are great, and a new and vast industry is springing up."

Sheep and Wool

This is a subject of so much importance to the welfare of the people and Territory of Wyoming, that I have thought proper to invite attention to the wonderful adaptability of this region to the cheap and successful raising of sheep and wool. I therefore introduce the remarks of the Hon. J. W. Kingman, United States judge of this Territory, on the subject. His opportunities for observation on these points have been extensive, and after a residence of two and a half years in this region, he is so well convinced of the success which must follow the business of sheep and wool growing on these elevated plains, that he has now introduced a flock of 3,000 sheep upon his ranch near the head of Crow Creek, fifteen miles west of this city. The judge has favored me with the following account of his flock and the manner of treating it:

"Laramie City, Wyoming Territory, September 18, 1871.

"Dear Sir: Your favor of the 15th instant, asking for a statement of the facts in reference to our flock of sheep, is received, and it gives me pleasure to reply.

"The flock consists of 3,000 long-wooled sheep, selected with great care in Iowa last summer. We have avoided all merino blood, because we wish to cross up with the Cotswold as rapidly as possible.

"Our object is to see if this region will not produce a superior quality of combing wool, as well as a superior mutton. We are confident that the character of our climate and grazing is so peculiarly adapted to the nature and habits of sheep,

that we can carry the improvement of our flocks, in both these respects, to a degree of perfection never attained before.

“Indeed, the improvement in the health, appearance and condition of the sheep thus far is so marked and uniform that one could hardly believe it to be the same flock that came here a few months ago, and warrants the utmost confidence in a permanent and valuable improvement.

“Our cool, dry, even temperature; our hard, gravelly soil; our short, rich grasses; our clear, pure water; our aromatic, bitter plants and shrubs, and our frequent alkaline ponds and licks, must all contribute to the robust health of the animal and produce a growth and development of all its functions in their highest perfection.

“It has been said that the long-wooled sheep are not gregarious, and cannot be well herded in large flocks. We have not found this difficulty. To be sure, 3,000 makes a large flock, and they require plenty of room; but if they are *well left alone* they do not get in each other's way, and do not care to stray. One man can watch them, and watching seems to be all the help they need.

“We build, to be sure, large yards, and long, open sheds, to protect them from the storms, and to keep off the wolves at night; but we shall soon be rid of the wolves altogether, and the bluffs afford sufficient shelter at all seasons of the year.

“There are in this section of the Territory, besides our flock, one belonging to General King and others, of about one thousand; Colonel Dana's, of a thousand; Mr. Homer's, and others, about a thousand; and several parties are now in the States purchasing flocks to bring here. There are also the large flocks belonging to Messrs. Creighton and Hutton, of ten or twelve thousand; and quite a number of small lots, numbering two or three hundred each.

“Some of these flocks have been here two or three years, and each year have shown a surprising improvement. This is particularly so where they have not been too closely herded, but have been permitted to go out and come in pretty much as they pleased. The wool has increased in quantity and fineness, and the mutton has improved in flavor and quality.

“There seems to be no doubt that the best quality of mutton can be grown here, pound for pound, as cheap as beef; and if so, then sheep-raising must be profitable if cattle-raising is. Very respectfully, yours,

“J. W. KINGMAN.

“Dr. Silas Reed,

“Surveyor General, Wyoming Territory.”

I also introduce another excellent and comprehensive letter from Judge Kingman, written to Dr. H. Latham some months

since, and published this summer in the doctor's valuable pamphlet on the subject of stock and wool growing in this high, dry, rolling country, which is so favorable for the growth of the healthiest sheep and the most valuable fibers of wool.

Letter From Judge Kingman

"Laramie City, Wyoming Territory.

"Dear Sir: Your favor of a recent date, asking the result of my observations on the Rocky Mountain portion of our country in its adaptation to sheep-raising, is received; I hasten to reply.

"It will be remembered that the natural habitat of the sheep, as well as the goat and the antelope, is an elevated mountainous region. They are provided with an external covering and a constitutional system fitting them to endure its rigors and subsist on its peculiar herbage. They may be removed to other regions, it is true, and by careful husbandry made to flourish in hot climates, on artificial or cultivated food, and even in rainy and muddy localities.

"But the multiplied diseases to which they are subjected are convincing proofs that they are exposed to influences unnatural and uncongenial to their constitutions. They require a dry, gravelly soil; a clear, bracing, cool atmosphere; a variety of short, nutritious grasses; and they love to browse on highly aromatic plants and shrubs, like the willow, the birch, the hemlock, and the artemisia. In such circumstances, they are always healthy, vigorous, and active, and produce the maximum of even-fibred wool and the best of high-flavored meats.

"That we have millions of acres answering in all respects to the exact requirements for the best development of sheep, in the production of both wool and meat, is demonstrated by the countless number of antelope that annually swarm over the country, and seem to have no limit to their increase but their natural enemies, the wolves and the hunters. They are always in good condition, healthy, fat, and active; and this is particularly noticeable in the winter and spring, when it might be supposed they would be reduced by cold and want of food.

"It is well understood by wool-growers that the great difficulty in producing a staple of uniform evenness and uniform curve is the variable condition of the sheep at different seasons of the year. The animal organization cannot produce the same quality of growth in extreme cold weather, on dry hay, that it will produce in warm weather, on fresh grass. The result is, that the best quality of wool cannot be grown where the sheep are exposed to the extremes of climate, and particularly where they cannot be kept in uniform health and good condition. If this is true in the growth of wool, it needs no argu-

ment to prove that it is true also in the production of wholesome and nutritious meat. A generous diet of rich and various food is required to keep up a rapid and constant growth, and it is quick growth combined with good health that makes the choicest meat.

"I have been familiar with sheep-raising in New England for many years, and although sheep do pretty well on the rocky hills there, yet they are subject to a frightfully long list of diseases, every one of which, however, is ascribed to local and not inherent causes. The one great cause, exceeding all others in the variety and extent of its evils, is the long-continued rainy weather. The ground gets saturated with water, the feet become soft and tender with the soaking, and foot disease is propagated by inoculation with surprising rapidity. The fleece gets wet, and remaining so for several days keeps the animal enveloped; this produces pustules, scab, tetter, and other cutaneous diseases; everything and every place is soaked and dripping with water during those long storms, and the sheep are compelled to lie on the wet ground and contract colic, scours, and stretches, and other bowel diseases. But here, on our hard, porous, gravelly soil, in a bright, equable climate, with a dry, bracing atmosphere, having abundance of nutritious grasses and a great variety of desirable food, the flocks will find every circumstance contributing to their perfect growth and development. This is such a country and climate as they naturally inhabit. Their constitutions are fitted to its peculiarities, and will produce here their highest possibilities.

"There is no doubt that any breed of sheep will do well here, but for various reasons I would advise the introduction of the best qualities of mutton-sheep in preference to the fine-wooled animals. In the first place they are hardier and more prolific, and will undoubtedly improve faster; and in the second place, while it is possible to overstock the market with wool by importation from foreign countries, it is not possible to overstock the meat-market. We have now 40,000,000 of people, and the annual increase is about 3,000,000; our people are all meat-eaters, the price of meat in our large cities is enormously high, and the annual production by no means keeps pace with the demand for consumption. But in addition to all this, the actual return in wool, from a flock of medium-wooled sheep, will nearly equal in value the net product of a fine-wooled flock. They produce heavier fleeces, and the price of wool bears a better ratio to its cost.

"Most of our flock-masters are purchasing the sheep-flocks of New Mexico and the extreme Western States, with the expectation of getting good animals by crossing. This may be done, it is true, but I do not think it likely to result satisfactorily. It requires too much care and judicious selection, as

well as long continued effort, to get rid of bad qualities and fix permanently good ones. We can get sheep, by going further east, which have been carefully improved for fifty years, and in which characteristics have been developed by a scientific breeding which we may not hope to equal. Such a flock will cost more to start with, and will be worth more, but may not have cost more, all things considered, after a few years. Very respectfully yours,

“J. W. KINGMAN.”

* * *

*The Future of the Wool Interest of the Northwest—*With such a sheep and wool-growing country as we have here, “endless, gateless, and boundless”; with such a great increasing home and foreign demand; with such examples of rapid increase in sheep and wool productions, who shall doubt that in twenty years we shall rival Australia and South America in not only the quantity but the quality of their wools, and that the wool-buyers from all the great manufacturing centers of the world will visit our plains in search of the “fibre” susceptible of such wonderful and varied uses, and that with our wool production there will spring up manufactories here and there that shall rival Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, and Leeds, in England, and Rheims, El-Beufs, and Roubaix, in France, in the magnitude and beauty of their fabrics?

Along the whole length of the Union Pacific Railway, along the Central Pacific Railway, in the valleys of the thousands of streams, bordered with timber for buildings and fences, these untold millions of acres of luxuriant grazing lands, where sheep can be put down from New Mexico, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and other States for two dollars per head, shepherds can be hired for \$30 to \$40 per month, who can readily herd 3,000 head. Thousands of tons of hay can be cut on all the streams.

*Rates of Freight to Eastern Markets—*Wool has been carried by rail from San Francisco to Boston for \$1.10 per hundred pounds. Double-decked sheep-cars, carrying 200 sheep, can be had from the base of the mountain to Chicago markets for \$150, thereby putting down fat wethers in market for 75 cents per head. Dressed-mutton carcasses are delivered from the Rocky Mountains, in New York, for \$1.75 per hundred, car-load rates.

*Growth of Wyoming Sheep Industry—*The large introduction of sheep into this Territory during the past season is very gratifying. The correct and valuable information that has been spread over the country by Dr. Latham, Judge Kingman, and

others, has attracted the most deserved attention, and the result is that large numbers of sheep have been brought in this summer. I hear also of other large flocks that are to come next spring; and I scarcely need say that half the sheep of the United States could find room and food upon our mountain plains without being too much crowded.

The following is a list of the principle flocks and names of owners:

Colonel E. Creighton & Co., on Laramie Plains.....	10,000
Winslow, on Laramie Plains.....	1,500
Sargent, Thomas & Co., on Laramie Plains.....	2,000
Moulton & Co., on Laramie Plains.....	2,000
Dana & Boswell, on Laramie Plains.....	1,000
Judge Kingman, Crow Creek.....	3,000
James Moore, Lodge Pole.....	9,000
Maynard, Lone Tree.....	1,500
General King & Co.....	1,000
Party from Socco, Mexico.....	2,000
Emory Boston	3,000
Carmichael	200

ERNEST LOGAN

Mr. Logan, one of Wyoming's oldest and most respected pioneers, passed away October 24, 1944.

Mr. Logan's father, Hill Logan, came to Cheyenne in 1868. Mrs. Logan with her children, Ernest, thirteen years, and her daughter, Frankie, ten years of age, came to Cheyenne in 1871.

One by one the pioneers of the past but of today's developed frontiers pass on, leaving but a memory, but as Confucius once said: "God gives us memories that we may have roses in December."

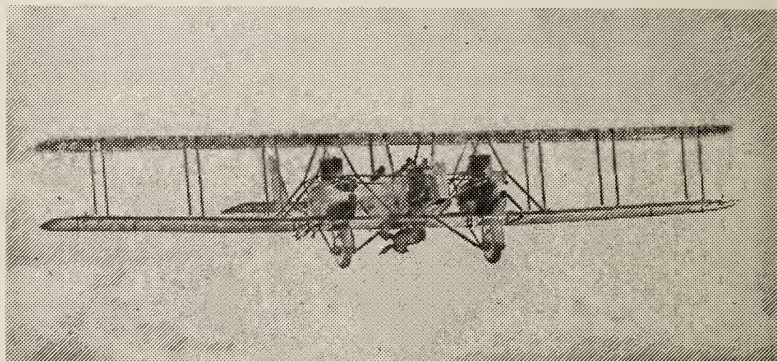
Wyoming Scrapbook

THE MAIL MUST GO

By A. E. Roedel*

Air Services

Five-thirty A. M. marked the dawn of September 8, 1920, on the prairie some two miles north of Cheyenne. It also marked the dawn of a new era of transportation, for at that hour one Buck Heffron bumped an old De Havilland biplane off the buffalo grass and headed west with four hundred pounds of mail, inaugurating another and probably the last of the great trail-blazing adventures of the West. Whereas the fur trader, the covered wagon, the pony express and the railroad had



A De Havilland DH-4 biplane, mainstay of the pilots between 1918 and 1926. (Airways by Henry Ladd Smith, New York, Alfred A. Knoff, 1942, p. 69.)

previously carved their trails over hill and dale westward from the Missouri, the Post Office Department was now committed to pioneering a skyway from Long Island Sound to the Golden Gate.

It is the purpose of this paper to deal briefly, and as accurately as the memory of the author allows, with some of the

*Andy E. Roedel, born in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1892, attended the grade and high schools in Cheyenne; received his degree of Bachelor of Science from the University of Michigan in 1916. Joined the U. S. Army Air Forces in World War I, 1917-1918. Employed in his father's drug store since 1910. Since his father's death he has managed the oldest drug store in the State, it being established in 1889 by Andy E. Roedel, Sr., in the same location the store is today.

episodes and personnel connected with this project, regarded by many persons of the time as utterly fantastic.

In May, 1920, Congress appropriated about \$400,000 to establish the Transcontinental Air Mail, proposing to serve fourteen cities between New York and San Francisco. Starting at Hazelhurst, Long Island, literally as the crow flies, the mail went to Bellfonte, Pa., to Clarion to Bryan, Ohio, to Chicago to Iowa City to Omaha to North Platte to Cheyenne to Rock Springs to Salt Lake to Elko to Reno to Sacramento and thence to Oakland. This lone and cobweb-like line across the rafters of the nation was the seed from which was to spring the vast network of commercial air lines that now envelope the ceiling of the whole hemisphere, and is likely, after the termination of this war, to cover the globe.

The mail rose and set with the sun. Every morning at daybreak an eastbound and a westbound ship left each of the division cities mentioned above to be flown until darkness fell. It was then turned over to the railroad and picked up at the various division points again the next morning. Thus on September 9, at 5:30 P. M., Jimmie (James P.) Murray alighted at Cheyenne with the first westbound mail. This had been flown out of Hazelhurst some thirty-six hours earlier by the fabulous Randy Page.

Page was one of the most colorful characters of the early air mail history. Amongst other accomplishments, he was credited with having consumed two quarts of whiskey on a flight between Omaha and Chicago. Despite all the hair-breadth adventures attributed to him in the air, Page succumbed to pneumonia in a Texas or New Mexico hospital after several years with the air mail.

Murray also had the distinction of bringing the first eastbound mail into Cheyenne, for the reason that it was delayed with the original westbound trip, and brought back the delayed eastbound mail arriving on the 13th of September. This section had been flown out of Sacramento by Jack Sharpneck, a nonconformist among airmen since he eliminated from his diet all spirituous and fermented beverages. When I knew him he was a confirmed bachelor, habitually attired in turtlenecked sweaters. A good pilot and fine chap, he died with his boots on in the crackup of a transport plane after the contractors had taken over the mail.

The Cheyenne, North Platte, Omaha and Cheyenne, Rock Springs-Salt Lake division was practically in the center of the route. The Cheyenne field, while probably the best in the nation, was also the highest; a fact which made landings and takeoffs no job for a greenhand with the ships of the period. The flights westward from Cheyenne, "Over the Hump" as the Sherman Hill country was known, was generally considered the

toughest of the whole transcontinental. Hence this division, and Cheyenne in particular, was the scene of some of the most interesting and important developments during the Post Office operation of the air mail. Therefore, and because we are most familiar with its history, this paper will be confined principally to the Cheyenne division.

The mail planes were reconverted army De Havillands of wooden construction, covered with fabric and powered by the then famous *Liberty* motor. They were open cockpit jobs, having a top speed of something under 100 m.p.h. and ceiling of around 10,000 feet, making the peaks of the Rockies a genuine traffic hazard. Limited by gasoline capacity to a range of perhaps 300 miles, they were capable of carrying 400 pounds of mail. By comparison with today's planes, flying a De Havilland was like being up in the air on a bicycle.

The deficiencies in equipment were more than balanced by the manpower assembled to operate it. Ground and maintenance crews for the most part, and pilots almost without exception, were recruited from the rapidly disintegrating Army Air Service. Necessarily young in years, since they were following an activity that had cut its teeth in a war not yet two years finished, they were worthy successors to the pathfinders who had trekked across the country beneath the skies they themselves were now exploring.

Drawn by the lure of a better than average wage, the love of flying and excitement aplenty, and perhaps to a lesser extent by a belief in the future of aviation, these young men signed up with Otto Praeger to carry the mail—an undertaking destined to claim the lives of twenty-one pilots, eight mechanics, and one division superintendent by next July.

The early history of the air mail is largely a history of the pilots, since to a great extent they dominated the entire picture. As mentioned before, flying a De Havilland in 1920 was no task for a boy. There was a definitely known number of men capable of and willing to fly the mail, and the number was hardly sufficient to supply the demand. They were, to say the least, a carefree aggregation, sailing the skies when, where, and in whatever manner their whims might dictate. They could afford to be as temperamental as they wished, and the department had no choice but to accommodate itself to their pranks and eccentricities, for, as Jack Knight liked to say: "The mail must go, but who in hell is going to take it?"

A group of pilots en route to one of the early Pulitzer races passed over an Iowa village at such a low altitude that the mayor of the village telegraphed a protest to headquarters. On the return trip they unleashed uncounted rolls of toilet tissue over the startled community.

On one of his regular eastbound trips, Clarence Lange, now a major in Africa, landed at Grand Island, Nebraska. There he met a young woman employed as a wing-walker by a traveling aerial circus. In a moment of bravado the girl declared that no one had ever been able to frighten her; whereupon Lange volunteered to look after the matter. Piling her monkey and suitcase on top of the mail sacks, Lange took off for Omaha. Executing an occasional loop and wing-over on the way, he arrived at Omaha to discover that the monkey and suitcase were missing and that the wing-walker required a dash of water in the face to bring her to.

Then there was the pilot who skimmed across the Nebraska prairies to herd a bunch of antelope into a fence corner where a confederate butchered several of them. This unorthodox sporting technique cost the pilot \$500 in fines in a Kimball court and the everlasting enmity of the Western Nebraska Sportmen's Association.

Many another bit of madcap flying might be mentioned if space permitted. However, there were occasional occurrences sandwiched in between some really tough piloting which called for every ounce of skill and daring that these unusual men possessed.

It must be borne in mind that at this time there were no runways for landing and taking off, no beam to follow, no communication between ground and plane, nor was the course marked. Furthermore, the few instruments which adorned the board were of uncertain accuracy and adaptability. The gasoline capacity was such that a plane could remain in the air only a few hours, and the motor so fickle it might cease operating at any time. When it did, it must be started by spinning the propeller, a laborious job which sometimes resulted in the spinner having his head knocked off. Hence, when a pilot left a field, he simply kept flying in the general direction of his destination until he reached it, or was forced to make an emergency landing. Nobody knew where he was from the moment he left until he arrived, so every trip was at least a mild adventure.

Above the doorway of the main New York Post Office is this inscription: "Neither rain nor hail nor sleet nor gloom of night shall stay these messengers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds." Otto Praeger, Second Assistant Postmaster General in charge of air mail, to whose vision and faith in flying a great deal of the credit for the institution and continuance of the air mail must be given, adopted this as a sort of slogan for the service and frequently quoted it. Naturally, this was not strictly a fact, for rain and hail and gloom of night not only sometimes stayed the messenger—upon occasion it even killed him.

While the pilots might let the mail set around cooling its heels in balmy weather, they seemed to take a sort of fierce professional pride in defying bad weather. I am reminded of one Christmas eve with temperature at 28 degrees below and Slim Lewis clad in an ordinary street suit and half shoes, *sans* overcoat, taking off for Omaha. On another night, during a howling blizzard after three unsuccessful attempts to get off, Lewis finally crashed through a fence at the boundary of the field, and disappeared into the storm. He was not heard from again until he checked in at North Platte.

Lewis was rather a Paul Bunyan of the airways. He had flown before the war with Christofferson, Beach, Art Smith, and others, and at the time of which we write was perhaps the most widely known man flying. He was the subject of what was known as the bull letter. In the course of a forced landing on the Hereford Ranch he settled down on one of the prize bulls with which the property is populated. When the Hereford people submitted their bill for damages the Post Office Department could not reconcile the amount demanded with its hitherto unprofessional knowledge of the value of prize bulls. The letter was written by a department clerk to the local superintendent asking if Lewis had exterminated a whole herd of bulls.

On a stormy night in December, Hal Collison took four planes off the Cheyenne Field in rapid succession, putting them all down again within half a mile because of frozen carburetor jets.

On October 20, 1920, Jimmie Murray was out of Salt Lake at 12:30 P. M. Since nothing further had been heard from him by daylight next morning, searching planes were dispatched from Cheyenne and Rock Springs. Ground parties also scoured the country between Rawlins and Medicine Bow, but no trace of plane or pilot could be found. Late in the day of October 21 Murray appeared at the Arlington Crossing on Rock Creek to report that he had crashed in a blizzard above Sand Lake, high in the mountains. He spent the night on the shore of the lake, and next day he walked 17 miles through heavy snow. The mechanics who were sent to retrieve the mail and the wrecked plane located the crash by backtracking a bear that had followed the pilot from the crash to the shore of Sand Lake where the pilot had spent the night.

The great Wyoming wind was a major problem in operating the low-powered craft of that era. On September 13, 1920, Murray flew from Salt Lake to Cheyenne in 3 hours, 15 minutes, but a pilot named Picup required more than 7 hours to make the trip in the opposite direction.

Picup, a picturesque character, left the mail to fly for the Mexican Government, where it was said he took up the

profession of a toreador in his leisure time. He was erroneously reported by local newspapers to have been killed in an automobile race in Kansas City, in 1922. He lived more than 20 years longer to go down as the pilot of the ill-fated plane in which Red Love also lost his life in the South Pacific.

On January 31, Jiggs Chandler, who flew his last plane into the side of an Illinois Central box car some years afterwards, made the trip from Rock Springs to Cheyenne in 1 hour, 32 minutes. However, Dinty Moore could not continue on from Cheyenne because twelve men were unable to hold his plane on the ground in an 80-mile gale. Coming west Jimmie Murray ran out of gas twice after leaving Sidney and finally gave up at Pine Bluffs.

Fog, which was then and still is the major foe of the flyers, claimed the first life on this division as Johnny Woodward flew into the hump a few miles north of Tie Siding, on November 8, 1920.

Weather, balky motors and temperamental pilots were not all the air mail had to contend with in its infancy. Unimaginative congressmen were also an obstacle. On January 9, 1921, and during each succeeding January for the next three or four years, the House struck the air mail item from the Post Office appropriation bill. With only fourteen towns being served across the entire nation, the service could not muster very potent political support. At this time it was largely through the influence and untiring efforts of the late Senator Warren that the appropriation was reinstated and the air mail continued.

Under Post Office operations it was strictly against regulations to carry passengers in mail planes. I recall one pilot who was supposed to have been discharged for carrying passengers from Rock Springs to Laramie at \$100 a trip. Nevertheless, if one were well enough acquainted with the pilot and not too much interested in his personal comfort, it was possible to make an occasional trip.

On a flight to the Pulitzer races in Omaha I perched on top of the mail, clinging to a strut, or whatever else was handy, to avoid being bumped off when we ran into rough weather. I arrived at my destination greatly resembling the tar baby, having been right behind a leaky oil pipe all the way down. The first person I met at the races was the division superintendent, who remarked: "It beats hell how dirty the trains are getting."

The first official passenger to ride with the mail was a newspaper man, John Goldstein. He was flown from New York to San Francisco in 13 days, 6 hours, or 33 hours, 59 minutes actual flying time. The schedule is now about 15

hours, although a naval lieutenant recently spanned the continent in $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

Jack Knight made his memorable flight from Omaha to Chicago, on February 22, 1921. To my mind, everything considered, it is still one of the most remarkable feats in aviation history, a ride to make Paul Revere's midnight cantor look like a trip to the corner grocery. Washington's Birthday of that year had been selected by Otto Praeger as the date of the first non-stop mail flight from coast to coast, a schedule requiring night flying between Cheyenne and Chicago. Large bonfires were built every 50 miles along this section of the route to act as beacons. Just at dawn two planes left Oakland east bound, while two others hopped off from Long Island in the opposite direction.

The first interruption to the eastbound schedule occurred at Reno, when pilot W. L. Lewis was killed in attempting to leave the field, thus delaying the second section. At 4:57 P. M. Jim Murray brought the first section into Cheyenne, and Frank Yager slid off into the gathering dusk for North Platte. At 5:50 P. M. Tope Payne, one of the most popular early day pilots, who later lost his life under mysterious circumstances at Salt Lake, arrived with the delayed second section, Harry Smith leaving for the east.

In the meantime, the westbound trips had been abandoned at Chicago on account of weather. Jack Knight, although he had crashed in Telephone Canyon only seven days earlier, and engaged in a game of leapfrog down the side of the mountain with his motor, was waiting for Yager at North Platte. Despite the fact that he had received a broken nose and other injuries in the accident just mentioned, Jack took off for Omaha, in the dead of night, with Yager's mail. By the time he reached Omaha that field was closed in by a blizzard and the pilot assigned to the Omaha-Iowa City leg sensibly refused to leave the ground.

Knight, therefore, although he had never been over the course, hopped off for Iowa City. He found this point enveloped by the same blizzard, and the pilot selected to continue the trip, also standing on his right to preserve his existence as long as possible. Once again Jack turned the nose of his plane into the snow-filled night, finally reaching Chicago at daybreak, completing a flight of almost 1,000 miles in darkness and storm.

At Chicago it was necessary to cut his clothes loose to get him out of the cockpit. The trip was continued to New York during the day light hours, achieving the first nonstop mail flight from coast to coast. Something over three years was to elapse before another was accomplished.

On May 20, 1921, it was announced that Pilot Hopson had won the trophy for flying the most completed trips between September, 1920, and that date. Hopson was one of the colorful personalities that lent variety and flavor to the air mail activity.

That there is nothing new about the modification of planes at the Cheyenne base is attested by the fact that upon December 17, 1921, it was announced six planes had been rebuilt at this field, and on the 27th of the following July, Jiggs Chandler achieved an altitude of 12,000 feet above the city with a special motor rebuilt there.

In January, 1922, after sixteen months of operation, flying the mail was still a rugged business. The Cheyenne division topped the entire system in percentage of possible miles flown, a record that was not achieved without hardship. On January 27, 1922, Bob Ellis sat down on top of a mountain near Rock Springs, and was compelled to scale the wall of a 200-foot canyon to bring down the mail. The plane was dismantled and lowered piece by piece with a rope.

On April 10, Walter Bunting died when he crashed on the Rock Springs field. According to the log of March 24, Dinty Moore, eastbound from Cheyenne, was balked by bad weather at Sidney. He flew north to Torrington looking for a hole, and finally barely made it back to Cheyenne with an empty gas tank.

On April 6, Hopson became lost after leaving Rock Springs, landing after dark in the Horse Creek breaks. Slinging the mail over his back, he trudged several miles to the railroad.

And again on August 6, of the same year, Harry Smith was forced to land on a sandbar in the North Platte River with a dead motor.

During the afternoon and evening of November 5, 1922, Cheyenne was lashed by one of the fiercest blizzards in its history. This storm put Hal Collison on the ground north of Corlett station, where it was necessary to shovel the plane out from under a drift to recover the mail. About six weeks later, on December 17, Henry Boonstra flew into a storm between Salt Lake and Rock Springs. There was no further trace of him until the evening of the 19th when he showed up at a ranch near Cokeville, having crashed on Porcupine Ridge and floundered through waist deep snow for 36 hours.

Hence when it was announced that during 1922 the pilots of the Cheyenne division had completed 98 per cent of the scheduled trips, again to lead the system, they felt they had really earned the distinction. The air mail as a whole had an average of 93.4 per cent for this period, flying 7,887 trips, 2,433 of which had been completed in rain, fog or snow. It had flown 1,727,265 miles and carried 48,938,920 letters.

At about this time there appeared on the Cheyenne division a brash young pilot by the name of Paul Oaks. He became acquainted with a young woman who made her residence in a room in the second story of a house on Evans street. It was his custom to fly up this thoroughfare at a level permitting him to wave at her through the window as he passed. This bit of diversion caused great consternation, not only amongst the other residents of the street, but also to the superintendent who expressed the hope that the girl never moved downstairs. Before she had a chance, however, Oaks spun into the ground at the local field while stunting during a wind-storm, killing himself and an old man who had gone along for his first flight. So far as I can recall, this is the only fatality that has ever occurred on the Cheyenne field.

After the experimental coast-to-coast flight of Washington's birthday, 1921, there was considerable talk and some agitation for making this operation permanent. Little was accomplished in this direction until the spring of 1923, when it was becoming apparent that if the air mail was to justify its existence, it would have to fly night as well as day. Plans were initiated to bring this about. Beacons and boundary lights were installed at various fields. Planes with landing lights and radio sets for communication with the ground were tried out, and Jack Knight and Slim Lewis were assigned to do the experimental night flying.

In the fall of 1923, after three years of operation, the planes had been improved in some respects, but there had been no appreciable increase in flying speed. On October 6, 1923, Dinty Moore captured the *Detroit News* Air Mail Trophy at St. Louis, flying 186.4 miles at an average speed of 124.9 m.p.h. Moore, an exceptionally likeable Texan, was killed the following Christmas Eve when he struck a hill just west of Egbert while bucking a heavy head wind coming into Cheyenne.

During the spring of 1924, preparations to inaugurate night flying between Chicago and Cheyenne were being pushed to completion. Acetylene flasher lights had been installed every three miles along the route; emergency landing fields with boundary lights every twenty-five. The division terminals at intervals of 250 miles were equipped with 500-million candle power beacons, and boundary lights consisting of lanterns hung on low posts.

Putting out their lanterns around the Cheyenne field was somewhat of a task, and was in charge of Ira Biffle, a well-known character in aviation circles of that day, Biffle had been one of the early Army flyers, piloting a plane during the punitive expedition into Mexico, in 1916. He served as a civilian instructor for the Army Air Service in 1917 and '18

and later became known as the man who taught Lindbergh to fly. Although he earned a great deal of money during his flying career, when he died in a Chicago hospital the expenses of his illness were borne by old friends and acquaintances.

A tornado struck the Omaha field on June 23, 1924, destroying 12 planes which had been remodeled for night flying, and threatened to delay its start. Nevertheless, on July 1, after a year and a half of preparation and a couple of trial starts, the venture got under way and has continued without interruption ever since. At 7:05 P. M. of that day, Hal Collison reached Cheyenne with the first eastbound section and Frank Yager continued it to North Platte. At 4:15 A. M. of the 2nd, Slim Lewis landed with the initial westbound section out of New York, Harry Chandler flying it to Rock Springs. The first nonstop schedule was completed in about 32 hours, and on July 18 it was announced that the average time of schedules to date had been 39 hours.

At this time there had been only one serious delay. This occurred when Frank Yager was blown to the ground by a hurricane at Chappell, Neb. The plane was demolished, but Yager escaped with slight injuries to continue flying and pile up the greatest mileage flown by any pilot on the Cheyenne-Omaha division.

During this period the service was beset with all manner of disasters. On November 8, 1924, the hangar at the Cheyenne field was burned to the ground with the loss of seven planes. The hangars at Omaha and Salt Lake had previously burned, and as mentioned before, twelve planes were destroyed by a tornado at Omaha.

On November 13, Collison felt his way down through a fogbank to land in a small meadow in the Pole Mountain district. The meadow was of such restricted area it was necessary to dismantle the plane to bring it out. Collison seemed to have a penchant for this sort of thing and upon occasion, when the superintendent was informed that Collison had again made a landing in a vest pocket field, he declared, "That so-and-so will fly one of those things down a prairie dog hole some day." The remark was rather prophetic, as several years later Collison flew a plane load of passengers into the ground just west of Round Top, in an accident that has never been explained.

In the spring of 1925, the Army De Havilland was still the standard equipment of the Air Mail Service. The plane had been somewhat modified by the installation of heaters, landing lights, improved carburetors, propellers, and so on, but the basic design had not changed. On March 3 of that year the Post Office Department invited ten aircraft builders to submit

plans for a new air mail ship, the first plane to be specifically designed for commercial purposes. Harry G. Smith, a veteran pilot, and at that time superintendent of the Cheyenne division, was placed in charge of inspection and trial of the models to be submitted. A few years later, Smith along with Ernie Allison, the late John Riner, and another superintendent of this division by the name of Wilke, went to China to establish an air line for that Government. While in this service, Smith contracted typhus and died.

Harry Huking, also a pilot, succeeded Smith in charge of the local field. He thereby fell heir to the task of rebuilding the hangar which had been destroyed by fire the previous autumn. Huking did a remarkable job in this connection. He conceived the idea that several unit hangars would be less of a fire hazard than one large one; an idea which proved correct within a few months after the job was finished, when one hangar burned while three others were saved. Although he was not an engineer by profession or training, with the help of an assistant by the name of Long, Huking designed these buildings and superintended their construction. The four hangars together with the administration building were formally dedicated on December 23, 1925, at which time Superintendent Cislser of the Air Mail declared the Cheyenne setup to be the best in the entire nation. The installations built by Huking are now being used as shops by the United Air Lines overhaul base.

Clare Vance arrived at the local field, in 1926, with the new Douglas plane which had been selected by the department from those submitted in response to the call of a year earlier. This ship had a cruising speed of 130 m.p.h. and a useful load capacity of 1,000 pounds. It was used during the rest of the time the mail was flown by the department.

The first accident involving one of the new planes occurred when Eddie Allen made an unhappy deadstick landing. He had picked out a path between a couple of haystacks, but after his wheels were on the ground one of the stacks moved over, turning out to be a hay rack. In discussing the matter afterwards, Allen said he was busy computing the number of revolutions his propeller made between Cheyenne and Salt Lake and wasn't paying much attention to the landing. Allen eventually became recognized as one of the leading test pilots in the country. He was one of the persons instrumental in developing the Boeing B-29 and lost his life when an experimental model he was piloting plowed into a packing plant at Seattle.

It was announced on January 20, 1927, that a contract had been awarded the Boeing Air Transport Company to carry the mail between Chicago and San Francisco. Boeing was to receive \$1.50 a pound for the first 1,000 miles, and an additional 15c a pound for each 100 miles or fraction thereafter. Boeing

took over operations July 4, 1927, initiating passenger service at the same time by flying a plane equipped with a compartment for two passengers. The city of Cheyenne fell heir to some \$600,000 worth of equipment and installations, comprising what was of that date the best municipal flying fields in the country.

Thus ended another truly dramatic pioneering venture in transportation. Boeing with vastly improved equipment, astute business management and advantages derived from scientific research, soon took a great deal of the adventure out of the air transport business. Not only the flying fraternity but the country as a whole is, and eternally will be, indebted to the men who flew the mail from September 8, 1920 to July 4, 1927. No equal contribution to the advancement of aviation has ever been made by any group of individuals.

That flying the mail, although in some respect a gay life, was not necessarily a short one, is indicated by the fact that many of the boys who came in and out of the Cheyenne field in the Post Office days are still giving her the gun.

Ham Lee, the patriarch of the skies, who has flown more millions of miles than any man or bird, flies for United, as does his son. Testing *Flying Fortresses* for Boeing, are Slim Lewis, Frank Yager, Ernie Allison, Bob Ellis and several others. George Meyers conducts United's training school in Denver, while Harry Huking, Cap White and Rube Wagner are flying in the Pacific. Jimmie Murray, who flew the first eastbound and first westbound mail to Cheyenne, is vice president of Boeing with offices in Washington, D. C. Every one of these pilots sprouted his wings either before or during the first World War. Contemplation of all of which impels one to say with all sincerity to Otto Praeger's one-time Messengers: HAPPY LANDINGS.

NATIONAL CEMETERIES IN WYOMING TERRITORY, 1869

In 1869, Brevet Major General L. Thomas, Inspector of National Cemeteries, submitted his report of Inspection to Wm. W. Belknap, Secretary of War. In this report we find a report of inspection for the Territory of Wyoming.

At Fort Laramie, in Laramie County, there are one hundred and fifty-six (156) bodies: twenty-nine (29) known, and one hundred and twenty-seven (127) unknown. At Fort Phil Kearny, one hundred and nine (109) bodies: five (5) officers, and one hundred and four (104) white soldiers, known. At Fort Sanders, forty-eight (48) bodies: twenty-nine (29) known, and nineteen (19) unknown. At Fort Reno, thirty-one (31) bodies: two (2) officers and twenty-six (26) white soldiers are known, and three (3) white soldiers are unknown. Fort D. A.

Russell, twenty-one (21) bodies: one (1) officer and fifteen (15) white soldiers are known, and five (5) white soldiers are unknown. At Fort Bridger, eighteen (18) bodies, two (2) officers and sixteen (16) white soldiers, known. At Fort Fetterman, six (6) bodies, all known. At Fort Steele, two (2) bodies, both known. Total, three hundred and ninety-one (391.)

RECAPITULATION OF INTERMENTS IN WYOMING, 1869

Cemeteries	White		Unknown Soldiers	Aggregate
	Known Officers	Soldiers		
Fort Laramie.....		29	127	156
Fort Phil. Kearney.....	5	104	109
Fort Sanders.....		29	19	48
Fort Reno.....	2	26	3	31
Fort D. A. Russell.....	1	15	5	21
Fort Bridger.....	2	16	18
Fort Fetterman.....		6	6
Fort Steele.....		2	2
Total	10	227	154	391

LARAMIE CITY

Review of Laramie City from May 1, to December 23, 1870

The following is a brief review of some of the prominent, general events gleaned from the Retrospective in the Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 5, 1883, J. H. Hayford, Editor.

May 1st—SENTINEL, purchased by its present proprietors—Hayford & Gates—from N. A. Baker.

MAY

2nd—John T. McNeil, a son of a former mayor of Rochester, New York, was run over and killed by the cars, near Dana.

3rd—Andrew Malone, a section foreman, was shot and killed at Separation Station, by Indians.

A fight occurred at Sweetwater between Major Gordon's command and a large body of Arapahoes. Lieutenant Stambaugh and a sergeant were killed and one private wounded. Seven Indians killed.

6th—Millard Fillmore was shot and severely wounded by a drunken soldier whom he put off the train between Carbon and Simpson.

7th—General Phillip H. Sheridan visited Laramie in company with Governor Campbell.

8th—Mrs. Fannie Fisher, the estimable wife of Colonel S. W. Downey, died in the 28th year of her age, of consumption.

10th—Quite a large party of miners left here to engage in gulch mining at Last Chance.

11th—The first Presbyterian church was organized here by the Rev. Mr. Kephardt of Cheyenne, with the following officers: Elder, Charles H. Richards. Trustees: H. H. Richards, M. C. Brown, E. L. Kerr, L. D. Pease and J. H. Finfroek.

18th—News received that the party of miners who went to Last Chance, had to shovel through snow fifteen feet deep.

Sergeant J. K. Menke and Mrs. Joice were married at Fort Sanders by Rev. Mr. Cornell.

19th—A gang of telegraph men were driven in by Indians near Cheyenne.

A young man named Daggett robbed the lieutenant in charge of the soldiers at Sherman of \$400, four revolvers and a watch, and dressed himself in the officer's uniform and took the train for Cheyenne where he was arrested.

The Big Horn expedition started from Cheyenne.

A woman named Rachael Brown and a man named Pat Green were shot at Medicine Bow by David Brookman.

Colonel J. W. Donnellan was married today in Denver to Miss Marion McNasser of that city.

20th—Lieutenant Harlenburgh's 9th infantry pickets driven in at Sidney by a band of Indians.

A band of Indians drove in a gang of workmen three miles west of Rawlins.

23rd—Chief Justice Howe denied the application for a receiver in the case of Davis vs. the Union Pacific Railroad.

24th—The first Chinese (male and female) arrived in Laramie today and established a laundry.

A Lodge of Good Templars instituted at Fort Sanders, assisted by the Laramie Lodge. The officers were installed by M. C. Brown, D. G. W. C. T.

Colonel John W. Donnellan returned from Denver with his bride.

26th—The Cheyenne-Big Horn expedition reached Laramie last evening but were unable to proceed further, being overloaded and their teams giving out. Superintendent Fillmore offered to take ten tons of their freight to Fort Steele by railroad for \$50, which amount the citizens of Laramie contributed, thus enabling them to proceed on their journey. Before leaving they held a meeting and passed a series of resolutions thanking the superintendent and the citizens of Laramie for their generous aid.

28th—Governor Bullock, of Massachusetts, the judges of the supreme court, state officers, members of the legislature, and Boston capitalists, representing \$300,000,000, passed through to San Francisco in eight new Pullman drawing room

cars. They had a printing press on the train and issued a daily paper.

A disgusted Mormon by the name of John Mowry passed through Laramie on his way to Iowa from Utah, with his wife and six boys. He started from Echo to transport his earthly possessions in a wheelbarrow.

General Smith with Red Cloud and nineteen native chiefs, left Egbert for Washington.

29th—A. B. Sypher was killed by being caught between the cars at Cheyenne. He leaves a wife and two children.

30th—Superintendent Fillmore left for Ogden for the first invoice of Chinamen to work on the road.

31st—Tom Dayton appointed express agent at Laramie.

James Vine and Charles Hillaker opened the first furniture store in Laramie today.

JUNE

1st—Dr. J. H. Hayford appointed territorial auditor by Governor Campbell.

3rd—Governor Campbell passed through Laramie to have a talk with Washakie and other Shoshone Indians at Fort Bridger.

4th—The railroad boys at Laramie presented Master Mechanic Galbraith with a gold watch and chain.

11th—Quarterly report of the Laramie public schools show an enrollment of eighty-three; average attendance, sixty-three.

13th—Thomas Alsop received a carload of blooded stock. The first to come to this country.

14th—Passenger train No. 4 ran through a band of Indians and ponies two miles east of Ogallalla.

15th—Union Sunday school picnic of Cheyenne and Laramie meet at Dale Creek bridge to spend the day.

17th—Superintendent Fillmore's family arrive in Laramie from the east to settle.

22nd—M. G. Tonn commenced the erection of a two-story stone building on Second street.

Dennis O'Brien killed while engaged in floating ties on the Little Laramie.

24th—Masonic Fraternity celebrate St. John's day by a ball and festival.

28th—Today is remarkable as being the hottest ever known in Laramie. Thermometer 83 deg. in the shade.

JULY

1st—Laramie postoffice raised to a third-class office.

2nd—Louis Miller left for a visit to Europe.

Rev. E. D. Brooks appointed pastor of the Methodist church of Laramie City.

4th—The day was celebrated by a match game of baseball between the Laramie and Fort Sanders' clubs. Oration by W. W. Corlett. The Catholic church held a festival.

5th—William W., son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Wagner, died, aged two years, seven months and twenty-one days.

Four miners killed at Shipman's cabin, North Park, by Indians.

12th—Miners in and about Last Chance mines returned to Laramie on account of anticipated difficulty with North Park Indians.

14th—C. H. Clark, foreman of the roundhouse, received a present from the railroad employees of a select library of engineering works.

15th—German citizens of Laramie had a general jollification over the prospect of a war between Germany and France.

18th—The SENTINEL editorially predicted that the war would prove disastrous to France.

19th—Lady Franklin passed through Laramie from San Francisco, on her way to New York.

21st—Stephen Boyd and Miss Eliza Stewart, married at Cheyenne by Rev. J. W. Pephardt.

26th—Complete assessment returns show 9,536 head of cattle in Albany county, value \$129,595.

27th—George Bullord, a brakeman killed on No. 4 being struck by the timbers of the bridge crossing the Medicine Bow river.

Laramie Lodge of Good Templars elected the following officers: W. C. T., T. W. DeKay; W. V., Mrs. A. Hatcher; W. S., C. H. Richards; W. F. S., John Wright; W. T., Miss E. Luce; W. C., Mrs. Dr. Hilton; W. M., J. H. Smith; I. G., Miss Ella Galbraith.

29th—The Baptist Church was occupied for the first time by being used for a meeting of the Ladies' Mite society.

31st—Rev. F. L. Arnold, pastor of Presbyterian church, held his first services in the school house.

AUGUST

1st—The Methodist church commenced the erection of their present house of worship.

2nd—Died: Mrs. Julia C., wife of John W. Connor, aged 23 years. Mrs. Connor was the first white woman to settle in Laramie.

8th—County convention (republican) held at Laramie and nominated the following ticket: County commissioners, N. T. Webber, H. H. Richards and H. Wagner; Probate Judge, Walter Sinclair; County Clerk, L. D. Pease; Sheriff, N. K. Boswell; Assessor, T. W. DeKay; Surveyor, William O. Downey; Superintendent of Schools, M. C. Brown; Justice of the Peace, J.

Boies; County Attorney, W. W. Downey. Delegates to Territorial convention: M. C. Brown, N. K. Boswell, E. Dawson, H. Latham, H. H. Richards and W. H. Harlow.

13th—Democratic county convention nominated the following ticket: Sheriff, J. W. Connor; County Clerk, J. B. Shepherd; Probate Judge, G. W. Ritter; Assessor, E. Farrell; County Commissioners, C. H. Bussard, William Crawford and James Burnett; Surveyor, James Vine; County Attorney, S. C. Leech; Coroner, Dr. G. F. Hilton; Superintendent of Schools, W. S. Bramel.

W. W. Corlett appointed postmaster at Cheyenne.

19th—Ex-Secretary Seward passed through Laramie on his voyage around the world, and was interviewed by several of our citizens.

22nd—Democratic Territorial convention at Bryan, nominated John Wanless for Congress.

23rd—Arrival of 3,000 sheep for Thomas Alsop.

25th—Republican Territorial convention, in Laramie, nominated W. T. Jones for delegate to Congress.

SEPTEMBER

1st—Simon Durlacher went to Corinne to engage in the clothing and mercantile business.

6th—Territorial and county elections held, resulting in the election of Judge Jones to Congress. Albany county giving him forty-eight majority; H. H. Richards, republican; W. Crawford and C. H. Bussard, democrats, elected county commissioners; G. W. Ritter, democrat, probate judge; L. D. Pease, republican, county clerk; N. K. Boswell, republican, sheriff; T. W. DeKay, republican, assessor; W. O. Downey, republican, county surveyor; S. W. Downey, republican, county attorney; M. C. Brown, republican, superintendent of schools.

The SENTINEL moved into its new office on Front street.

News received of the surrender of the Emperor Napoleon.

10th—Born: Jennie, eldest child of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Gates, of the SENTINEL.

11th—Baptist church dedicated.

Fall term of the public school opened with fifty-nine pupils.

15th—The SENTINEL contained the first notice calling a meeting for the organization of the W. L. and L. association.

20th—Meeting held at the school house to organize the W. L. and L. association. M. C. Brown, Chairman; A. G. Swain, secretary. The following committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws: Rev. D. J. Pierce, Rev. John Cornell, Mrs. E. S. Boyd, Mrs. A. G. Swain and Mrs. L. D. Pease.

24th—The official returns of the census for 1870, shows Albany county to contain a population of 22,436 inhabitants, of which 20,000 were Indians

25th—A disastrous fire occurred at Cheyenne. Loss estimated at \$100,000.

OCTOBER

1st—Weekly statement of the public schools shows an attendance of sixty-eight. Eva Owen, William O. Owen, Maggie Ivinson, Maggie Carroll and Ida Ritter are on the roll of honor for the week.

4th—Laramie Lodge A. F. and A. M. having worked for several months under dispensation was duly instituted and organized under its charter, J. H. Hayford, W. M.; J. E. Gates, Secretary.

9th—Louis Miller returned with his family from a lengthy visit to Fatherland.

11th—The Wyoming Literary Association gave its first public entertainment. Programme: Oration, B. F. Harrington; Essays, Mrs. A. G. Swain and Rev. J. Cornell; Declamation, J. Crandall; Recitation, Ella Galbraith; Select Reading, Mrs. Pierce; Debate on Woman Suffrage by Judge Brown and D. J. Pierce.

12th—A paper called The Daily Sun started in Cheyenne by W. N. Bamberg & Co.

13th—Sidney Dillon, president of the U. P. R. R., spent the day in Laramie investigating its surroundings and resources.

17th—Colonel Donnellan purchased \$100 worth of gold from the Last Chance and Douglas Creek mines. The gold was composed of coarse nuggets weighing about \$5 each. The miners had averaged from \$5 to \$8 per day during the time they worked.

John Morgan, section foreman at Bitter Creek, died from injuries received by being run over by a handcar.

18th—A body of soldiers went from Fort Sanders to the hills to procure wood, while encamped at night, one of their number played a practical joke by running into the camp crying "Indians," and in the confusion that ensued he was shot dead by one of his comrades.

21st—R. Galbraith resumed his position as master mechanic of the machine shops.

24th—A remarkable and brilliant display of Aurora Borealis was visible at Laramie.

Married, at Homer, Illinois, Rev. E. C. Brooks, of Laramie, to Miss Carrie M. Ruland.

27th—Married, George Young and Miss Mattie Davis of Laramie, by the Rev. Adams of Cheyenne.

J. J. McCloskey and a man named Lowry were shot and killed by a drunken half breed at Six Mile ranch, near Fort Laramie.

28th—Mary Jane, wife of Charles Fisher, died, aged 28 years.

29th—Hayden's geological surveying party spent several days in Laramie.

The SENTINEL notices from its exchanges from Kansas, New Mexico and Texas the following prices for cattle: Steers, \$11; Milch cows, \$6; three-year-olds, \$7; two-year-olds, \$4; one-year-olds, \$2.50.

Holliday & Williams are running a sawmill in the Black Hills, about eighteen miles from town. They purchased the mill from the Greeley colony. There are now three saw mills running in Albany county.

30th—Married, by the Rev. Mr. Cornell, James Carroll to Mrs. Annie Monaghan.

31st—One of Thomas Alsop's herders found an immense mountain lion imprisoned in one of the caves in the rocks. He succeeded in capturing the beast.

J. W. Connor lost a large quantity of hay, a lot of fencing and some other property by a prairie fire near Wyoming.

NOVEMBER

2nd—Judge Kingman lectured before the W. L. and L. A. subject, elocution.

3rd—A brass band was organized in Laramie today, with J. Pfeiffer, J. J. Clark, Otto Gramm, C. R. Leroy, J. McDowell, M. N. Merrill, George W. Fox, T. J. Dayton, J. A. Apperrson, H. Altman, N. F. Spicer and M. G. Tonn as members.

6th—Born, to Mr. and Mrs. William Alsop, twins—boys.

10th—Married, at Weymouth, Massachusetts, W. J. McIntyre, one of the pioneers of Laramie, to Miss Emma J. Baker.

15th—Four carloads of blooded bulls and a fine lot of brood mares were received at Laramie.

One hundred head of fine fat cattle were shipped to Chicago from Laramie.

17th—Judge Brown was awarded, at the Ladies' Fair, a fine gold chain, as a premium to the ugliest man in town.

18th—Superintendent Filmore gave a grand party and reception to his son, J. M. Filmore, who returned from the east with his bride.

A general change in the management of the U. P. R. R., with S. H. H. Clark, superintendent of the eastern division, and L. Filmore as superintendent of the western division, under the general management of T. E. Sickles.

20th—Married, by Rev. John Cornell, T. W. DeKay to Miss M. Wagner.

22nd—The SENTINEL urges the organization of a fire company of some kind.

St. Matthew's Church (Episcopal) gave a fair, realizing \$390.

R. M. Galbraith arrived in Laramie with his bride.

24th—Thanksgiving Day. Union religious services. Sermon by F. L. Arnold.

Married, at the Presbyterian church, by Rev. F. L. Arnold, N. C. Worth to Mrs. Jane E. Pollard.

25th—Born, to Mr. and Mrs. V. Baker, a son.

26th—A woman pilgrim from the Holy Land, named Hadji Isabey, delivered a lecture before the Literary and Library association.

30th—W. R. Thomas of the Denver News, delivered a lecture before the Literary and Library Association.

DECEMBER

1st—L. L. Lord, for several years roadmaster, resigned his position and left for the east. He was succeeded by Mr. Stockwell.

Eighteen carloads of fat cattle were shipped by Thomas Alsop from Laramie to Chicago.

3rd—Sharp rivalry between dealers brought coal down to \$8.50 per ton.

6th—Married, at the residence of Dr. Finfrock, by Rev. J. Cornell, Otto Gramm to Miss Catherine Sterrett.

The South Pass News says: Mrs. Justice Esther Morris retires from her judicial duties today. She has filled the position with great credit to herself and secured the good opinion of all with whom she transacted any official business.

School District No. 2 organized at Sherman by M. C. Brown as county superintendent.

10th—Going down the road to Sidney to hunt buffalo is the popular amusement of Laramie sportsmen.

12th—Pressly Wall shot and killed in the Bullard saloon by Littleton Lawrence. Both colored.

14th—M. G. Tonn opened up an extensive dry goods business in his new store on Second street.

16th—The scarcity of female help induces some of our citizens to try the experiment of Chinese labor. Dr. Finfrock engaged one this morning.

17th—Born, to Mr. and Mrs. Louis Miller, a daughter.

Three of Creighton's herders were shot by Indians, near Pine Bluffs.

18th—Serious explosions occurred in the coal mines at Carbon, setting the mines on fire and producing great consternation. For twenty-four hours the fires and explosions were so terrific that trains could not safely pass on the track near the mouth of the pit.

23rd—The census of the city of Denver showed a population of 4,759.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

May 16, 1944 to November 30, 1944

- United Air Lines, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of five pictures of World War II activities at the United Air Lines, Modification Center, Cheyenne.
- Magee, Mr. and Mrs. Wayland W., Bennington, Nebraska, donor of pamphlet on the Magee Summer Hill farm; two snapshots of Mr. and Mrs. Magee at Jackson Hole, Wyoming, September 1923.
- Fox, Mrs. Thomas V., Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one No. 5 Blickensderfer Typewriting machine.
- Ricketts, W. P., Sheridan, Wyoming, donor of one large oil painting of Mr. Ricketts Sheridan Ranch.
- Nagel, George, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one 1889 Stock Growers National Bank of Cheyenne check by E. Nagel; one envelope carried by James D. Morton of Douglas, Wyoming, May 20, 1938, the day every city and town in the United States received postal airmail, so arranged by the General Post Office, Washington, D. C.; one copy of Swan Land & Cattle Company, account of stockholders.
- Roseboom, Jess, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one copy of the *Rudiments of Geography* of 1822.
- Chapman, Mark, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of seventeen photographs of Cheyenne people and buildings.
- Warren, Fred, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of a framed photograph of his sister, Mrs. John J. Pershing, and her four children.
- McCullough, A. S., Clifton, Ohio, donor of a photostat of an 1897 envelope addressed to Mrs. Jane McCullough and showing an advertisement by James McClusky who, as a soldier was stationed at Fort Laramie in 1864; one Territorial Seal button.
- Mattes, Merrill J., Scotts Bluff National Monument, Gering, Nebraska, donor of two copies of the *History of Scotts Bluff, Nebraska*, by Dr. Donald D. Brand.
- Huntington, E. O., Lovell, Wyoming, donor of one copy of an 1898 Alaska Newspaper "The Dyea Trail".
- Chamberlain, E. L., La Grange, Wyoming, donor of one Spencer automatic rifle of 1860 model.
- Moore, Edward S., State Salvage Director, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of three scrapbooks of newspaper clippings on the scrap drives in Wyoming.
- Jenkins, Carl, Cheyenne, Wyoming, donor of one card giving description of Battle Lake, Carbon County, Wyoming; one snapshot showing a pack mule with equipment in the early mining days.

- Swan, Henry, United States National Bank, Denver, Colorado, donor of one photographic copy of a contract between the Swan Brothers, 1879; one copy of two western jingles written by Alexander H. Swan, 2nd.
- Swan, Alexander H. 2nd, 7046 Hollywood Ave., Hollywood, California, donor of the following articles of Mrs. Louise Swan Van Tassel's:
- One pair of boot hooks given to Mrs. Van Tassel by President Theodore Roosevelt.
 - Photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Swan in twin metal frame.
 - One leather traveling perfume case, used by Mrs. Swan on her European tour in 1884.
 - One pair of mother of pearl opera glasses.
 - One prayer and hymn book.
 - One large photograph of Percy Hoyt of Cheyenne, Wyoming.
 - Two photographs of Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel's home.
 - One photograph of Mrs. Robert D. Carey, with her daughter, Sarah.
 - One photograph of Charles Guernsey.
 - Four large photographs of the interior of Mrs. Van Tassel's home.
 - Three metal picture frames.
 - One ebony box from traveling case.
 - Piece of mane from "Wyoming" Cody horse used in endurance race between Rawlins, Wyoming, and Denver, Colorado; also small piece of rein of the bridle worn by "Wyoming".
 - Three sheets of music—songs of World War I by Maude McFerran Price.
 - One photograph of Mrs. Van Tassel in her buggy with her beautiful span of horses.
 - One photograph of Mrs. William Guthrie.
 - Two photographs of Tim McCoy "High Eagle".
 - One large scrap-book (red fabric with gold trimming) containing many personal items.
 - One large photograph album—mostly all of Mrs. Van Tassel from childhood to womanhood.
 - One guest book of Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel.
 - One large photograph of Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel.
 - One large tinted photograph of Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel.
 - One small photograph of Alex Swan.
 - One small photograph of Mrs. Alex Swan.
 - One group picture of Will R. Swan, George K. McGill, Nellie Stanly and Louise Swan.
 - One group photograph of Katie H. Friend, Sallie R. Searight, Lillie M. Morgan, Fannie H. Crook, Louise W. Swan, Espie S. Wood, Hattie White and Maude H. Smith.
 - One red leather book, expense account book of her European trip in 1884.
 - One letter from General John J. Pershing to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel, 1920.
 - One birthday greeting (a poem) by Floyd L. Heggie.
 - One engraved invitation to the 1899 World's Columbia Exposition issued to Mr. and Mrs. Van Tassel by Henry G. Hay.
 - A Certificate to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel, issued by George A. Kessler, President of the Permanent Blind Relief World War I Fund, for her services and as a contributing member.
 - One Certificate issued to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel by the Woman's Council of Defense, World War I.
 - One Certificate to Mrs. L. S. Van Tassel issued by the American Red Cross, World War I.

Witherbe, Beth, Box 2036, Vermilion, Alberta, Canada—donor of a *Cheyenne saddle* about 75 years old.

Graham, George, 1316 E. 18th St., Cheyenne, Wyoming—donor of one sword found on the Custer Battle field; one needle gun, 35 caliber, over 75 years old.

Books—Purchased

Zimmerman, Charles Leroy, *White Eagle*, Harrisburg, Pa. Telegraph Press 1941—\$2.20.

Spring, Agnes Wright, *William Chapin Deming*, Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1944, \$6.00.

Gifts

Parker, Donald Dean, *Local History*, How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It. Rev. by Bertha E. Josephson, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Map

Purchased from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., November, 1944, cost \$2.00, map of Lieut. F. T. Bryau's route when locating a military road between Fort Riley and Bridger's Pass.

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 17

July, 1945

No. 2

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



CAMP CARLIN IN ABOUT 1882

Published Bi-Annually
by
THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
Cheyenne, Wyoming

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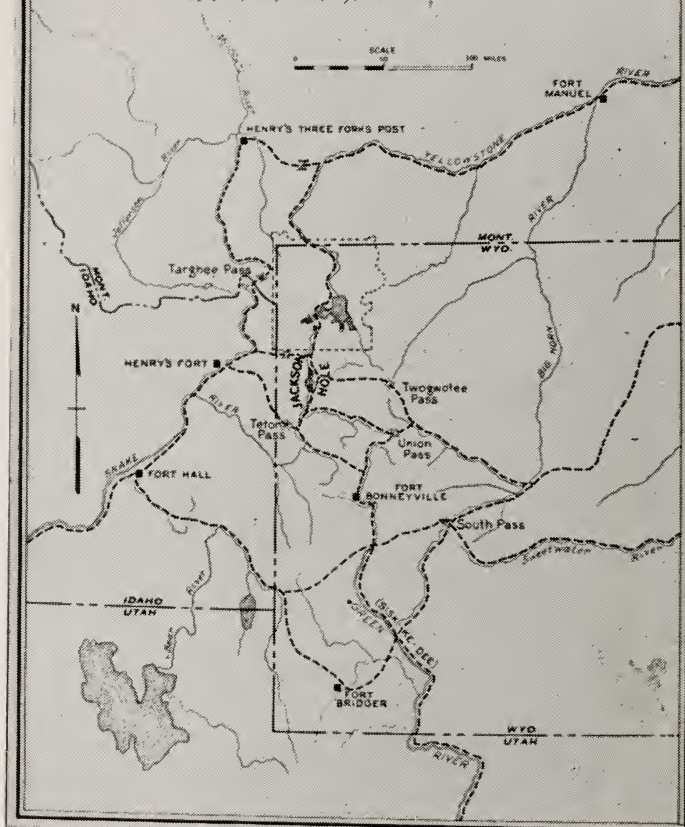
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TRAPPER TRAILS TO THE SISK-KE-DEE

Some of the more important routes used by the Mountain Men in exploiting the fur field of the transmountain country, 1810-1843.



Some of the more important routes used by the Mountain Men in exploiting the fur field of the transmountain country, 1810-1843.

Courtesy of Dr. Carl P. Russell.

Trapper Trails to the Sisk-ke-dee

By CARL P. RUSSELL*

Wyoming has a rich share of wonder spots and historic sites tucked away in its mountains and vast rolling grasslands. Of particular interest to the student of the Western fur trade is that comparatively small spot of high country in the north-western part of the State where the melting snows divide their waters three ways, sending them to the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf of California. The peculiar configuration of the terrain which brings about this three-way drainage had its effect upon the distribution and movements of the primitive peoples who inhabited the country, and, as might be expected, played a part in determining the routes of the first white explorers and the trails of the mountain men, or trappers, who discovered very early in the history of the west that this area was their particular paradise.

The region to which I refer is that high area where the Absarokas merge with the Wind River Range. It overlooks the fabled Jackson Hole and looks westward into the face of the spectacular Tetons. Flowing from these heights are the infant streams of the Snake's eastern headwaters. The Yellowstone arises here and flows northward; on the Atlantic side the Shoshone receives a part of the runoff as does the eastward flowing Wind; and the Green, queen of them all, claims a goodly share of the new-born waters and conveys them southward, surrendering them finally to the Colorado and the Gulf of Mexico.

To the Crow Indians whose tribal range included the heights referred to, the Green River was known as the "Seeds-ke-dee-agie" or Sage Hen River. Most of the mountain men used versions of this name. Ferris called it "Soos-ka-dee." To some it was known as the Rio Verde of the Spaniards. Others shortened this to Spanish River. Captain Bonneville adhered to the name Colorado of the West. To the average trapper, however, it was Sisk-ke-dee.

*Carl Parker Russell, Chief Naturalist, U. S. National Park Service, has been associated with the Service since 1923 as a park naturalist and, in turn, Chief of the Wildlife Division, Chief of the Museum Division, and Regional Director. He holds an A.B. degree from Ripon College and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He is the author of the book, "One Hundred Years in Yosemite," and many articles of scientific and historical nature in various journals. He has had a keen interest in the history of the American fur trade, the significance of which he regards as worthy of more attention.

The Sisk-ke-dee and most of the other rivers of the trans-mountain region did not figure in any important economic way in the American trapper's scheme of activity until the Ashley-Henry enterprise pushed westward through the South Pass. True, certain members of the Missouri Fur Company and the Astorians had been well acquainted with these water courses, and British interests had exploited them for more than a decade prior to Mr. Ashley's venture of 1823-24, but with a few notable exceptions the Americans, prior to the Ashley-Henry enterprise, had busied themselves on the east side of the Rockies. In order that the routes of the Ashley-Henry parties and their successors may be delineated and understood it will be advantageous to review briefly the history of some events which transpired prior to the advent of the rendezvous period in 1824.

The Trading Post System

On the Missouri and its tributaries the fur trade antedated the Lewis and Clark expedition and here it was characterized by the permanent trading post. A number of these outposts of commerce and civilization were established on the Missouri immediately after Lewis and Clark returned from the mouth of the Columbia. Manuel Lisa and his Missouri Fur Company in 1807 designed a system of strong posts in strategic places from which centers they could work the upper Missouri country systematically. It was a part of their plan to have the trapping done by their own employees rather than to depend entirely upon trade with Indians and free white trappers.

Lisa's Fort Manuel at the mouth of the Big Horn was built in 1808, the first post in the mountain country south of the 49th degree of latitude. From here Lisa's trappers ranged the upper Tongue, Powder, and Big Horn Rivers. From the site of this post, in the fall of 1807 prior to the actual construction of the fort, John Colter, one of Lisa's men made his epic journey of 1807-1808 into the Green River-Snake River-Upper Yellowstone regions for the purpose of inviting trade with the Crows and Blackfeet. Colter, presumably, was the first of the American trappers to reach Jackson Hole and the Sisk-ke-dee. His route continues to be controversial. Lisa was pleased with the beginnings made by his men in the mountain country and he returned to St. Louis in the summer of 1808 and merged his business with that of the Chouteaus, his former rivals in the trade.

The First Trans-Mountain Venture. Targhee Pass

Andrew Henry became a partner in this larger business and in 1809 accompanied the company's expedition to Fort Manuel. Henry led a party from Fort Manuel to the Three Forks of the Missouri where a post was built in 1810. The Black-

feet made short shrift of this invasion of their territory, and in escaping from the Blackfeet wrath Henry with a few followers became the second American trapper expedition to cross the Continental Divide. Under attack by the Indians he made his way southward up the Madison River, cross the mountains via the Targhee Pass, and descended the North Fork of the Snake (which tributary now bears his name) to a point near St. Anthony, Idaho, where Henry's Fort was established,—the first American post west of the mountains. The record is woefully lacking in detail but there is every reason to believe that Henry's men explored not only the Jackson Hole, but also the tributary streams in this vicinity, the Hoback, Grays, and the Salt which entered the Snake from the South. In the Spring of 1811, the Missouri Fur Company party dispersed. Henry with a few companions succeeded in retracing his route to the Three Forks and in transporting the year's catch of beaver down the Missouri. They reached St. Louis in October, 1811.

Twogwotee Pass

John Hoback, Edward Robinson, and Jacob Reznor, prominent members of the Henry party, moved eastward from the Snake, across Jackson Hole, and over the Continental Divide via Twogwotee Pass, thence down the Wind River and on to the Missouri. These men, Hoback, Robinson, and Reznor, deserve special niches in the Westerners' Hall of Fame. Hoback has a lasting memorial in the form of a well-known Wyoming river and its impressive canyon; Robinson and Reznor are forgotten by all but the historian.

After spending three years of danger and privation in the Rocky Mountain wilderness, this trio of adventurers made their way back to the threshold of civilization only to turn again into the wilds on May 26, 1811, with Hunt's west-bound Astorians. Hunt's party was encountered by them near the mouth of the Niobrara. The partners faced about and, as did Colter when home-bound, he met Lisa's party enroute to the mountains in 1807, guided the newcomers over the route which they had just traversed.

Union Pass

When they ascended the Wind River in September of 1811, Hunt wrote, "On the 15th, Wind River was quitted and an Indian trail was followed southwesterly into the mountains. One of our hunters who had been on the shores of the Columbia, showed us three immensely high and snow-covered peaks (the three Tetons) which he said were situated on the banks of a tributary of that river. On the 16th snow was encountered; there were large patches of it on the summit and on

the slopes of the mountains exposed to the north. Halt was made beside Spanish River, (the Green), a large stream on the banks of which, according to Indian report, the Spaniards live. It flows toward the west and empties, supposedly, into the Gulf of California." (Hunt, in *Nouvelles Annales des voyages*, etc., Paris, 1821. Quoted by Rollins, *Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, 1935, pp. 286-287.) It is worthy of note, however, that the map which was prepared to accompany this French version of Hunt's journal shows the Spanish River as continuous with the del Norte or Rio Grande.

Hunt descended along the Green for two days, then ascended a tributary which permitted a northwesterly course so moving very quickly to the divide on the Gros Ventre Range between the Green and the Hoback, thence down the Hoback to the Snake, and into Jackson Hole. At the confluence of the Hoback and the Snake, Hunt recorded on September 17, 1811: "On its (the Snake's) banks and a little above the confluence, are situated the three peaks which we had seen on the 15th. We should have continued at that time to follow Wind River and to cross over the mountains because we would have reached the headwaters of this river; but lack of provisions forced us to make for the banks of Spanish River." (Rollins, p. 288).

Teton Pass

Thus we learn that the west-bound Astorians and the mountain-wise Hoback-Robinson-Reznor combination used the Union Pass-Green River-Hoback route in entering Jackson Hole. Their exit westward from this favored valley was made via the Teton Pass, already well known to Henry and his followers. On the Pacific side of the Teton Range in a country with which they were familiar because of their sojourn there (Fort Henry) in 1810-11, the partners detached themselves from Hunt's party and remained on the Snake to trap beaver. Martin H. Cass and Joseph Miller, of the Astorians, remained with them. Here, in 1812, Robert Stuart and his returning Astorians encountered the isolated party and learned of their explorations on the Snake, Bear, and the Green. The partners were supplied with new equipment by Stuart and they continued to occupy the Snake River wilds until all were killed by Indians on the Boise River in 1814.

The story of Hoback, Robinson, and Reznor, their accomplishments and aspirations, shines but dimly through the rather scanty record of the early events of westward expansion of American commerce and empire. Could it be told in full, I have the feeling that it would constitute a saga of sacrifice, endurance, and faith in national destiny second to none among our western folk tales. Probably it is too much

to hope that dependable sources of information regarding the affairs of the unusual triumvirate may yet come to light.

South Pass

When Hunt and his ragged band staggered into Astoria early in 1812 they entered a post that had been established nearly a year previously by Mr. Astor's sea expedition of 1810. It was decided by the partners in charge of the outpost that another overland expedition was in order. Robert Stuart was made leader of a party which consisted of seven white men. They started late in June, 1812, made their way up the Columbia and on to the Snake, where, on August 20, near the present-day town of Grandview, in southeastern Idaho, as already stated, they came upon Messrs. Hoback, Reznor, Robinson, and Miller fishing in the Snake. The four explorers described to Stuart their adventures in the country south and east of the Snake, and accompanied the party eastward to a point where Hunt had cached some equipment the year before. Stuart writes, "I . . . proceeded to open the remaining 3 caches where we found a few dry goods, traps, and ammunition, out of which I furnished Robinson, Reznor and Hobough as far as lay in my power with everything necessary for a two years' hunt, which they are to make on this river below Henry's Fort as they preferred that to returning in their present ragged condition to civilized society. Mr. Miller's curiosity and desire of travelling through the Indian countries being fully satisfied he has determined on accompanying us."

Under Miller's guidance Stuart's party left the Snake at the mouth of the Fort Neuf and proceeded southeasterly along the last named stream on a route which if followed persistently would have taken it via the Bear and the Green directly over a trail which a few decades later became an established road to the Platte,—the South Pass-Fort Bridger-Fort Hall section of the inevitable Oregon Trail. But the guide, Miller, lost his determination. Confused by the convolutions of the Bear (called then Miller's River) he admitted his indecision and Stuart decided to move northward to the Hunt route over the Tetons (Teton Pass) and into Jackson Hole. This he did at great expenditure of time and energy, finally reaching the Hoback and the Green. His camp on the Hoback on October 9, 1812, was but thirty miles from his position of September 17 at the confluence of Grays River and the Snake. Once upon the Green, Stuart laid his course to take him over the continental divide through that wide gap, the "shorter trace to the South," referred to by an Indian informant, a one-time guide for Mr. Hunt, who had advised Stuart two months earlier, while his party still was in central Idaho. Thus the returning Astorians became the first white men known to use South Pass. On the

22nd of October they passed from the Green River drainage to the Sweetwater, a feeder stream of the North Platte. This geographical triumph might have been momentous but fate decreed that Stuart's accomplishment should be ignored or forgotten for forty years. In the meantime, another "discovery" of South Pass (the Ashley-Henry use of the route, 1824) was inscribed upon the pages of history.

The War of 1812

Stuart and his associates had no inkling that his country had declared war upon Great Britain a few days prior to his departure from Astoria. On the very day that he had learned from an Indian at the mouth of the Boise River, "of a shorter trace to the South," (South Pass) Fort Dearborn on the Chicago was laid in ruins and its garrison massacred. Indian bands which had rallied to the British side were raiding the Illinois and Missouri frontiers throughout much of the time that Stuart was enroute East. In February, 1813, John C. Luttig records that the Bigbillies at Fort Manuel on the Missouri (on the present boundary between North and South Dakota) stated, "two men from the Northwest Company came under pretext to trade dressed skins . . . They began to harangue against the American traders . . . (saying) the Northwest Company would furnish them with everything if they would go to war and rob and kill the Americans. . . . Chief Borne made speeches to that end but retired without success . . . Thus are those Bloodhounds, the British, constantly employed, to destroy the Americans and their trade. . . . Our government does not care . . . how many citizens are sacrificed by British influence. . . . If there was a fort at the River St. Peters . . . and another in these parts . . . it would do good to hunters and traders." (Drum, Stella M., Ed., "Journal of a Fur-trading expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813." St. Louis, 1920, p. 123).

Canadians of the Northwest Company had been active in the northern Columbia region since 1807. Fort Kootenay and posts on Pend d'Oreille Lake and in the Flathead country had been established by the British prior to 1810. When the Astor interests were acquired there were added to the British establishments Astoria, and such other embryonic subsidiary outposts as Fort Okanagan, and Spokane House initiated by the Americans in 1811. The remunerative business enjoyed for such a short time by the Astor Company was entered into by the "Northwesters" most vigorously and the Oregon country was regarded by these Canadians and by the several former Astor employees who had joined them,—Duncan McDougal at their head,—as being well within the firm grasp of Great Britain.

But British statesmen experienced a change of heart regarding their war with America. In 1814 they joined with American commissioners at Ghent, in Belgium, and there, about a year after Captain Black laid claim to Astoria, agreed to stop the fighting and restore all captured territory to the original owners. The British minister in Washington denied the right of the United States to re-occupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia, claiming that the place had not been captured; that it had been purchased, and that the Oregon country had been occupied in the name of the British King prior to the War of 1812. After lengthy diplomatic exchanges it was finally agreed that the post should be returned to the Americans, but that the question of title to the territory should be considered in further negotiations. Out of these negotiations grew the convention of 1818 which recognized the rights of both countries to "joint occupancy" of the region west of the Rocky Mountains for a period of ten years. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed its great rival, the Northwest Company, and obtained exclusive British privileges of trading in all that region drained by the Columbia.

The Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia

The Northwest Company had found that the Indians of Oregon were not good hunters. A new policy was inaugurated,—that of sending parties of its own white employees with halfbreed and Indian hunters into the mountains to trap. After the union in 1821 with the Hudson's Bay Company this practice was continued. The parties went inland, east and south-east and also down the coast to California. This was the period of British field forays which provided Alexander Ross, John Work, Francis Ermatinger, Peter Skene Ogden, A. R. McLeod, and other officials of the Hudson's Bay Company with the experiences on the Snake, the Green, and in the Great Basin upon which they reported in writing; reports which today find significant places in the literature of the western fur trade. These men were intent upon the economic success of their industry but their recorded thoughts suggest that they wanted more than immediate financial gain. In 1824-25 Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, traveled in a canoe from York Factory, to Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia to rehabilitate for England the fur trade in the Oregon country and to divert the claims of the United States to rights there. (See Merk, 1931. "Fur Trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal" p. 277.) Later Simpson engaged in some wishful thinking when he wrote that the American route into Oregon along the Willamette "is impassable even to hunters, and the Louis's River (Snake) route is unthinkable . . . so that I am of the opinion we have little

to apprehend from settlers in this quarter (Fort Vancouver), and from Indian traders nothing; as none except large capitalists could attempt it, and this attempt would cost a heavy sum of money, of which they could never recover much. This they are well aware of, therefore as regards formidable opposition I feel perfectly at ease unless the all-grasping policy of the American government should induce it to embark some of its national wealth in furtherance of the object." (Simpson writing to Hudson's Bay Company Officials in London. Sent from Fort Vancouver, March 1, 1829. Quoted by M. S. Sullivan in his "Travels of Jedediah Smith," 1934, p. 150).

During the period of exploitation by the Hudson's Bay Company the rich fur country west of the Rockies was not altogether forgotten by Americans, but legislators were very loath to give attention to it. A Congressional committee appointed to inquire into "The expediency of occupying the Columbia River" had existed since December 1820. Dr. John Floyd, "a child of the Kentucky frontier," and Congressman from Virginia, was chairman of this committee and a friend of Governor William Clark (of Lewis and Clark fame) and Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. To this trio of westward expansionists in Washington, D. C., went Ramsey Crooks and Russell Farnham, former Astorians. Crooks had traveled through South Pass with Stuart; Farnham, during the war of 1812, had walked across Siberia to deliver documents to Mr. Astor. In Washington they lived in the same hotel with Dr. Floyd and provided him with factual data regarding the wealth and accessibility of the Oregon country. Bills prepared by Dr. Floyd requiring the President to occupy the Columbia Valley and to establish the Territory of Oregon were presented in 1821, 1822, 1823, and 1824. The Congress refused to pass the bills but considerable public interest was aroused. Perhaps these futile attempts to gain legislative recognition of Oregon had a bearing upon the action of William Henry Ashley of St. Louis (another friend of Thomas Hart Benton) in organizing his epoch-making enterprise on the Sisk-ke-deean enterprise that was to bring the first effective resistance to the British aggressiveness west of the Rockies, and to result, finally, in the settlement of Oregon in spite of the lethargy of Congress.

The Rendezvous Period of the Western Fur Trade

The Missouri Republican in the spring of 1822 carried the following advertisement:

"To Enterprising Young Men

The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years. For particulars

GREEN RIVER AND THE TRAPPERS' RENDEZVOUS 1824-1840



GREEN RIVER AND THE TRAPPERS' RENDEZVOUS 1824-1840

Drawn under the supervision of Dr. Carl P. Russell.

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enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the lead mines in the county of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

Wm. H. Ashley

March 20, 1822''

The Major Andrew Henry referred to in the advertisement was none other than the Henry who with a party of Lisa's men had crossed to the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains in 1810 and established Fort Henry on the Snake, the first American post west of the Continental Divide. Henry had not forgotten the beaver streams of the Upper Snake, where, in 1810-11, traps were hardly necessary in the business of taking pelts. Out of the Ashley-Henry recruiting grew an organization of Mountain Men destined to search out every valley in the trans-mountain region and to exploit every trail thereto. Such giants of the pioneer west as Jedediah Smith, the four Sublette brothers, Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Bridger, David Jackson, Henry Fraeb, Robert Campbell, and Etienne Provot took their first steps toward enduring fame when they answered Mr. Ashley's advertisement. The "river Missouri to its source" did not hold for long these makers of history.

In September, 1823, a party of Ashley's men, mounted, set out from Fort Kiowa, on the Missouri River, for the interior. Jedediah Smith was their leader. Heavy snows delayed them first on the Wind and later on the Sweetwater. On the last-named stream near a point later known as Three Crossings in March, 1824, they cached a part of their supplies and equipment and agreed to assemble at this place about the first of June. They then ascended to South Pass, became the first white men to cross through the pass from the East and entered the valley of the Sisk-ke-dee, where they separated and engaged in a highly successful hunt. By June 15, all members of the original party had returned through South Pass and assembled at the appointed place of meeting near the Three Crossings of the Sweetwater,—a reunion which presaged the arrival of a new institution in the fur trade, the annual rendezvous.

Henry and a part of his company returned to St. Louis with their profitable results of the spring hunt. Ashley, encouraged by the favorable returns from his transmountain ventures personally led a mid-winter expedition to the mountains. In April, 1825, he reached the Green and despatched his men in four separate groups to the beaver streams. Before they parted a place of rendezvous was agreed upon—Henry's fork of the Green.

In the course of the 1825 forays, there occurred a clash with Peter Skene Ogden's Hudson's Bay Company trappers,

foreshadowing the several years of conflict with the British interests which were to follow. Twenty-three members of Ogden's party attached themselves, with their spring catch of beaver, to Ashley's company. The true circumstances of the defection of the Hudson's Bay Company men remained a mystery to students of fur trade history until Frederick Merk dug from the London files of the Hudson's Bay Company records of Ogden's official account of the affair. (Frederick Merk, "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June 1934, pp. 49-77; also in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, June, 1934, pp. 93-122.) In Journal No. 762 is a communication of July 10, 1825, from Ogden to Governor Simpson, Ogden writes:

"On the 23 (of May, 1825) a party of 15 Canadians and Spanjards headed by one Provost and Francois an Iroquois Chief who deserted from our party two years since joined us . . . shortly after the arrival of the above party another of 25 to 30 Americans headed by one Gardner and a Spanjard with 15 of our trappers who had been absent about two days also made their appearance; they encamped within 100 yards of our camp and hoisted the American flag, and proclaimed to all that they were in the United States territories and were all free. It was now night and nothing more transpired. The ensuing morning Gardner came to my tent and after a few words of no import he questioned me as follows: 'Do you know in whose country you are?' to which I made answer that I did not, as it was not determined between Great Britain and America to whom it belonged . . . He then left my tent and seeing him go in an Iroquois tent (John Grey) I followed him. On my entering this villain Grey said, 'I must now tell you that all the Iroquois as well as myself have long wished for an opportunity to join the Americans, and if we did not the last three years, it was owing to our bad luck in not meeting them, but now we go and all you can say or do cannot prevent us . . . We have now been five years in your service. The longer we remain the more indebted we become, although we give 150 beaver a year. We are now in a free country and have friends to support us, and go we will. If every man in the camp does not leave you they do not seek their own interest.' He then gave orders to raise camp and in an instant all the Iroquois were in motion and ready to start. This example was soon followed by others, a scene of confusion ensued . . . Finding myself with only twenty trappers left surrounded on

all sides by enemies I resolved on returning to the Snake River."

The alliance of the Hudson's Bay Company men with Ashley's company had a favorable effect upon the morale of the Americans, contributed to the strength of Ashley's personnel, and yielded an important addition to his strings of pack animals. Merk concludes that 700 beaver were purchased and added to Ashley's returns by this incident,—not a tremendous stroke of business so far as immediate results were concerned, but its influence on the over-all campaign of the American trappers in the Oregon country was significant. That the transaction had the approbation of government officials is indicated by the commendation of Thomas Forsyth, (see H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 1935, p. 911), who wrote from St. Louis on October 24, 1831, to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War:

"Perhaps it would not be exceeding the truth to say that half a million of dollars in furs are now annually brought down the Missouri River that formerly went to Hudson Bay, and it is the enterprising spirit of General Ashley which has occasioned the change of this channel of trade."

For fifteen years after the Ogden-Gardner incident, act throughout the rendezvous period, Hudson's Bay Company parties were met and opposed by American trappers in the regions west of the mountains. Sanguinary encounters were avoided, but a persistent fight for supremacy in the trade was waged out of which grew American strength and repudiation of the British claim to territory. A. R. McLeod's official Hudson's Bay Company journals for the Oregon department testify that "due in part to the heavy slaughter of beaver, but more to the growing competition of the Americans our beaver returns from the Oregon country began to decrease after 1827." (W. S. Lewis and P. C. Phillips, "*The Journal of John Work*," 1923, pp. 21-30.)

The Ashley-Henry enterprise was so remunerative to its owners as to enable them to quit the mountains after the 1826 rendezvous. Their business was sold to three of the men who had helped to build it,—Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and Wm. Sublette. These indefatigable workers embraced the entire west in their field of action. Their energy and sense of patriotic duty did much toward awakening the nation to a realization of the nature and value of far western lands. Their reports made to Federal authorities still stand as highly important geographical contributions and Smith's Journals have provided the basis for many important historical treatises as

well as volumes of legendary stories. David Jackson's name is perpetuated in the historic Jackson Hole National Monument and in the beautiful Jackson Lake under the Tetons. In 1830, the three partners withdrew from the strenuous business in the mountains and sold their interests to five of their employees, who operated as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

In the six years that had elapsed since Mr. Ashley opened the Green River region to American enterprise, considerable commercial interest and public concern were focused upon it. The American Fur Company, Mr. Astor's great organization, entered the transmountain arena in 1829. This was the firm that was destined to demolish or absorb all competitors west of the mountains. Gant and Blackwell entered the fray in 1831 and lasted through 1833. Captain B. L. E. Bonneville was active from 1832 through 1835. N. J. Wyeth and his New Englanders played their interesting roles in 1832-1836. Robert Campbell's and Wm. Sublette's company constituted an entity in 1833-6, although the owners had been conspicuous participants in the trade long before their company was formed. Thos. Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, and James Bridger, all men of the original Ashley parties, were the last to offer competition to the powerful American Fur Company. Their partnership was established in 1834 and lasted until 1836, in which year they sold their business to the American Fur Company. Several small, independent operators also had attempted to insert themselves in the fur trade picture west of South Pass, but their activities were very short-lived. The effective beaver brigades of the rendezvous period were limited to those of the nine companies mentioned above.

The fifteen annual meetings, which followed the assembly of 1824 on the Sweetwater were held from 1825 through 1840 on the Green (eight meetings); the Wind (three); the Weber (two); the Bear (one); and the Snake (one). Due to a miscarriage of plans for the transportation of trade goods there was no summer rendezvous in 1831. (For an account of some details of the annual meetings see "Winderness Rendezvous Period of the American Fur Trade," by Carl P. Russell, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1941, pp. 1-47. A map showing rendezvous sites appears as Plate 102, "Green River and the Trappers Rendezvous, 1824-1840," Atlas of American History, New York, 1943.)

In 1834 the Methodist Missionary Society obtained the co-operation of N. J. Wyeth, Boston fur trader, in escorting the Reverend Jason Lee and three assistants to the Oregon country. This was the beginning of a continuing travel across country by Protestant missionaries. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman followed in 1835 and many others including Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Henry Harmon Spalding, the first

white women to cross the continent (1836), joined the trapper parties each year. These families were the first bona fide American settlers on the Columbia. Their writings were voluminous and convincing. By precept and example, the church workers played prominent part in winning the Oregon country by arousing public interest in settlement. They were carried to their place of leadership by the fur trade.

The Hudson's Bay Company continued to be active within the same areas trapped by the Americans. Gardner's encounter with Ogden in 1825 was but the first of many conflicts in the field, none of which resulted in physical combat. The British leaders at the very beginning of the rendezvous period sensed the fact that their activities on the Snake, the Green, and the Bear would soon be brought to an end by the American trappers; so more Canadians were sent south and east of the Columbia to meet the American competition. John Work and James W. Dease were leaders among the newcomers. Dease took over the Flathead House, and Ogden, who for several years was in charge of the interior trade, commanded brigades in the Salt Lake country and California and worked the headwaters of the Snake. He withdrew in 1831, and John Work followed him as chief of this British business. Work, in turn, was succeeded by A. R. McLeod. In 1835-36 John Forsyth, Secretary of State, bent upon obtaining "certain specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon or Columbia River" sent William A. Slacum to investigate and report to the United States Government. Slacum's statement is contained in a memorial address to Congress on December 18, 1837. A part of it is as follows:

"... last year (1836) Chief Trader McLeod (of the Hudson's Bay Company) took up to the American rendezvous in about lat. 43 deg. north, a large supply of British manufactures. This assemblage of American trappers takes place annually on the Western side of the Rocky Mountains, generally in the month of July, and amounts to 450 or 500 men who bring the results of their year's labor to sell to the American Fur Traders. These persons purchase their supplies for the trappers at St. Louis, though after being subject to the duties on these articles (chiefly of British manufacture) they transport their goods about 1400 miles by land to sell to citizens of the United States within our lines of acknowledged territory. Last year they met a powerful opponent in the agent of this foreign monopoly. Chief Trader McLeod, who could well afford to undersell the American fur trader on his own grounds; first by having the advan-

tage of water communication on the Columbia and Lewis Rivers for a distance of 700 to 800 miles; and secondly by introducing the goods free of duty which is equal to at least 25 to 35 percent. But a greater evil than this exists in the influence the Hudson's Bay Company exercises over the Indians by supplying them with arms and ammunition which may prove at some future period highly dangerous to our frontier settlements." (Slacum's Report, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, House Report, 101. See also *Oregonian and Indians Advocate*, Oct. 1838, p. 9.)

The Oregon Memorial of 1838, a citizens' petition addressed to Congress, asked that the United States take possession of Oregon, "the germ of a great state." It was signed by thirty-six residents of the Willamette Valley, including some one-time trappers. Jason Lee, escorted by fur traders, carried the document East. The resulting Congressional agitation over Oregon stimulated public interest in the settlement of Oregon, and the wave of feeling regarding "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" found its beginnings. At this time the Hudson's Bay Company establishment at Ft. Vancouver (opposite the present Portland, Oregon) consisted of an enclosed group of thirty-four buildings and forty-nine scattered dwellings. About 800 British subjects resided here near the mouth of the Willamette and 3,000 acres of land was fenced and under cultivation by Hudson's Bay Company interests. (See Report of Select Committee on bill authorizing occupation of Oregon submitted to Senate June 6, 1838. *Oregonian and Indians Advocate*, V. 1, No. 1, October, 1838.)

By 1840, the trade in beaver pelts had waned and all but died. Joseph L. Meek, who for ten years had frequented the trappers' trails, records that in the summer of 1840 he sought and failed to find any of the usual parties enroute to rendezvous. The American Fur Company, however, did hold that year a final assembly on the Sisk-ke-dee. Some account of it is contained in Father Pierre-Jean deSmet's "Letters and Sketches." Joel P. Walker, brother of Joseph Reddiford Walker, with his family traveling in three wagons, accompanied the same fur trader's party in which deSmet proceeded to the Green River. The Walker family continued westward from the Green to Fort Hall on the Snake where the wagons were abandoned. The trappers, who, under the leadership of Robert Newell, had guided the emigrants as far as Fort Hall, fell heir to the vehicles. They stripped them of their boxes and made their way with them to Whitman's Mission at Waiilatpu near the present Walla Walla, Washington, so winning the praise of the missionary for bringing the first wheels

to the Columbia. (On May 2, 1943, a 10,000 ton Liberty ship, the "Robert Newell," glided into the water of the Willamette in the yards of the Oregon Ship Building Company, a modern recognition of one trapper's part in the winning of Oregon.) Close behind the trapper's wagon came a veritable procession of emigrant parties. The Oregon Trail replaced the trapper route almost overnight. Trappers became guides in the great overland movement and when the end of the trail was reached many of them remained to assume places of leadership in community management.

The first Oregon settlers could not obtain title to the lands they occupied except by "squatters' rights." On May 2, 1843, a meeting of Oregon citizens was held at Champoege in the Willamette Valley. Attaches of the Hudson's Bay Company attended for the purpose of thwarting any move to upset the established British regime but they were outnumbered by a scant majority of two votes. (See "Oregon's Hundredth Birthday," by Howard R. Driggs, in the Horace Mann Report, June, 1943; also "Wagons West" by Phillip H. Parrish, the Old Oregon Trail Centennial, Portland, Oregon, 1943). Thus a Provisional Government was established by compact in order that the immediate civil needs of the community might be met.

By this time the Oregon question had ridden into national politics on the back of the Texas problem and there existed a general determination that American rights in the far northwest could not be abandoned. A cry for war with Britain spread from the frontier to the nation's capital, and the War and Navy Departments consulted with Congressional committees in preparation of sane and effective measures. Polk was elected President of the United States in 1844 on a platform that demanded the acquisition of the entire Oregon country ("54-40 or fight!"), and the Oregon excitement culminated on January 5, 1846, in a Senate resolution to put an end to Britain's permits on the Columbia. On April 26, 1846, the President transmitted the notice for termination of Joint Occupancy of Oregon. Lord Aberdeen, the British foreign minister, drafted a compromise treaty in accordance with that notice and the present international boundary (49th parallel) was established. The Hudson's Bay Company withdrew from its posts on the Columbia, but many of its employees remained to become citizens of the United States. The territory of Oregon as first established included the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and portions of Montana and Wyoming. A notable number of the early statesmen, business men, and community leaders in the territory were drawn from the ranks of the American fur brigades.

In the fulfillment of the American destiny in the greater Oregon, the fur trade was not an incident; it was an epoch. The mountain men not only hunted out the trails and passes which opened the transmountain country to Americans; their industry and trade also provided the physical vehicle which carried the American idea to the Columbia, and they, as individuals, laid the foundations upon which our commerce, statesmanship, diplomacy, and culture in the northwest have built through a century. No fitting memorial to their cumulative accomplishment was created until President Roosevelt, by his Proclamation of March 15, 1943, established Jackson Hole National Monument.

Jackson Hole in Fur Trade History

Jackson Hole and its beaver streams epitomize the trappers' role in the winning of the West. Trapper activity impinged upon the famed valley to provide the very opening of the westward expansion movement. John Colter, after participating in the Lewis and Clark epic, is believed by many historians to have made his way into it in 1807 or 1808, and, as indicated in the pages which precede, the Henry party of Lisa's men and the Astor claimants of the Columbia focused their attention upon it during a three-year period prior to 1812. With the advent of the rendezvous system, the remarkable system of natural passes and primitive trails which give access to it came into heavy use. From it as a center radiate six major routes of prime importance to the fur brigades. Trails converge upon Jackson Hole as do the spokes of a wheel upon their hub. These routes were in constant use by the Indian for untold centuries before the white man came. Nature in shaping the mountain masses which enclose Jackson Hole provided passageways which determined this use by the far-ranging red man and the trappers of both Britain and America. The scenic valley became one of the trappers' favorite haunts and a practical base of operations. It was both a great source of beaver and also the crossroads of their trails to the other important basins of the Rocky Mountains,—the Columbia drainage, the Yellowstone and the upper Missouri, the Wind, the Green, and the Bear. In these great fur fields was staged the powerful moving drama of "Joint Occupancy." Here was no playing of diplomacies by the textbook; the nation's effective energy of westward expansion awakened in the trappers' camps of the Snake and the Green. The heritage of western American traits and frontier tradition, in which we as a nation take pride, finds living expression in this very appropriate historic reserve, the Jackson Hole National Monument. No other spot in the old Oregon country could constitute a more significant shrine.

Documents and Letters

WERE THE VERENDRYE BROTHERS THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN WYOMING?

It is an accepted historical fact that John Colter was the first white man to penetrate the country which is now Wyoming, as early as 1807.

However, while not a proven fact, it seems to be a conclusion of leading historians, that the Verendrye brothers were within the State of Wyoming as early as 1742-43. As there are a number of theories as to the course they took, the matter is still one of controversy. The Verendrye Journals do not make it possible for anyone to say with any degree of certainty where they went and there is little corroborative material.

Dr. Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa, Canada, a student of the Verendrye Journals and an authority especially on this matter, has a sketch "La Verendrye—Pathfinder of the West", in an issue of the Canadian Geographical Journal, which we are including in this number of the Annals. Dr. Burpee is the author of "The Search for the Western Sea" and many papers dealing with the Verendrye journeys.

We are also including excerpts and maps from articles of students of this enigma, which will verify their theories. Some historians firmly believe these French Canadians reached Wyoming, others believe that they came only to the eastern Black Hills in what is South Dakota today.

Dr. O. G. Libby of the University of South Dakota, has an article, "Some Verendrye Enigmas", in the September 1916 Mississippi Valley Historical Review in which he gives his opinion of the Verendrye trek.

In the next number of the Review, Doan Robinson and Charles E. DeLand of the South Dakota Historical Society, both took issue with Dr. O. G. Libby on his September Review Article. Dr. Libby answers their criticisms in the same issue. All this brings out the point, whether or not, these Frenchmen, ever came into that part of the country which is Wyoming today. Maps are included with some of these articles, which greatly help in the interpretation of each writer's opinion of this trek.

In the Proceeding of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1907-1908—Warren Upham has an article "The Explorations of Verendrye and His Sons", in which he reviews their discovery of the Rocky Mountains.

A cairn monument was erected by the Verendrye brothers under which they buried a leaden plate commemorating the expedition. This plate was found by South Dakota school children in 1913. Prints of this plate with the translation of the inscription are also included here.

These papers, some for and some against the theory that these French voyageurs ever reached Wyoming make interesting history for Wyoming, and whether it will ever be proven as an established fact that they were the first white men to ever put foot on Wyoming soil, is a matter that only time and constant research will reveal.

However it leaves a question of doubt as to whether John Colter was the first white man in Wyoming.—M.H.E.

La VERENDRYE—PATHFINDER OF THE WEST***By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE**

Of all that gallant company of adventurers who helped, each in his time and degree, to unroll the map of Canada, one alone was native born—La Vérendrye, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye,—to give him his full, high-sounding name—was born in the town of Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence, in November, 1685. As his name suggests, he was of gentle birth, his father being Governor of the district of which Three Rivers was the capital. His mother was a daughter of Pierre Boucher, a former Governor of the same district.

With La Vérendrye's early years we are not concerned here. It was not, in fact, until he had reached well into the forties that he began the course of western exploration which was to engage all his thought and energy for the remainder of his life, and bring him abundant fame, though not in his own lifetime or for many years afterwards. Without doubt La Vérendrye had dreamed and planned schemes of western discovery long before there was any possibility of turning them into realities. He had served in the army, both in America and Europe, had been seriously wounded at the battle of Malplaquet, had afterwards married and settled down for a time on the St. Maurice, and in 1726 had been put in command of an important trading post on Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior.

Here there came to him one day an Indian named Ochagach, who told him that he had travelled far towards the setting sun until he came to a great lake, out of which a river flowed to the westward. He had descended this river, he said, until he reached a point where the water ebbed and flowed. He had not been able to go down to its mouth because of hostile tribes, but had been told that the river emptied into a great salt lake or sea.

La Vérendrye's imagination, already filled with pictures of the unknown land beyond Lake Superior, took fire, and he determined at all costs to seek for and find that Western Sea which had been the elusive goal of all the explorers of New France. Resigning his Nipigon command he returned to Quebec, taking with him a curious map drawn by Ochagach. The then Governor General, the Marquis de Beauharnois, was a man of broad views, keenly interested in the cause of western discovery. He entered warmly into the plans of La Vérendrye,

*Canadian Geographical Journal vol. VI no. 4, pp. 159-168. (April 1933).

and wrote Louis XV urging that the explorer should be given the command of a hundred men and sufficient supplies and equipment to carry his project to a successful conclusion. The King, however, was at that time deeply engaged in European wars, and all that he would agree to was that La Vérendrye should be given a monopoly of the fur trade in the country beyond Lake Superior. That is to say, he was permitted to build trading posts and trade with the Indians, and might use the profits to cover the cost of his discoveries towards the Western Sea.

Not a very promising scheme from any point of view, and one that at the best must necessarily mean very slow progress in exploration. Any man less enthusiastic and determined would have thrown the matter up in disgust. La Vérendrye, however, set to work at once, put his own little fortune into the project, and, not without difficulty, persuaded some of the Montreal merchants to go into partnership with him, on the understanding that they would provide equipment and supplies and pay the men, and in return get all the profits of the fur trade.

In the early summer of 1731, therefore, we find the expedition setting forth from Montreal, in a brigade of birch-bark canoes. With La Vérendrye went three sons, his nephew La Jemeraie, and a party of canoemen, hunters and soldiers—a very much smaller party than that contemplated by the Governor, but the best that La Vérendrye could manage with his limited resources.

Their way lay up the Ottawa that waterway that had been the recognized route to the west since its discovery by Champlain. They ascended the river past the Long Sault, scene of the heroic exploit of Daulac and his young comrades; past the Chaudiere, sacred to generations of Indians; past Allumette Island, where the Algonquin Chief Tessouat had contemptuously denounced Vignau to Champlain; over the swampy height of land to Lake Nipissing; and down French River to Georgian Bay. From there they followed the north shore of Lake Huron and St. Marys River to Sault Ste. Marie, where there had been a Jesuit Mission and a trading post for many years; and skirted the shore of Lake Superior until they came to what was afterwards to become famous as Grand Portage—one of three recognized water routes from Lake Superior to the west.

To La Vérendrye's indignation and disgust, the voyageurs who had followed him so far, now took it into their stupid heads to mutiny. They refused to accompany him into the unknown country that lay beyond. Finding it impossible to do anything with them, at any rate for the time being, the explorer sent La Jemeraie forward with a small party of picked

men to build an advanced post, while he himself took the malcontents north to the mouth of the Kaministikwia, to spend the winter. La Jemeraye made his way from Grand Portage over the water route that other explorers and fur traders were to use for a hundred years, and that today forms the international boundary between Canada and the United States. When he reached the point where Rainy River flows out of the lake of the same name, he thought it prudent to go no farther. He and his men set to work to build a small fort, which they named Fort St. Pierre. It stood in or near the present town of Fort Frances.

In the spring of 1732 La Vérendrye and his party followed the same route to Fort St. Pierre and, leaving a few men in charge, paddled down Rainy River to the Lake of the Woods. On the west side of that lake, in what was afterwards to become famous in diplomatic history as the North West Angle, they built Fort St. Charles. This became La Vérendrye's headquarters for several years, while he did his best to bring peace to the warring tribes, and matured his plans for further exploration. The site of Fort St. Charles was discovered a few years ago by a party of historical investigators from St. Boniface College, Manitoba.

His eldest son Jean was sent forward, with several men and an Indian guide, in 1733, to find what might be true of the stories of Ochagach and others as to rivers and lakes and strange tribes to the westward. Jean made his way down a small stream known to-day as the Roseau, to the Red River, and descended that river to Lake Winnipeg. Returning up Red River a short distance, he built a third post, which he named Fort Maurepas, after the Minister of the Colonies in France.

The years that followed were filled with sorrow and discouragement for La Vérendrye. La Jemeraye died from exposure during the severe winter of 1735, and the following year the explorer's son was murdered by the Sioux on an island in the Lake of the Woods. The Montreal merchants, on whom he had to rely for supplies, refused to send La Vérendrye any more goods, and he was compelled more than once to make the long journey down to Montreal to coax them into a more friendly frame of mind. His enemies in Quebec were industriously poisoning the mind of the King's representatives against the explorer. And to crown his misfortunes the bitter antagonism between the Sioux and the tribes friendly to La Vérendrye made it very difficult for him to make any progress with his western discoveries.

Nevertheless he stuck doggedly to his task. In 1736 he made his way west to the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and built a temporary post there which he named Fort

Rouge. The name is today commemorated in a section of the city of Winnipeg. About this time Fort Maurepas was moved from the Red River to the foot of the Winnipeg River. From Fort Rouge La Vérendrye and his men ascended the Assiniboine to a point in or near the present city of Portage la Prairie, where he built Fort La Reine, named after the French Queen. His explorations, hampered though they were by the parsimony of the King, had now covered a large part of Southern Manitoba, and at Fort La Reine he held a strategic position for further discoveries. A short portage would take him to Lake Manitoba, Lake Winnipegosis and the Saskatchewan, while in the other direction a journey over the plains would bring him to the Missouri. At this time, of course, he knew nothing, except what he may have learned from the Indians, of either of these great waterways, both of which led to the Rocky Mountains, but his mind was steadily set on the discovery of the Western Sea, and before he was through attempts would be made in both directions.

From Fort La Reine, he made a journey across the plains to the Mandan villages on the Missouri, being the first white man to visit this remarkable tribe. He had been hearing such extraordinary stories about the Mandans from the Chippewa and Cree that he was convinced he would find them to be some race of white people, from whom he could obtain reliable information as to the way to reach the Western Ocean. He was correspondingly disappointed to discover that they were merely Indians, though Indians who had developed a civilization of their own, lived in walled towns and cultivated maize, pumpkins and tobacco.

Nevertheless, a few years later, being unable to leave Fort La Reine himself, he sent two of his sons on an ambitious attempt to find the sea somewhere beyond the Missouri. The sons went to the Mandan villages, and from there set off toward the south-west. After visiting many hitherto unknown tribes, and experiencing many adventures, they finally became involved in a warlike expedition by friendly Indians against the Snakes or Cheyennes. They reluctantly accompanied the war-party because they had been assured that when the Snakes had been overcome, the way would be clear for them to the sea, which they were told was not very distant. This of course was very far from being the truth, as they were then, as far as it is possible to trace their journey, somewhere in the present *state of Wyoming*, in any event still a very long way from the Pacific. They were bitterly disappointed when the war party, filled with a sudden panic, abandoned their expedition and turned back, with the mountains, beyond which the explorers had hoped to find the long-sought sea, full in view.

On the return journey to the Mandan villages and Fort La Reine, the La Vérendryes buried a lead plate with an inscription taking possession of the country in the name of Louis XV. It had long been hoped by historians that this plate might be found, as it would fix at least one point in the expedition of 1742-43. In 1913, one hundred and seventy years after it was deposited, the plate was picked up by some school children playing about a sand-hill in the neighborhood of Pierre, South Dakota.

Having failed to reach the sea toward the south-west, La Vérendrye tried the north-west. In 1741 he had built Fort Dauphin, near the southern end of Lake Winnipegosis; and some time afterward Fort Bourbon at the northern end of the same lake, and Fort Pasquia on the lower Saskatchewan. With these as his bases, he purposed making his way up the Saskatchewan, and did actually get as far as the Forks, but misfortunes were now crowding thick and fast upon him. He was forced to return to Quebec, and died there in 1749. His sons begged to be allowed to continue their father's explorations, but were curtly refused.

La Vérendrye failed in the definite object he had set before himself—the discovery of an overland route to the Pacific Ocean; but he accomplished something much more important. He was in a real sense the discoverer of Western Canada; first to descend the Winnipeg river; first to see Lake Winnipeg; first on the Red and the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan, if we except the somewhat indefinite journey of Henry Kelsey; first to cross the great plains to the Missouri. Many years afterward English-speaking explorers were to reach the sea he had vainly sought, both by the Missouri and the Saskatchewan.

ADDITIONAL VERENDRYE MATERIAL*

By DOAN ROBINSON

In the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for September, 1916, Mr. Orrin Grant Libby, discussing "Some Verendrye Enigmas," and speaking of the lead tablet planted by the Verendrye brothers at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, on March 30, 1743, says:

"The geographical difficulties (to the Verendryes having been at Fort Pierre), are almost insuperable."¹ "We

*Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. III, no. 3, (December 1916).

1. Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 3: 156.

may therefore eliminate both the Missouri river and the Bad river (Fort Pierre) site from any further consideration."²

Mr. Libby's reasons for these conclusions I summarize herewith, believing I have fairly stated the substance of every argument advanced by him:

1. Fort Pierre is 350 miles from the foot of the Bighorn mountains and the Verendryes could not possibly have covered that distance between February 14 and March 19, under the conditions then existing.³

2. If the tablet had been buried at Fort Pierre the curiosity of the Indians would have induced them to tear down the cairn erected over it to discover what was buried beneath it.⁴

3. That the evidence of the citizens of Fort Pierre that the first settlers found, a heap of stones upon this hill, at the point where the tablet was found, and that these stones were removed by David Lexau for use in the village, is dubious.⁵

4. That if a cairn of stone had stood upon this hill for a long period, fragments of the rock would still remain in the soil.⁶

5. That the explorers would have taken some means to protect the tablet from corrosion and that no evidence of such protection has been found.⁷

6. That a careful reading of the record left by the Chevalier indicates that the Little Cherry band had gone from their summer home to winter, a distance of 150 miles—27 days journey, contrary to the practices of the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley.⁸

7. That there were frequent settlements of sedentary Indians along the Missouri between Fort Pierre and the Mandan and if the Verendryes had returned that way they would have mentioned these settlements and the river.⁹

The one big, upstanding, indubitable fact is that the Verendrye tablet was actually found at Fort Pierre under exactly the conditions and in the environment in which Verendrye says he planted it. That fact of itself is very conclusive and it is completely so when taken in connection with the whole record. I will discuss Mr. Libby's arguments in opposition to the Fort Pierre site *seriatim*:

1. Fort Pierre is 350 miles from the foot of the Bighorn mountains, and the Verendryes could not possibly have cov-

2. Ibid., 157.

3. Ibid., 156.

4. Ibid., 158.

5. Ibid., 157.

6. Ibid.,

7. Ibid., 158.

8. Ibid., 159.

9. Ibid., 156.

ered that distance between February 14 and March 19, under the conditions then existing.

This statement is cheerfully granted, but there is not the slightest evidence, either directly or by fair inference, that the Verendryes were ever within several hundred miles of the Bighorns. Every reasonable deduction from the very meagre record is that they were not. The conclusion of the highest authorities, as for instance Major Powell,¹⁰ and George Bird Grinnell,¹¹ is that at the period under discussion the Comanche and Kiowa, confederated, occupied and dominated the entire Black Hills-Bighorn region. The record and all the evidence is that the Bows, the Little Cherries and perhaps all of the trans-Missouri Indians with whom the Verendryes came in contact were sedentary, housebuilding tribes.¹² These people (the house-builders) included the Mandan, Minitares, Gros Ventres, Arickara, Pawnee and perhaps at that period the Cheyenne.¹³ The Mandan, Minitares and Gros Ventres, with whom the Verendryes were familiar certainly were not of the party, so it remains by fair inference that the Bows and other bands were the Arickara, Pawnee, and perhaps the northern Cheyenne of the upper Missouri valley. Their western enemies against whom they were making war could have been none other than the Kiowa-Comanche confederacy, whose eastern frontier skirted along the eastern edge of the Black Hills.¹⁴ This confederacy consisted of two powerful and sanguinary tribes entirely capable of protecting their preserves from invasion. Under the circumstances what would the Bows do, making war upon these western enemies. They would naturally strike the nearest frontier of that enemy, keeping the line back of them open for retreat if necessary. That is precisely what the record shows the Bows did. As they approached the enemy's country, and a long time before they reached dangerous ground, they left their families encamped and went on until they reached the first village of the enemy. Finding it deserted, they feared the enemy had flanked them and gone to attack their defenseless families. Consequently they beat a

10. Major Powell's lingual map in Bureau of American ethnology, Seventh annual report (Washington, 1891); "Calendar history of the Kiowa Indians," by James Mooney in Bureau of American ethnology, Seventh annual report, Pt. 1, p. 156.

11. Unpublished letters of George Bird Grinnell to the writer under dates of June 25 and July 3, 1914, and December 15, 1915.

12. As to the chief of the Bows, see Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissemens des Français dans l'ouest dans le sud de l'Amerique septentrionale*, (Paris 1888) 6: 607; for little Cherry as a house builder, see *ibid.*, 608.

13. Letter of George Bird Grinnell to the writer, July 3, 1914; see also South Dakota Historical Collections (Pierre, S. D., 1914), 7: 232.

14. Major Powell's lingual map in Bureau of American ethnology, Seventh annual report.

hasty retreat and gave up the enterprise. It is not believable that the Bows, accompanied by their families, practically crossed the enemy's country to its western borders and there left their families without protection, while they went on to fight the enemy upon the furthest limits of his lands. I am convinced from a most careful examination of the story left us by the Chevalier, that when the Verendryes came upon the Bows, who were the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley, the latter were enroute to strike their nearby western enemies; that they found their first village, located in the eastern part of the Black Hills, deserted and so gave up the campaign. If this be true then the Bighorn assumption is eliminated.

2. If the tablet had been planted at Fort Pierre the curiosity of the Indians would have led them to tear down the cairn erected over it to discover what was buried beneath it.

To answer this it is only necessary to quote the record, which in absence of proof to the contrary must be taken at its face value: "*Je dis aux Sauvages, qui n'avoient pas connoissance de la plaque de plomb que j'avois mise dans la terre, que je mettois ces pierres en memoire de ce que nous etions venus sur leurs terres,*"¹⁵ which Stevenson correctly translates: "*I said to the savages, who did not know of the tablet of lead which I had planted in the earth, that I was placing these stones as a memorial of those who had come to their country.*"¹⁶

Chevalier Verendrye and his brother had spent practically their entire lives in Indian camps and knew Indian character as well as if to the manner born. It is not to be presumed that the Chevalier did not know the truth of what he wrote when he said the Indians were ignorant of the planting of the tablet.

3. That the evidence of citizens of Fort Pierre that the first settlers found, a heap of stones upon the hill, at the point where the plate was found, and that these stones were removed by David Lexau for use in the village, is dubious.

It would be a reckless man who would come to Fort Pierre and assert that the statement of Mr. W. H. Frost, state senator from Stanley county, honored citizen and oldest surviving inhabitant, is dubious. Yet the fact of the existence of this cairn does not rest upon the testimony of Mr. Frost alone but is corroborated by other reliable citizens and by many circumstances. Mr. Libby is quite unjustified in casting any doubt

15. Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissemens des Français dans l'Amerique septentrionale*, 6: 609.

16. South Dakota historical collections, 7: 276, 357.

upon the veracity of these witnesses whose testimony will be accepted at one hundred percent in any court of South Dakota.¹⁷

4. That if a cairn of stone had stood upon this hill for a long period, fragments of the rock would still remain in the soil.

All of the stone in the vicinity of Fort Pierre as well as the stones found on "Verendrye hill" by the early settlers were granite boulders, popularly known as hardheads, as smooth and hard as marbles. The adjacent hills are studded with them, where they have lain from time immemorial, from the day they were dumped there by the old glacier. The action of a thousand centuries of "Dakota frost and heat," has made no impression upon them and no fragments of them, however minute, are found when they are removed from their millennium-old beds.

5. That the explorers would have taken some means of protecting the tablet from corrosion and that no evidence of such protection remains.

Lead is one of the most indestructible of metals. Only heat and very strong acids affect it to any great extent. The explorers of America well understood this and so for enduring memorials chose lead. Numerous tablets were buried at important points some of which have been recovered in recent years. Water pipes of lead down by the ancient Romans are still preserved.¹⁸ Pieces of lead, which were made in ancient Rome, finely engraved and with the lines perfectly preserved, have been recently taken from the earth.¹⁹ In 1738 the elder Verendrye had placed a lead tablet in the hands of the Mandan.²⁰ That experience may have taught him that savages could not be trusted with such a memorial and hence the Chevalier determined to bury this one without giving the Indians knowledge of it. Clearly no other available material would have afforded any protection to the lead. The uncovered plate buried in the earth was the safest monument, as the event has proved. The Chevalier simply says he placed the plate in the earth and at this date we are compelled to take his word for it.

6. That a careful reading of the record left by the Chevalier indicates that the Little Cherry band had gone from their summer home to winter, a distance of 150 miles—27 days journey, contrary to the practices of the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley.

17. The public is referred to the governor, or the judges of the supreme court of South Dakota as to the standing and reliability of Honorable W. H. Frost.

18. Encyclopaedia Britannica.

19. Americana, IX, see article on lead.

20. Douglas Brymner, Report on Canadian archives, 1889 (Ottawa, 1890), 25.

The entire record in this particular left by the Chevalier is as follows: "Nous continuames a marcher avec les Gens de l'Arc jusqu'au premier jour de Mars, faisant toujours l'Est-Sud-Est. J'envoyai un de nos Francois avec un chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise, ayant appris qu'ils estoient proches. Ils furent dix jours a leur voyage et nous apporterent des paroles pour nous inviter a les aller joinder.²¹ . . . Nous arrivames le 15 de Mars chez les Gens de la Petite Cerise. Ils revenoient d'hivernement ils estoient a deux jours marche de leur fort, qui est sur le bord du Missouri. Nous arrivames le 19 a leur fort et y fumes recus avec de grandes demonstrations de joi."²² (We continued to march with the people of the Bow until the first of March making always east-southeast. I sent one of my Frenchmen with a savage to the lodges of the people of the Little Cherry, having learned they were near. They took ten days for the trip and brought back word to us (from the Little Cherry) inviting us to join them. . . . We arrived the 15th of March at the camp of the people of the Little Cherry. They were returning home from their wintering place and were then two days march from their home which was upon the bank of the Missouri.) That is the record; read it carefully as you will.

Nowhere in it is the slightest suggestion that the Little Cherry Indians were ever 150 miles, or twenty-seven days' march from their summer home on the Missouri. Absolutely the only suggestion of distance is the statement that they were found two days' march from the Missouri, but *it is fair* to infer that they had wintered at a greater distance. To understand the real situation one must know the local conditions about Fort Pierre, concerning which Mr. Libby is not informed.

The banks of the Missouri in the vicinity of Fort Pierre are practically without timber and where the fort of the Arickara and their farm homes were located upon the open prairie of the second bench there is a clear and unprotected sweep of the northwest winds of winter. At Fort Pierre the Bad, or Teton, river enters the Missouri, coming down from the west. Its narrow valley is deeply eroded, the banks being from three hundred to four hundred feet high; and the bottoms are fairly well wooded. Thus perfect protection is afforded against the severities of winter both by the timber and the high banks along the north side. There was little trapping on the banks of the Missouri proper, while the valley of the Bad river was then and is still a trapper's paradise. It was the ideal place for an Indian winter camp and I have no doubt it was fully utilized. The Indian population of the region, as

21. Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissemens des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale*, 6: 607.

22. *Ibid.*, 608.

indicated by the lodge remains, must have been very large; perhaps approximating 10,000 souls; and to accommodate them the winter camps were no doubt scattered along the Bad for a great distance. The Verendryes found the Little Cherries two days march from their fort on the Missouri, that is to say they were ten or fifteen miles up the Bad river. It would not be surprising to know that some of the bands went up Bad river fifty or sixty miles to winter. Little Cherry may have done so. We only know that Verendrye found him much nearer the Missouri.

7. That there were frequent settlements of sedentary Indians along the Missouri between Fort Pierre and the Mandan and if the Verendryes returned that way they would have mentioned these settlements and the river.

The report of the Chevalier to Beauharnois is brief and at the best unsatisfactory. It was written by a young man who had secured most of his training in the forest rather than in the schools, and who was unused to literary enterprises. Manifestly he wrote it after his return from very meagre data. His father spoke of it deprecatingly as a "little journal."²³ It is most remarkable for the information it does not contain. Concerning the return trip from Fort Pierre we glean from it simply that the four Frenchmen were accompanied by three guides supplied by Little Cherry;²⁴ that they were mounted;²⁵ that these guides were taking them into the land of the enemies of the Little Cherry band,²⁶ that they traveled north northeast and northwest²⁷ and that upon the way they encountered a band of Sioux.²⁸ To me it is very clear that they did precisely what mounted Indians and white men have done throughout historic times when passing up the Missouri valley. They crossed the river at Fort Pierre to the east side and took the direct course over the uplands, avoiding the tedious complexities and curves of the bottom land and the deeply eroded valleys of the west side. Only with the greatest difficulty could horsemen travel near the river. It is most probable that the Indians living along the river above the Cheyenne were enemies of the guides, and the latter would of course aim to avoid them.²⁹ The fact that they met a band of Sioux shows beyond question that they were upon the east shore for the

23. Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissemens des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale*, 6: 594.

24. *Ibid.*, 610.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 609.

27. *Ibid.*, 610.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Truteau's journal in *American Historical review*, 19: 318, 319.

Sioux did not cross the river at all until many years later.³⁰ An examination of the map in connection with the whole record is most convincing on the view that they traveled up the east side. That is the natural course for any one acquainted with the region; and the Little Cherry guides were taken because of their knowledge of the country.

The Verendryes were no longer unsophisticated so far as the Missouri was concerned. It was the "river of the *Mantannes*" to them only until they became personally familiar with it. The Chevalier had visited its bank in 1738;³¹ two Frenchmen had remained the following winter to familiarize themselves with the country and its people.³² They may have been the very men who accompanied the Chevalier at this time. Pierre, junior, with two Frenchmen had spent the winter of 1741-2 with the Mandan.³³ They knew when the Chevalier started out in the spring of 1742 that the "river of the *Mantannes*" was the Missouri and that it did not flow west toward the Pacific.³⁴ It is notable that the Verendryes in 1742 crossed the Missouri at the Mandan, without mentioning it.³⁵ The only reference to it in the entire report is made when they were approaching the stream with the Little Cherries in the spring of 1743.³⁶ If the Chevalier did not mention it when he crossed it at the Mandan, is it remarkable that he did not mention it when traveling parallel to it and some distance from it a year later?

The Missouri was at that time well known to geographers and explorers. It was laid down with fair accuracy upon the standard maps of the time.³⁷ That men as interested and conversant with the west as were the Verendryes should be mistaken in its identity is not reasonable.

Having, as I feel, fairly and fully disposed of every argument advanced by Mr. Libby in opposition to the view that

30. Stephen R. Riggs in *Missionary Herald*, 1841, 183. It was not until about 1750 that the Sioux began to have relations with the Missouri river Indians. See Dakota calendar, in American bureau of ethnology, Tenth annual report, 302 ff. In 1891 I talked with a number of old men whose fathers and grandfathers had taken part in the invasion of the Missouri river region by the Sioux. Swift Bird Chapelle, a half breed was especially informed of the situation by his maternal grandfather, who lived until 1846, and was notable as the tribal historian. The information in which all of these old men concurred was that the Sioux did not attempt to cross the Missouri until about 1760.

31. Brymner, Report on Canadian archives, 1889, 22.

32. *Ibid.*, 25.

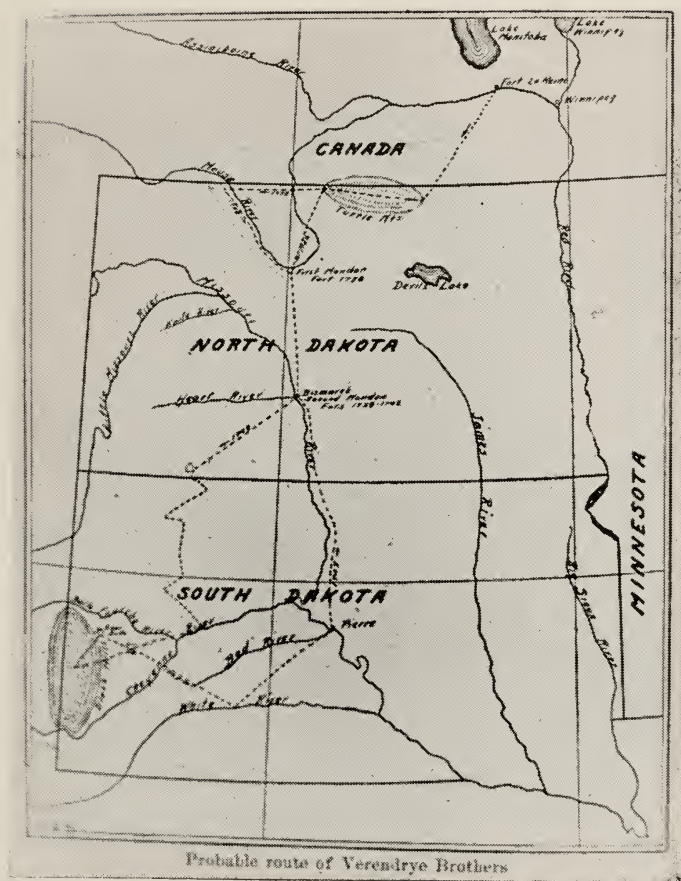
33. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale*, 6: 628.

34. *Ibid.*, 588. The Chevalier said they were to go west of the Mandan upon the information of the Indians.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, 608.

37. See D'Iles map, 1702; Law's map of 1723.



PROBABLE ROUTE OF VERENDRYE BROTHERS

From the Mississippi Valley Historical Review vol. III no. 3, P. 376.

the Verendryes visited Fort Pierre and planted the tablet there I will take the occasion to set out briefly the situation at Fort Pierre, in relation to which Mr. Libby has created some geographical confusion.

The Bad river enters the Missouri at the center of the northwest quarter of section 34 town 5 north, 31 east Black Hills meridian. The city of Fort Pierre lies upon both sides of Bad river and close to the Missouri, some of the business buildings coming down to the high water line. "Verendrye hill" the peak where the tablet was buried, is the first eminence on the Missouri, north of Bad river, its peak being five city blocks, about 1500 feet northwest of the junction of the Bad with the Missouri. The peak is about 250 feet above the water in the river. There are higher peaks in the vicinity, but because of its location with relation to the two streams this one could always be identified and I have no doubt it was chosen for that reason. In the southeast corner of section 8 in the same township, three miles almost directly north of Verendrye hill, are the well preserved remains of an Arikara fort. It was unusually strongly fortified, for it had double trenches.³⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that these are the remains of the fort of the Little Cherry whose hospitality the Chevalier and his party enjoyed. Thus every condition of the record left by Verendrye is fulfilled. He says they were upon the banks of the Missouri, a stream well known in his time and of which he had peculiar knowledge. He was staying with an Indian chief who lived in a fort at that point. He planted a lead plate engraved with the arms and inscription of the king of France on an eminence near the said fort; he built a cairn of stone upon the eminence to mark the place. That is the record.³⁹ At Fort Pierre, upon the eminence most easily identified, the cairn is found and after its removal, a lead plate is found upon the spot just as it was emerging from the eroding earth. The plate has the arms and inscription of the king of France and to make it unmistakable an inscription is scratched upon it in the probable handwriting of Chevalier Verendrye, giving the date of the planting and the names of the parties present. To suggest that this plate might have been planted at a distant point, recovered by Indians and carried to the mouth of the Bad river, to be there fortuitously dropped upon this eminence, precisely complying with the conditions of the record, is a refinement of criticism approaching absurdity.

Mr. Libby's extended discussion of the identification of the *Mantannes* and the points where they resided in North Dakota is interesting and illuminating. In a sense it is a local ques-

38. South Dakota historical collections, 3: 542.

39. Margry, *Decouvertes et etablissemments des Français dans . . . l'Amerique septentrionale*, 6: 609.

tion which he has peculiar facilities for considering. I confess that I have been a good deal confused in relation to it. While I still believe the settlement in 1743 was at the mouth of the Heart river⁴⁰ I am not wholly clear on the proposition. Whether it was at the Heart or the Knife it would make but little difference in the general course followed by the Verendryes in their trans-Missouri adventures. My reading and reflections since preparing the article published in the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1914 has confirmed the view then expressed that the explorers did not proceed further west than the Black Hills. One has only to trace back their course from Fort Pierre to understand how reasonable that course is.

Charles E. DeLand

I shall attempt to supplement Mr. Robinson's refutation of Mr. Libby's contentions only in regard to certain points which occur to me in the light of my study of the Mandan¹ and my study, "The Verendrye expeditions and discoveries. Leading to the planting of the Fort Pierre tablets."² I feel that Mr. Libby has made a number of singularly erroneous assumptions of fact regarding my treatment of various aspects of the general subject in the latter paper.

In the outset I wish to state that I consider the question as to whether the first "fort" visited by the Verendryes near the Missouri river in 1738 was a Mandan or a Minnetaree (Hidatsa) village not in itself a vital factor in determining either how far westward the sons went in 1742-43, or whether the lead tablet was actually deposited on what is now the site of Fort Pierre on the Missouri river.

Mr. Libby has however, seen fit to assume a very remarkable position: that because Verendrye termed this village and the one next nearest the Missouri river the "*Mantanne* villages," instead of calling them plain "Mandan;" and because in that connection he referred to what everybody knows was the Missouri river as being the *riviere des Mantannes*, not calling it plain "Missouri river" until he had deposited this tablet on the banks of a river which was *then* for the first time called "des Missouris," *therefore*, Mr. Libby concludes, it is not certain that Verendrye deposited the plate at Fort Pierre or anywhere else on the Missouri river bluffs, but that he not improbably planted it on a remote branch of the upper *Platte* at the

40. See journal of Lewis and Clark for October 20, 1804. It was in comparatively recent times the Mandan had been driven higher up the river.

1. "Aborigines of South Dakota," part 2, in South Dakota historical collections (Pierre, 1902-), 4: 275-730.

2. *Ibid.*, 7: 99-322.

very verge of the mountains from which he had turned back. In view of Mr. Libby's adoption of this theory, I deem it pertinent here to suggest some evidences which I believe conclusively refute his assumption, made in the same connection, that Verendrye himself was the sole authority for the use of the word *Mantanne*; and then to consider certain other phases of his discussion of the subject of the locality of the first "fort," and of the real point from which the Verendrye sons, in 1742, started westward from the Missouri river in quest of the "Western Sea."

Mr. Libby declares: "The only evidence of which I know regarding the origin of the name *Mantanne* is given by Verendrye himself in his journal for 1738."

Speaking of the Mandan, the *Handbook of American Indians*³ says: "The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, 'people,' 'man' (Matthews). Maximilian says: 'If they wished to particularize their descent they added the name of the village whence they came originally.'" Matthews states that they were "called by the Canadians 'les Mandals,' by which name these Indians were generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux." Again, he asserts that they used the word "Numangkake" in referring to themselves, and that "another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulkey, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri." Speaking of the myth of the "Mandan 'Creation,'" he says: "And before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Mumank-Machana," etc. Yet Matthews, who is justly regarded by Mr. Libby as high authority upon this subject, had never heard of Verendrye except as referred to by Catlin.⁴

The Verendryes, however, had been in contact with the Sioux, who *named* the Mandan "Mawatana," when they were in what is now northern Minnesota, years before they came to the Missouri river; and they were doubtless well aware of this Sioux name for the Mandan. They had furthermore lived for a long period of time among the Canadians, who called the Mandan "les Mandals."

It seems that is not only highly probable, but morally certain, that the Verendryes derived the word *Mantanne* from the numerous originals—"Mawatana," "mandals," "Numangkake," "Mahna-Narra," "Mumank-Machana,"—which have re-

3. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30—Washington, 1907-1910), 1: 796.

4. Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, D. C., 1877), 29.

solved among the whites, into the form "Mandan." In all but one of these original forms, the syllable "man" is found; while the "dan" readily follows from "dals," "tana," "channa," etc. I can not pretend to even moderate philological skill in tracing Indian names to their roots; but I feel confident that instances without end may be cited where final word-forms have been derived from less cognate originals than in this case.⁵

It is interesting to note that Hayden gives the name "Miahtanes," or "people on the bank," as the name the Mandan applied to themselves; and draws the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." We mentioned this fact as being suggestive of the more immediate issue here: that the Verendryes naturally connected the Mandan with the *Missouri* river in referring to the latter as the *riviere des Mantannes*. When they visited it in 1738 they had no occasion to think of the Missouri river except as the habitat of the *Mantannes*; later on, when they came to consider the stream itself, its independent name naturally enough became a matter of consideration. Margry says the Tontis used the word "Emissourita" in 1684, and that Joutel in 1687 referred to the "Missouris;" many other forms of the word, in connection with the names of Indian tribes on the Missouri further south, as well as with the river itself, were in use later on. Is it at all improbable then, that the Verendryes, when they came to settle down with the Mandan as *Mantannes* after the elder Verendrye had returned to Canada in 1738-9 or even during the trans-Missouri trip, ascertained that the river was known as the "Missouri"? And this without their mentioning "les Missourys" in the journals before the time they deposited the plate?

In examining Mr. Libby's article, I can not help thinking that his reading of my paper, particularly where it deals with my treatment of the question of the location the first village reached by Verendrye near the Missouri in 1738, must have been extremely casual and incomplete. After stating that Verendrye took the latitude of the village and found it 48° 12', north latitude, he says: "Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name *Mantanne*,

5. Incidentally I may remark that Mr. Libby's supposition that practically all writers on the Mandan have taken Parkman's word regarding the Verendrye designation of *Mantannes* is likewise untenable, since all who desire have had access to these general sources. And why should it be doubted that Parkman, in his travels among the western Indians, had learned some things concerning the various originals I have mentioned,—and perhaps others also,—from which he may have formed ideas which in turn rendered his adoption of the word *Mantannes* more or less a matter of course? So far as I am concerned, I must disclaim having had any thought of relying especially upon Parkman, either in my study of the Mandan or in my presentation of the Verendrye visits to the Missouri river Indian.



DE LAND'S MAP OF VERENDRYE ROUTES OF 1738, AND OF 1742
 From the Mississippi Valley Historical Review vol. III no. 3, P. 381.

Parkman locates this village at the mouth of the Knife river, which is 47° 20' north latitude, while DeLand and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is 46° 50' north latitude. None of these authors explain why Verendrye could not perform the relatively simple task of ascertaining the correct latitude," etc.

If Mr. Libby had taken pains so much as to glance at my map⁶ of the supposed Verendrye route from Fort La Reine to this village, he would have observed that I locate this first village, not on the Missouri *anywhere*—much less at the mouth of the Heart—but northeast of the Missouri and at a point on the west side of the southern loop of the Mouse river. And not only do I not "ignore" Verendrye's observation, but I expressly mention it in several places in my paper. On page 172 I say: "But, if we are to credit the astronomical observation made by Verendrye's son five days later, as recorded by the explorer, this fort, wherever it stood as to longitude, was at 'forty-eight degrees, twelve minutes' in latitude. And that that expedition was now somewhere in the near neighborhood of the southern bend of the 'loop' of the Mouse river seems reasonably certain, from deductions, some of which we have already made, some of which we now make: The latitude is substantially five miles south of Minot, N. Dak.—and we believe it not improbable that the 'small river' of Verendrye's journal meant either the Mouse in this general locality, or some branch of it flowing from westward."⁷ On page 169 I say: "Now, the 'small river' soon to be mentioned was not a branch of the Missouri, since it is some fifty miles southerly from the southern extremity of the 'loop' to Wolf Creek, some five miles north of Coal Harbor, North Dakota, where the Missouri turns from an easterly to a southerly course. Spring Creek is some fifteen miles further south and about seven miles above the mouth of Knife river. Painted Woods Creek is from 30 to 35 miles south of Spring Creek and about eight miles below Washburn, North Dakota. All these creeks are branches of and are on the easterly side of the Missouri." And, as reference to any map will show, Washburn is some forty-five miles north of Bismarck, which is opposite the mouth of the Heart.

I am all but surmising that Mr. Libby, in his hasty reading of my paper at this point, may have jumped to the conclusion that I regarded the "small river" of that journal as being the

6. This map comprehends the entire route, going and returning: the initial trip to this first village, on to the Missouri river bank, thence westward to the mountains, back to the Missouri where the tablet was deposited, thence northward to the place where the explorers crossed the Missouri west-bound, and thence to Fort La Reine. South Dakota historical collections, 7: opposite 96.

7. Ibid., 7: 172.

Missouri! Not that it would have been much if any worse to assume that the modest Mouse was the great Missouri than to suppose, as Mr. Libby does, that the "north fork of the upper Platte" near "the wooded slopes of the Laramie range in Colorado" was not improbably the Missouri! This is his assumption in endeavoring to render plausible the theory that the tablet was originally deposited out there at the verge of the mountains.

Time and lack of space forbid detailing my supposition as to where the Verendrye sons, in 1742, crossed the Missouri west-bound. Suffice it to say, that my map shows the crossing at Heart river, since I regarded it as being more probable that they crossed there than at the mouth of the Big Knife or thereabouts.

Again, it is quite probable that, as Mr. Libby asserts, there was an Indian tradition of an "Old Crossing" of the Missouri near the mouth of the Little Knife—some seventy-five miles by air-line northwest from the mouth of Big Knife—even though the alleged old village site by this crossing had itself been washed away leaving nothing in sight but "the old garden and the burial place." And his assumption that at "Old Crossing" the Verendryes set out for the "Western Sea" is based very largely upon the fact that from a nearby bluff an observer would see that the Missouri for some ten miles appeared to flow to the southwest. But if the river's "appearance of continuing its westerly course" prevailed with the explorers in setting out at "Old Crossing," why may not the fact that the Missouri again turns to southwest at the mouth of Wolf creek, some sixty-five miles by air-line southeast from "Old Crossing" and substantially due south from Minot, furnish a similar theory of the Verendrye's departure westward from that point? Or from still another bend to southwest about halfway down from Painted Woods creek to the mouth of the Heart? True, these two bends are shorter than that at "Old Crossing"; and I have not reconnoitered either bend. The point is that speculation will not substantially determine just where the Verendryes did cross.

But even supposing they did go westward from "Old Crossing" and not from farther down the Missouri? The Verendrye journal compels the historian to believe that the general course toward the mountains was not far from southwesterly. Mr. Libby himself assumes that the route "lay between the Yellowstone and the Little Missouri in a general southwest direction." Such also was my theory, as is indicated on my map showing both the shorter and the longer routes which I took as hypotheses when seeking to establish a probable conclusion as to how far westward the Verendryes proceeded. Surely it can make but very little difference whether they left the Missouri

at "Old Crossing," or at the Big Knife, or at the Heart, in determining how far to southwest they turned back after reaching a mountain somewhere. My deductions from the Verendrye journal, as shown by my map, bring the party to a point west of the upper Little Missouri, according to my theory of a longer march and a destination farther southwest than could have been reached according to my alternative theory of a shorter march and a destination in the Black Hills, South Dakota. The longer route brings the explorers to the westerly part of the bend of the Powder River, Wyoming, and to a point about sixty miles north-northwest from Wolcott, Wyoming, a town on the North Platte about midway between Casper and Fort Fetterman; this point on the North Platte is near the foot of the "Laramie range" referred to by Mr. Libby as the place where the Verendryes met the *Petite Cerise* (Little Cherries) and in the very locality where he supposes the tablet was deposited.

Let Mr. Libby take the Verendrye journal, compare it with my line of observation and reasoning regarding the distance traveled, the land marks noted by the explorers, the directions pursued, and the destination reached under my theory of the longer route, and then let him demonstrate, if he can that the Verendryes *went farther* southwest than I have indicated on my map and in the text of my paper. After spending weeks of time with maps old and new, military and civil, and with every sidelight that I was able to bring to my aid in addition to the journal itself; and after repeated conferences with Mr. Robinson upon many phases of the subject, I arrived at the conclusion indicated by my map in regard to the route of the Verendryes, first, in crossing from the Assiniboine to the Missouri in 1738, and second, in making the circuit from the Missouri to the mountains and back to the lower Missouri, and thence northward and homeward. In making my deduction under the long-distance theory I assumed that in going from the Missouri to "Horse Mountain," North Dakota, before they fell in with Indians with whom they traveled more or less continuously thereafter, the Verendryes traveled an average of fifteen miles per day, as compared with the nine or ten miles per day, to Red Butte, North Dakota, reckoned in the short-distance theory. After falling in with the Indians they traveled, on the supposed long-distance route, nine miles per day while actually en route; on the short-route theory I placed this daily mileage at six miles. Mr. Libby himself asserts that on the return trip, while they were with the *Gens de L'Arc*, the explorers "could not average more than five or six miles a day." But he makes this statement in endeavoring to establish the theory that the Verendrye could not have traveled back eastward from the neighborhood of "the foot of the *Big Horn range*, Wyoming, where they were camped with the *Gens de L'Arc*,

to the mouth of the Bad river in South Dakota," where the tablet was discovered, "from February 14 to March 19."

Mr. Libby, however, nowhere specifies, even substantially, where he believes the Verendryes were when they with the Little Bow band turned back from the "mountain" to which the journal refers. How much *farther* west than near the west side of the bend of the Powder river, where my map indicates I estimated they ended their westward journey, can it be fairly deduced from the journal and other data at hand that they did proceed? By Mr. Libby or any other investigator??

But unless he can do this, and can add some one hundred miles to the distance traveled westward, how is he or any other student of history able to account for the distance which the expedition covered from February 14 to March 19, supposing, as he does, that during that period the Verendryes proceeded eastward or southeastward *only as far as* "the north fork of the upper *Platte*" near the *Laramie mountains*? If they did not go farther west than the bend of the *Powder*, then they spent all that time in camping and in traveling substantially the sixty miles above referred to, and got but very little farther east than the point from which they had started after the scare by the "Snakes." Here let me remark that unless one adopts my theory that, if they got beyond the Black Hills west-bound, they probably reached a point somewhat to the southwest of that group, it can not be supposed that they came in contact with any part of the north fork of the *Platte*; since the journal says they proceeded "east-by-southeast" on their return from the mountains; if they touched the North *Platte* anywhere, then, it must have been close to the *Laramie mountains*, for that branch curves northeasterly between the *Rattlesnake Hills* and the *Laramies* and then flows substantially due southeast, so that it would not have been approached eastward from that curve by travelers coming from the west in a direction "east-by-southeast."

Now, in passing eastward from the village which I have termed the "baggage village," to which they rushed from the "mountain" to the Bow camp, the Verendryes spent twenty-nine days in actual travel.⁸ Mr. Libby estimates the distance by air-line from "the foot of the Big Horn range," wherever that may be, to the mouth of Bad river, as 350 miles, and he adds another 100 miles for "inevitable detours." My own estimate, which I think is reasonable, is that the travel-distance from the "baggage village" (some fifty miles east of the southern end of the Big-Horn range proper) to that point on the Missouri, is 275 miles; this required an average daily travel of nine and one-

8. South Dakota historical collections, 7: 245.

half miles.⁹ I am still by no means convinced however, that the Verendryes went any farther west than to near the north-west corner of the Black Hills range, some 175 miles west-north-west from the mouth of Bad river on the Missouri. Upon the theory of this shorter journey, the daily average distance covered would be only six miles.¹⁰

My objection to the theory that the explorers went as far west as the bend of the Powder river is intensified by two considerations: the difficulty in accounting for their covering the distance to the Missouri river, within the time consumed; and the fact that if they had gone west of the Black Hills, and then made a detour partly around and to the southward of those hills, their course would not have comported with the journal's statement of an "east-by-southeast" direction. Furthermore, according to that theory, they would certainly have discovered the Black Hills, the highest range on the continent east of the Rocky mountains proper; yet the journal makes no mention of their seeing a mountain after they receded from the "mountain" of the Snake Indians.

Although there are several other phases of Mr. Libby's paper which I would be inclined to criticize if space permitted, I will mention but one further consideration which tends to confirm the evidence, to my mind already conclusive, that the lead tablet was originally deposited at none other than the spot where it was discovered. I refer to additional evidences of a habitat of the Bow Indians on and in the vicinity of the Missouri river. After my study of the Verendrye expeditions was through the press, my attention was drawn to an old map, published at the end of Volume VII, *South Dakota Historical Collections* in 1914, and designated "Carte Du Missouri Levee ou Rectifiee dans toute son Etendue Par François Perrin du Lac, l'An 1802." On this map of the Missouri river, at a point in what is now the state of Nebraska, and not far from opposite the line between Clay and Yankton counties, South Dakota, there is delineated a small creek flowing into the Missouri from southward; beside this stream are found the words "ancien village des petite arcs." We are further enlightened regarding this very village site by the account of Sergeant John Ordway, who was with the Lewis and Clark expedition. In his journal,¹¹ Ordway says: "We proceeded on to the mouth of little petark (French) little Bow (English) S. S. above the hill opposite to which we camped on N. S. at petite wave formerly an old Indian village." In a footnote it appears that this creek was named, "according to Clark, for an Indian chief, Petite Arc (or Little

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Published in State historical society of Wisconsin, Collections (Madison, 1916), volume 22.

Bow), whose village was situated for a time at its mouth. Little Bow was an Omaha who seceded for a time from his tribe because of his dissatisfaction with Chief Blackbird. After the death of the latter Little Bow's band rejoined Blackbird's followers. The name Bow Creek still attaches to the stream, which lies in Cedar county, Nebraska. The camp this day was in South Dakota, near the boundary between Clay and Yankton counties."

This newly-published information, taken in connection with various facts concerning the Little Bow Indians dealt with in my paper, renders still more probable the theory that the Little Bow chief with whom the Verendryes traveled, was in their day, domiciled in the neighborhood of the Missouri river in what is now South Dakota; although the chief mentioned in the Ordway chronicle, being an Omaha, would not be classed as an Arikara or Ree. The Ordway account of the Little Bow village is borne out by the summary of the Omaha in the *Hand-book of American Indians*,¹² where the Omaha, in connection with the Ponca, are referred to as having come up the river to the vicinity of the Pipestone quarry, Minnesota. It is said of them: "They were driven back by the Dakota, and after the separation of the Ponca, who advanced into the Black hills, which occurred probably about 1650 at the mouth of the Niobrara r., the Omaha settled on Bow cr., Nebr., and may have already been there at the date of Marquette's map (1673)." Is it at all improbable that, after the Ponca had gone to the Black Hills, the Little Bow chief may have followed, and may have remained in that vicinity for some time? Or that he may have been the selfsame Little Bow with whom the Verendryes traveled down the Belle Fourche toward the Missouri?

Concluding: I regard as utterly untenable the theory of Mr. Libby that the Verendrye plate may have been deposited on the upper North Platte, and that it may not have been originally deposited where Hattie Foster found it on the gumbo knob on the site of Fort Pierre.

Orin G. Libby

The general aspects of the work of the elder Verendrye and his sons, and its special significance to the student both of history and geography will serve as sufficient reason for making a further contribution on the subject. Students of western history are necessarily but slightly interested in local controversies over the identification of a particular historic site. But any real contribution to the increasing volume of material on the work of one of the foremost explorers in the northwest is always welcomed as timely.

12. 2: 119.

The criticism in the foregoing pages of an article on Verendrye which appeared in the September number of the Review brings out two points very clearly. First that the article in question contains an obvious error in the interpretation of that part of the Verendrye journal of 1742-43, which gives the length of time used by the *Petite Cerise* in going from their winter to their summer quarters. The correction offered by Mr. Robinson on this point is gladly accepted by the author.¹ The second consideration involved in this criticism is, however, of more general application and seems to call for a fuller discussion, since it is of interest to all students of history.

The identification of Verendrye's *Mantannes* as Hidatsa and the discovery on the Missouri river of the village site visited by the Verendrye party in 1738 are of fundamental importance in any discussion of the route pursued by the Verendrye sons in 1742-43. If the direction taken by the Frenchman from this established point of departure is not in harmony with a possible termination of their trip at the mouth of the Bad river in South Dakota, this latter point must be abandoned in favor of some other terminus which will satisfy at least the geographical requirements of the recorded journey.

It is not necessary to repeat the evidence given in the discussion contained in my September article. It will suffice merely to say that it has been shown that while the Verendryes were acquainted with the Hidatsa and knew them as the *Mantannes*, they had not yet come into contact with any villages of the Mandan or the Arikara. These two latter tribes they knew only by reports which were given them by the *Mantannes*, who called them *Pananas* and *Pananis*, respectively. The Mantannes gave the elder Verendrye the further information that these two tribes built houses like themselves and that the nearest of the villages of the *Panana* was but day's journey from the southernmost of their own. Verendrye had his son ascertain the latitude of the *Mantanne* village, where he was at that time staying, and he gives it in the journal as 48° 12'. He also tells us that the second Mantanne village, discovered by his son on the banks of the Manton (Missouri) river, was distant only a

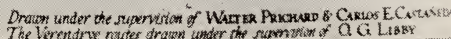
1. On page 151 of the September Review, by a stenographer's error, one important phrase was omitted from a sentence in the second paragraph, leaving it ambiguous and open to criticism. The sentence, with the omitted phrase in italics reads as follows: "Ignoring this simple statement of fact, probably on account of the misleading name Mantanne, Parkman locates this village, discovered by Verendrye's son, at the mouth of the Knife river, which is 47° 20' north latitude, while De Land and Robinson locate the village at the mouth of the Heart river, which is 46° 50' north latitude." Since the second Mantanne village was but a single day's journey from the one located at 48° 12', it is apparent that it can not be correctly located so far south as either the mouth of the Knife river or the mouth of the Heart river.

day's journey. These facts are, again, in complete accord with the identification of the site of this second *Mantanne* village on the east side of the Missouri river at Old Crossing, about one mile south of the mouth of the Little Knife river and at the point where the new town of Sanish, McLean county North Dakota, has just been located, on the Fort Berthold reservation.

From this *Mantanne* village on the east bank of the Missouri river the two Verendrye sons in 1742 started on their journey in search of the western sea. If this conclusion is accepted from the evidence offered, it at once eliminates from the discussion any possibility of their having begun their westward journey from any of the historic Mandan villages either at the mouth of the Knife river or at the mouth of the Heart river, some forty miles still further south. In fact no evidence is yet forthcoming in support of the view that the Verendrye sons in 1742 ever visited any Indian villages at the mouth of either of these rivers.

From the journal of the Verendrye sons we find that they set out from the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri river July 23, 1742, and went west southwest for twenty days. This would bring them well into the country between the two rivers, the Little Missouri and the Yellowstone, and, at the moderate estimate of ten or twelve miles per day, some two hundred miles on their journey. Thus by the eleventh day of August they would have reached the country near the Yellowstone not far north of the present site of Miles City, Montana. Here they were delayed while waiting for guides till September 18, when they resumed their journey until they reached the tribe called *Gens de l'Arc* on November 21. Since September 18 they had come, according to their journal, two days in a southerly direction, three days southwest and seven days south southwest. This portion of the trip was more leisurely because of the frequent stops and the slow pace of the Indian villages that accompanied them at various stages of their journey. A new factor, which adds to the uncertainty as to their rate of travel, was introduced at the village of the *Gens de Chevaux*, for at this point they seem to have procured horses. Altogether they had traveled during these twelve days a distance of at least seventy-five miles, perhaps much more, and they would be, therefore, at a point approximately one hundred miles march from the Big Horn range, which lay to the southwest and about the same distance from the Black Hills at the southeast. The journal tells us next that after some delay they went with a war party of the *Gens de l'Arc* toward the mountains "sometimes south southwest and sometimes northwest."²

2. Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et etablislements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique septentrionale* (Paris, 1888), 6: 603.



Drawn under the supervision of Walter Prichard and Carlos E. Castanera.
The Verendrye routes drawn under the supervision of O. G. Libby.
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On January 1, 1743, they came within sight of the mountains, the location of which is made difficult by the fact that we are not told how long the expedition was on the road nor the precise direction of the route, beyond the one fact that it was westerly. From the map it will be evident, however, that the mountains seen by the Verendrye sons can not have been the Black Hills and that by this time our travelers were well into the present state of *Wyoming*.

It is clear also that the mountains they report as having seen on the first of January were of considerable height for, from the time when they were first seen, it took some twenty days of alternate halting and marching to reach the base of the range.³ There seems to be a fair degree of probability in concluding that they had come to the Big Horn range of the Rocky mountains in northern Wyoming. If the estimate of their rate of travel is too low it is possible that they may have gone even as far to the south as the Laramie mountains. Taking into account the relative longitude of the *Mantanne* village on the Missouri and the eastern edge of the Black Hills, would it have been possible for the Verendrye sons to go from this village over thirty days toward the southwest and yet come within sight of the Black Hills still to the west of them? More than this, it was not until twenty days after the mountains came into view (a period of time, perhaps not entirely spent in travel) that they arrived at the base of the range on their westerly course. Here are some fifty days of travel, mostly to the south and west, to be accounted for from their starting point at the *Mantanne* village. By reference to the accompanying map and from the record in the journal of the Verendrye sons, but one conclusion seems possible. The Frenchmen had been traveling the broken country far west of the Black Hills during the months of December and January and until February 14, 1743.

Their return trip from the mountains was begun some time after February 14 and led them for two weeks toward the east southeast.⁴ After the first of March they left the *Gens de l'Arc* and went to join the *Petite Cerise*. At this point we lose again our compass directions and we are told merely that until March

3. The language of the journal is somewhat ambiguous at this point. "We continued our march until the 8th of January. On the 9th we quitted the village . . . The greater part of the company were on horseback and proceeded in good order; at last, on the twelfth day, we came to the mountains." The war party takes flight after coming to the first village of the enemy and the Chevalier retreats with them. "At last we arrived among the first of the villages of the Gens de l'Arc, on the 9th of February, the second day of our flight." Ibid., 6: 605, 606.

4. As already stated the Frenchmen had arrived at the first village of the Gens de l'Arc on February 9. The journal adds that the chief of the tribe arrived where they were five days after this date. Ibid., 6: 606.

19 Chevalier was leading his party to the fortified village of the *Petite Cerise*. Though we are left to conjecture the direction of their line of march, it would seem that they had already begun their return trip to Fort La Reine. The journal is somewhat ambiguous: "As we saw no prospect of getting anyone to take us to the Spaniards, and had no doubt that my father was very uneasy about us we made up our minds to set out for Fort La Reine, and quitted the *Gens de l'Arc* with great regret on both sides. On the 15th of March we arrived among the *Gens de la Petite Cerise*."⁵ If this much of the journal were taken by itself there would be little doubt in anyone's mind as to the direction of their route. Up to this point the journal plainly infers that from March first they were on their homeward journey and met the *Petite Cerise* after two weeks travel in that direction. If, therefore, there can be shown to exist serious difficulties with the Missouri river hypothesis, this part of their journey is in complete harmony with the theory that they never saw the Missouri until they reached the *Mantanne village*, at Old Crossing. The journal continues: "They (*Petite Cerise*) were returning from their winter quarters, and were two day's march from their fort which is on the banks of the Missouri. We reached their fort on the 19th and were received with great manifestations of joy."⁶ Here is the most serious inconsistency in a record that otherwise can be harmonized with the geography of the region and with its own chronology throughout. This abrupt introduction of the Missouri river into the geography of a route so manifestly lying within a territory immediately east of the Big Horn mountains must be taken as somewhat questionable. It should be noted also that although the Frenchmen joined the *Petite Cerise* on the 15th of March, when the latter were two day's march from their fort, yet it was not until the 19th that the Chevalier speaks of their arrival there. In other words they made a two day's march in four days, moving even slower than the returning village of the *Petite Cerise*. This hardly comports with the theory of a forced march from the Big Horn mountains to the Missouri river but it is in harmony with the preceding portion of the journal describing the beginning of their return march. Since the journal does not specify the direction of the line of march of the *Petite Cerise* village, it is not improbable that it was in the same northerly direction as their own and therefore the Frenchmen could proceed in the leisurely fashion above described.

To return to the mention in the journal of the Missouri river, we may well question the testimony of the Chevalier at this point and inquire how his party was able to reach the banks

5. Ibid., 6: 608.

6. Ibid.

of the Missouri from the Big Horn range by a leisurely month's travel, half of which was spent in the company of the *Gens de l'Arc*. If the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing on the Missouri is accepted as their starting point, by February 14 the direction of their route has led them into a region from which by no means of travel then known could they reach the Missouri river by March 19. Are we not justified in concluding, therefore, that the Chevalier was mistaken in his identification of the river he calls the Missouri? In 1738, it may be recalled, he reports the same river to his father as flowing west and in the journal of the elder Verendrye written in 1739, or later, the river is given as the *Manton*. Moreover, the sources of his information in 1743 as to the river he calls the Missouri were at best but meager. His party had come to the village of the *Petite Cerise* ignorant of the language of its inhabitants. He is aided in learning this language by the presence of a native who knew Spanish from having been brought up among that people. This Indian told the Chevalier that the road to the Spanish was overland and that it lay through the region frequented by the "Serpent tribe," the tribe from which the war party of the *Gens de l'Arc* had fled the previous month. There is no indication in these facts that the Chevalier obtained from this tribe any information regarding the Missouri river as a means of communication with either the Spanish or the French. Quite the contrary, what can be found in his journal at this point indicates a degree of unfamiliarity with Missouri river conditions in thorough keeping with all the details of the journey recorded up to this date. A people like the *Petite Cerise*, situated only a short distance from the dreaded "Serpent tribe" of the western mountains, would naturally be acquainted with the white settlements and the traders to the southwestward on the Santa Fe trail.

On the other hand they would be quite ignorant of those to the southeast along the Missouri and the upper Mississippi and in the valley of the Ohio. It is quite often overlooked that the French had made considerable advance into the Missouri river valley by the time that the Verendrye sons made their far western trip. Early in the century the upper Missouri country was coming to be known to the French, as it had been for a considerable time to the Spanish, as a desirable trading area worth a good deal of effort to retain permanently. As a defense against both the English and the Spanish, Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi river, twenty leagues below the mouth of the Missouri, was built about 1720 and soon after 1748 it had become the most important French post in the west.⁷

7. Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, *The critical period, 1763-1765* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 10—Springfield, 1915), xxx and note 1.

The attempt of a considerable Spanish force to close the lower Missouri to the French in 1721, an attempt which resulted in the massacre of their whole party by the Indians, is a clear indication of the growing importance of this region. Parkman tells us that in 1704 more than a hundred Canadians were said to be scattered in small parties along the Mississippi and the Missouri and that as early as 1705 one trader claimed he had been far up the Missouri river and visited many of the Indian tribes on the way.⁸ He speaks, also, of a trader, Du Tisne, who went up the Missouri river in 1719 to a point considerably above Grand river, and later in the year visited the Osage and the Pawnee, returning to the Illinois district near the close of the year.⁹ This brought him as far north as the Republican Fork, a tributary of the Kansas river, where Truteau in 1795 mentions that a division of the Pawnee was located.¹⁰ Three years later a Frenchman named Bourgmont built Fort Orleans on the north side of the Missouri river, opposite the site of the present town of Malta Bend, Saline county, Missouri. From this post in 1724, Bourgmont led an expedition to the west and southwest, meeting and counselling with the representative chiefs of the Omaha, Kansa, Oto, Iowa, Osage, Missouri and Comanche or Padoucas. His council with the Comanche was held not far from the present site of Dodge City, Kansas, on the Arkansas river. At this council a treaty of alliance was made with this powerful tribe and Bourgmont attempted to bring about peace between this tribe and those at the northeast, with which the French were already confederated. So much impressed was the principal chief of the Comanche by all that he saw of the French at this conference that he compared the Spanish to a handful of dust while his new friends, he said, were like the sun itself.¹¹ Some years after this, Fort Orleans was attacked by a band of warriors from a neighboring tribe and the entire garrison was massacred.

But the knowledge the French had of the Missouri river was not confined to the reports from Du Tisne and Bourgmont. Parkman says: "The French had at this time (1723) gained a knowledge of the tribes of the Missouri as far up as the Aricaras, who were not, it seems, many days journey below the

8. Francis Parkman, *A half century of conflict* (Boston, 1899), 1: 354, citing Bienville au ministre, 6 September, 1704, and Beaurain, *Journal historique*.

9. Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 358, citing Margry, *Decouvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 309, 310, 313.

10. For a reprint of the Truteau journal, see *American historical review*, 11: no. 2.

11. Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 366, citing Margry *Decouvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 398.

Yellowstone, and who told them of 'prodigiously high mountains' evidently the Rocky Mountains."¹² We next hear of the French explorations in this quarter in 1739, when two traders named Mallet let a party up the Missouri and Platte rivers to the south fork of the latter stream. From here their course was west and southwest across the Arkansas river till they reached Santa Fe. On their return in 1740 three of the party crossed the plains and stopped at the villages of the Pawnee.¹³ In the *Handbook of American Indians* it is stated that the French traders were established among the Pawnee before the middle of the 18th century.¹⁴ On an old map of Louisiana, dated 1720, the point farthest north reached by French explorers is indicated as being a short distance down stream from the Omaha nation who are set down as "Mahas, a Wandering Nation."¹⁵

The evidence thus presented makes it clear that from New Orleans and from the nearer posts in the Illinois district, the French explored and traded as far north along the Missouri river as the Platte river and up to the forty-second parallel. Fort Orleans was built to check the Spanish and to extend the influence of the French north and west. Accordingly, trade relations were established or treaties of alliance were concluded with tribes as far west as the Comanche on the upper Arkansas and as far north as the Pawnee of the Republican Fork. The French were even in touch with the Arikara, an offshoot of the Pawnee, and on friendly terms with them. And this activity had a distinct aim, the supplanting of the Spanish influence and the establishment of trade relations with the tribes in this extensive region. In view of what the French had accomplished by 1742, when the Verendryes set out on their journey to the southwest, is it at all probable that they could have come within the sphere of influence of the royal province of Louisiana and the district of Illinois and not have heard more of French prowess in peace and war and of French traders and their posts? If the Verendrye sons penetrated what is now South Dakota and reached the Missouri at the mouth of Bad river,

12. Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 360, citing *Memoire de la Renaudiere*, 1723. The state historical society of North Dakota has recently discovered an ancient village site of the Arikara, dating well into the eighteenth century, located on the upper portion of the Knife river, near the present site of Beulah, North Dakota. This discovery completely confirms the evidence given in the above quotation.

13. Parkman, *A half century of conflict*, 1: 367, citing Margry, *Decouvertes et établissements des Français dans . . . l'Amérique septentrionale*, 6: 455-468.

14. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, edited by F. W. Hodge (Smithsonian institution, bureau of American ethnology, bulletin 30—Washington, 1907-1910), 2: 214.

15. John Senex's "Map of Louisiana and the river Mississippi," a reproduction of an old map 1720.

they would be in close touch with the sedentary tribes of the Missouri, both to the north and to the south. One of these, the Pawnee, was already on good terms with the French, was trading regularly with them and had entertained more than one party of French explorers previous to this. If the *Petite Cerise* actually lived as a sedentary people on the Missouri river it is quite inconceivable that the members of that tribe should be ignorant of the powerful French nation to the southeast who were friends and allies of the Pawnee and of neighboring Missouri river tribes. It was certainly no fear of enemies that prevented the *Petite Cerise* from trading at the French winter posts among the Pawnee. The French government had been exerting itself to the utmost for over twenty years in order to smooth the way for the development of trade among all the tribes along this great highway and westward up the principal tributaries of the Missouri. But though the Chevalier spent two weeks at their village and learned their language so as to be able to communicate with them, yet he heard nothing of the achievements of his own people in what must be regarded as a striking example of the capacity of the French to make their way among the Indians. Instead of hearing of French soldiers, French posts, and French traders, he is told of a single Frenchman at a few days march from the village, who had resided there many years. Yet as far north as the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing they are shown utensils made from the horns of Spanish cattle. But here, within the reach of the French traders among the Pawnee, not a single piece of French goods is displayed or observed by them throughout their two weeks stay at the village of the *Petite Cerise*. The Chevalier hears among the *Gens de l'Arc* the story of the destruction of the Spanish by the Missouri Indians in 1721, but nowhere is he told of the equally striking massacre of the French garrison at Fort Orleans, many leagues farther up the Missouri.

Again, it is manifest from internal evidence that the journal of the Verendrye sons in 1742-43 is not the record of a journey among the sedentary Indians of the Missouri valley. It is not possible to fit their narrative into what we know of the Arikara immediately north of the Pawnee and in full connection with them. The absence of any knowledge of the near-by French and their ubiquitous trading operations makes it impossible to identify the *Petite Cerise* as a tribe of Indians on the Missouri river. On the other hand, from the time the Verendryes first reach the *Mantanne* villages until their return trip from the *Petite Cerise*, the two journals make constant reference to a white people who are undoubtedly the Spanish. Their crops, their houses, their weapons and armor, their manufactures of cloth and iron, their herds of cattle are all mentioned again and again in the journal of the elder Verendrye. In the journal

of the sons we notice the same familiarity with the Spaniard and a similar enumeration of points of interest to the tribe. The chief of the *Gens de l'Arc*, besides mentioning the massacre of the Spanish in 1721, repeats to the Chevalier some words of a prayer which he recognizes as Spanish. At the village of the *Petite Cerise* one member of the tribe had learned Spanish from having been brought up among them. It is evident from these facts that all the Indians, among whom the Chevalier's party had been journeying in 1742-43, lived in regions belonging to the Spanish sphere of influence. This would locate the *Gens de l'Arc* and the *Petite Cerise* as tribes living west of the Black Hills and east of some range of the Rocky mountains like the Big Horn or Laramie range. This region, unlike the Missouri valley, had been dominated by the Spanish traders of Santa Fe from early times. Though this Spanish trading center was far south of Fort de Chartres in the Illinois district, at about 36° north latitude, yet its traders were able to penetrate far to the north across the upper waters of western tributaries of the Mississippi. On the early map of Louisiana already referred to in note 15, the following notation occurs at the upper course of a river probably intended for the Platte but given as the Missouri: "The Indians say that near this place the Spaniards ford the River on Horseback going to treat with some Nations lying to the Northwest whence they bring Yellow Iron as they call it."

While, therefore, the French were able to keep the Spanish from the lower part of the Missouri valley, the latter had no difficulty in maintaining their trading supremacy over the extensive territory north of Santa Fe as far as the Yellowstone. Into this area of Spanish trade the Verendrye sons found their way in 1742 and they do not appear to have left it throughout their entire journey.

Having presented at some length the geographical and historical grounds for holding that the Chevalier was mistaken in his identification of the Missouri river, we may next consider in detail the evidence offered in support of the hypothesis that the Verendrye sons reached the Missouri river. The *Gens de l'Arc* are held to be sedentary Indians principally from the fact that their chief promised the Chevalier that his village would come and grow corn at a place which he designated. But this easily given promise might merely indicate the desire and policy of the French to induce wandering tribes to settle permanently in an established locality. Again, the fact that the French called the village of the *Petite Cerise* a "fort" does not necessarily imply a sedentary life for the tribe and the possession of elaborate earth houses like the *Mantannes* and their neighbors to the south. For such a conclusion there is no evidence anywhere in the journal; sedentary life has merely been

assumed for these tribes as being in harmony with their supposed residence on the Missouri river. All that is positively known of the tribes visited by the Verendrye sons is that they lived within the Spanish trading area and were unacquainted with the French in the Missouri valley. Beyond this meager information we are compelled to wait for an expert opinion from some ethnologist who has made a special study of the tribes in this entire region. The material given in the Verendrye journals is invaluable for the purposes of identification but it must be interpreted by one thoroughly conversant with the culture and language of the tribes who lived at this time within the boundaries of the present states of Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana, and North Dakota, and who has, besides, an intimate acquaintance with the geographical names then in use among these various tribes. For this task the bureau of American ethnology has at its disposal a considerable force of scientists whose training fits them for such investigations. It is to be hoped that in the near future we may profit by their expert knowledge in the further interpretation of the Verendrye journals.

It is further held as proof that the Verendrye sons reached the Missouri river that they mention a tribe they meet, "Gens de la Fleche Collee otherwise called Sioux of the Prairies." Whether or not this tribe was a member of the well known Dakota group has yet to be determined. But granting that the Chevalier did meet some members of a Dakota tribe on his return trip, this fact will be of very little assistance in determining his route. From the *Handbook of American Indians* we learn that the date of the entrance of the Dakota into the Black Hills is about 1765 and that before 1750 some of the Dakota had found their way to the western side of the Missouri river.¹⁶ These facts regarding the permanent residence of the Dakota make it easy to account for the single wandering village of the "Sioux of the Prairies" met by the French in 1743. From a discussion by Mallery on the "Dakota Winter Counts" we learn that this tribe warred upon the Arikara, stealing their horses and killing their hunters as early as 1713.¹⁷ The Arikara were a sedentary tribe on the Missouri and therefore it is not inconceivable that occasional camps of the Dakota were to be encountered ranging far to the west of this river thirty years later.

The Missouri river hypothesis has been proved to be quite untenable from every standpoint. But in order to get the evidence more clearly before us, let it be supposed that we have traced the route of the Verendrye sons from their starting point, putting into the line of march a sufficient number of variations

16. *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 376.

17. Bureau of American ethnology, Tenth report (Washington, 1893), 296 ff.

from the recorded direction so as to bring the Frenchmen at the end of their journey well east of the Black Hills and within an easy two weeks' march of the Missouri river. We have still the greater difficulty of marking out the line for their return march from the mouth of Bad river. In traveling over the prairie the Chevalier seems to have used the compass regularly to record his general line of travel for later use. If he had reached the Missouri and recognized it as the *Manton* river which he saw in 1788, he would conceivably make the return journey along the banks to his starting point on the same river. Even Parkman, the first writer to make use of this hypothesis, takes it for granted that since the Frenchmen reached the Missouri river, they would return along its course on their way back. But if the Chevalier took this very obvious course, why does no mention of it occur in his journal? He is at considerable pains to make a record of each change of compass direction from day to day. Surely he could hardly overlook so important a fact in his record as the course of a great river which led him to his destination. The care he has shown in other points of his journal to set down important entries makes this omission all the more inexplicable. Again, he says specifically that after leaving the *Fleche Collee* they met no one on their return to the *Mantanne* village. If the march were made along the course of the Missouri river, on either side, even at a distance of ten or fifteen miles, they would certainly have come into contact with the inhabitants from one or more of the Arikara and Mandan villages along both banks of the river. The buffalo migration would be under way by April, the month in which the larger part of their journey was performed. From the villages along the Missouri hunters would be ranging far and wide in search of game to replenish their depleted supplies. The least we could expect for the record of such a journey would be that it must contain some mention of the four other larger *Mantanne* villages which were reported to Verendrye as being farther down the river from the one toward which he was journeying. On his outward journey the Chevalier was careful to record that he met successively the *Gens des Chevaux*, the *Beaux Hommes*, the *Pioya*, the *Gens de la Belle Riviere*, the *Gens de l'Arc*, the *Gens du Serpent*, and the *Gens de la Petite Cerise*, seven tribes in all. On the return he records but one, at the very beginning of the journey, though his supposed route was through a well-peopled area. By traveling wholly by night his party might have been able to avoid meeting anyone along the course of the Missouri but no mention is made of such extraordinary precautions. If he had traveled on the east side of the river he would have exposed his party to an attack by the Dakota. After he had arrived at the *Mantanne* village on his return he still thought it necessary to travel in

company with a considerable body of Assiniboin to protect him from the Dakota while on his way to Fort La Reine. But apparently he takes no such precautions and has no adventures. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the Chevalier did not travel along the Missouri river on his return trip and that therefore he did not reach its banks at all.

In thus pointing out mistakes of fact in the journal of both of the Verendryes there is, of course, no intention to question their probity or their standing with their fellowmen. The requirements of the discussion, however, make it necessary to examine all their evidence with the greatest care and to point out obvious errors of judgment or of fact where such seem to occur. No observer is infallible in recording his observations and the Verendryes were certainly no exception to the rule.

The evidence offered in the September article of this Review and the further elaboration of its main contentions in the present paper make it quite unnecessary to discuss again various points of detail connected with the Missouri river hypothesis. How the lead plate came to be buried on a hill near the mouth of Bad river, and the probable name and location of the stream that the Chevalier misnames the Missouri are merely points of interest, not at all essential to the discussion as it now stands. The suggestions made in my former article on these points are still pertinent, however, based as they are on a knowledge of Indian nature and the evidence drawn from the journal. In what condition we could expect to find a stone pile, heaped up over the earth recently dug up for the burial of a lead plate, after a century and a half of exposure on a bare butte must necessarily be a matter for a geologist to determine. But this question, like two preceding queries, is so purely local that the general student might well be pardoned for leaving these details to be argued out at length by those to whom they are still the all-important considerations.

To summarize briefly the ground covered, it has been shown that the Verendrye sons in 1742-43 traveled over a course which did not take them within range of the sedentary tribes on the Missouri river and that during their trip they remained in the area clearly dominated by the Spanish traders from Santa Fe, and lastly, that by no interpretation of the journal record kept by the Chevalier could he have conducted his party on their return trip along the course of the Missouri river to their point of departure from the *Mantanne* village at Old Crossing. If the net result of the discussion of this whole problem will be to arouse a new interest in the larger questions involved in the Verendrye explorations the purpose of the writer will have been amply accomplished.

THE EXPLORATIONS OF VERENDRYE AND HIS SONS*

By WARREN UPHAM

Discovery of the Rocky Mountains

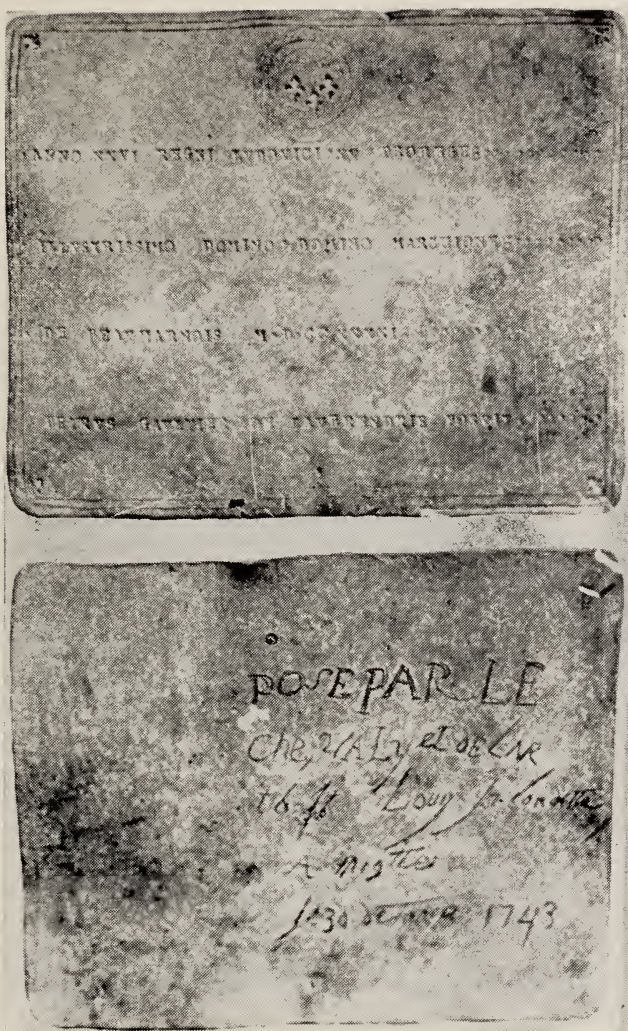
. . . A very satisfactory manuscript discussion of the route of the farthest western expedition of the sons of Verendrye, crossing the plains from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, with platting of the courses as narrated, has been supplied to the Minnesota Historical Society from a corresponding member, the late Captain Edward L. Berthoud of Golden, Colorado. This manuscript was received through the kindness of another member, Mr. Olin D. Wheeler of St. Paul, author of an important historical work in two volumes entitled *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*.

Captain Berthoud, following the narrative in Margry's *Memoirs and Documents*, shows that quite surely the Verendrye sons came, by southwest and south-southwest marching, from the villages of the Mandans on the Missouri River to the Big Horn Mountains. They first got a distant view of the mountains, as the journal given by Margry tells us, on New Year's Day of 1743. On January 21, in a great war party of the Indians of the plains for attacking their hereditary enemies, the Shoshone or Snake Indians, at one of their great winter encampments, the Verendryes reached the foot of the mountains, which, as the journal says, "are for the most part well wooded, and seem very high."

If they went in this war raid around or alongside the north part of the Big Horn range, they may have passed beyond the Big Horn River, coming to the Shoshone camp near the stream now known as the Shoshone River, tributary to the Big Horn River from the west; so that the mountains near whose base was the camp of the Snake Indians would be the Shoshone Mountains, close to and southeast of the Yellowstone Park. Probably their extreme advance, to the Snake Indian camp, was somewhere in the foothills of the lofty and extended Big Horn range; and if they went beyond that range, I think that it was only to the Shoshone Mountains.

The route of their return was eastward to the Missouri River, as narrated in the journal, and thence northward up the west side of the Missouri, to the Mandan villages, from which the expedition had started. This part of the journey is not considered in Captain Berthoud's manuscript. Both the routes of the outward march and the return are well discussed by Parkman in his work of two volumes, *A Half Century of*

*Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1907-1908, pp. 52-53.



LA VERENDRYE PLATE*

“Placed by Chevalier De La Verendrye, Lo (Louis) Jost (Joseph) Verendrye, Louis La Londette and A. Miotte, The 30 March 1743”

Leaden Plate buried by Chevalier De La Verendrye, March 30, 1743.
French inscription as agreed upon by Benjamin Sulte, Ambassador Jusserand, Miss Louise Kellogg, and the South Dakota historical society.

*From the Mississippi Historical Review vol. III, no. 3, December 1916, P. 373.

Conflict, published in 1892. Volume II, in pages 29-58, with a sketch map of the routes going to the Rocky Mountains and returning east to the Missouri as recorded in the journal printed by Margry, gives a very vivid account of this whole expedition. . . .

THE VERENDRYE PLATE*

By DOANE ROBINSON

On February 16th, 1913, a mild winter day, a party of school children were playing upon the first considerable eminence near the bank of the Missouri River, above the mouth of the Bad or Teton River. The eminence referred to is within the limits of the city of Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Harriet Foster, a girl fourteen years of age, observing a bit of metal protruding from the earth, placed the toe of her shoe under it and pried it out of its resting place. Her companion, George O'Reilly, a lad of fifteen years, observing something written upon the metal, picked it up and carried it to his father.

Thus was discovered after a period of one hundred and seventy years the plate deposited by the Verendrye brothers on March 30, 1743, as evidence of their taking possession of all of the region west of the Mississippi for the King of France.

The Verendrye plate is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness and upon the obverse bears this inscription in Latin:

Anno XXVI Regni Lvdovici XV Prorege
Illvstrissimo Domino Domino Marchione
De Beauharnois M D CC XXXXI
Petrvs Gaultier De Laverendrie Posvit

These lines, freely translated, would read:

(This plate was) deposited in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Louis XV, for the King and the most illustrious Lord, Marquis de Beauharnois, in the year 1741, (by) Pierre Gaultier de La Verendrie.

Moreover, it would seem that the plate had been prepared for deposit before the party left Canada, that owing to delays upon the way it had not been used, by several years, as soon as had been expected, and that the elder Verendrye had been disappointed in himself not making the claim of the region.

On the reverse the plate bears this inscription rudely scratched with the point of a knife:

Pose parle
Che valyet de Lar

*Proceedings of The Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1913-1914, pp. 244-248.

to st Louy La Londette

A Miotte

Le 30 de Mars 1743

These lines, freely translated, would read:

Deposited by Chevalier de La Verendrye,

Touissant Louis La Londette,

A Miotte,

The 30th of March 1743

At all events this is the rendering of M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador. Other French scholars have interpreted the abbreviations in the third line of the inscription to be a contraction of *temoin*, a word signifying witness. Personally I have a conviction that it in some way designates Louis Verendrye, the youngest son of the explorer. Benjamin Sulté has been unable to identify either Londette or Miotte among the habitant families of Canada.¹

Even of greater interest than the finding of the plate itself are the regions explored by the young men west of the Missouri; and so in this connection I will hastily review their journey of 1742-1743.

In the spring of 1742 Pierre Verendrye, the elder, found himself for the second time at Fort La Reine (the present site of the city of Portage La Prairie, Manitoba) for the purpose of pursuing his explorations to the Pacific, by way of the Mandans, whom he had visited four years before. For some reason—perhaps ill health he did not start on the trip but dispatched his third son, François (known as the Chevalier), who was accompanied by his youngest brother, Louis-Joseph, and two Frenchmen. It has been generally assumed that the second son (the oldest living), Pierre, was the Chevalier who led this expedition; but Messrs. Jusserand, Sulté and Lawrence J. Burpee are fully agreed that François was the Chevalier, and that he was accompanied by his younger brother, Louis. They were respectively twenty-eight and twenty-six years of age. It is supposed that one of the Frenchmen who accompanied them was identical with the man left by Verendrye with the Mandans to learn that language in the winter of 1738-1739. . . .

1. Since the foregoing was written, Dr. Benjamin Sulté, together with Mr. DeLand and the writer, have adopted the view first suggested by Dr. Louise Kellogg of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, that the abbreviations in the third line of the French inscription above are "Lo Jos." and stand for "Louis Joseph." Mr. Sulté has found a habitant family named "LaLonde", one member of which was in the West at the time of the expedition of 1742, and he suggests that LaLondette is LaLonde plus the diminutive "ette". As to "A Miotte" Mr. Sulté says: "A. Miôtte may easily be Amiot, Amyot, or Amyotte, the name of a Quebec family anobile par Louis XIV, and always notable. One of them, Jean, was a merchant of Quebec in those days."

**LETTER OF THOMAS S. TWISS, INDIAN AGENT AT
DEER CREEK, U. S. INDIAN AGENCY
ON THE UPPER PLATTE**

Deer Creek, Nebraska Territory, August 16, 1859*

Sir: The undersigned, United States Indian agent of the Upper Platte, begs leave respectfully to make to the honorable the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a special report on the present condition and aspect of affairs in the Indian country, in relation to the wild tribes up the prairies and the mountains, embraced within the limits of the Upper Platte agency.

In submitting these views for your information and guidance in the conduct and policy of our intercourse with these tribes, I am animated solely with a desire to prevent their utter extinction, and also to preserve and strengthen those peaceful relations now happily subsisting between these nomadic tribes and the United States government, and to present, for your grave and careful consideration, facts and certain conditions of things, now in process, of rapid development, the clear and obvious tendency of which is to interrupt, in a very short period of time, this state of repose and tranquillity, and involve the scattered white population in all of the horrors and calamities of an Indian war.

The facts to which I would call your attention are simply these, viz: The state of the Indian mind among the wild tribes is one of extreme suspicion in all matters relating to the preservation of game, their only means of subsistence; and when it disappears the Indian must perish. Hence it has happened that, in some parts of the prairie country, the Indians have stopped white people, and even United States topographical parties, when they have endeavored to penetrate to their hunting grounds, and have turned them back, pretty roughly too, for fear that the buffalo would be destroyed or scared away, and never return again. The Indians entertain a superstitious belief that the buffalo will not return to the same place again where he may have scented the white man. This is all fallacy, of course, and it is only stated as a fact to show the bias of the Indian mind, and its tendency and readiness to adopt error, and to cling to it persistently and perseveringly. The Indian is not sufficiently enlightened to know any better. However that may be, it is clearly evident that the buffalo is rapidly disappearing from his usual feeding grounds; and, for the truthfulness of this statement, I appeal to the evidence, derived from observation and experience, of every white man who may have resided in the Indian country, or traveled over the great

*This part of Nebraska Territory became Wyoming.

emigrant trail during the last six years. This noble game no longer covers the valleys of the North Platte and its tributaries, and makes the prairie appear black, as formerly, as far as the eye could scan the horizon; but is found, in small bands only, on the Republican and Loup Fork, L'eau qui Court, White river, Cheyenne Water, and the Yellowstone, very far distant for the tribes of Indians of this agency. The smaller game, the antelope and deer, is found along the foot-hills of the mountains, while the elk and mountain sheep flee to their more distant peaks, to escape from the white man's rifle.

I would state another fact bearing upon this question of the preservation of game, which in the most favorable seasons affords only a scanty and precarious supply of food, to show with what jealous care the wild tribes watch over it, and dread the ingress of strangers, who may be compelled to hunt this same game for food, and thereby cause it to diminish more rapidly than otherwise in the ordinary course of events. These wild tribes have heard that all of the Indian tribes to the eastward of them have ceded their lands to the United States, except small reservations; and hence, by an Indian's reasoning, in a few years these tribes will emigrate further west, and, as a matter of necessity, occupy the hunting grounds of the wild tribes, and cause thereby a rapid decrease in the number of buffalo. In combatting this idea, which has taken possession of the Indian mind, and is causing much irritation and excitement against both the whites and those tribes who have ceded away their lands, the Indian agent of the Upper Platte, in council with the chiefs of the Sioux tribes, in September last, was put down and most effectually silenced by one of the chiefs, by the following narration of facts and events, which are all comprehended in a very short period of time, within my own memory, as they date back only about thirty years.

The Sioux chief said: "When I was a young man, and I am now only fifty years old, I traveled, with my people, through the country of the Sac and Fox tribe, to the great water Minne Tonkah, (Mississippi,) where I saw corn growing, but no white people. Continuing eastward, we came to the Rock River valley, and saw the Winnebagoes, but no white people. We then came to the Fox River valley, and thence to the Great Lake, (Lake Michigan,) where we found a few white people in the Pottawatomie country. Thence we returned to the Sioux country, at the Great Falls, (Irara or St. Anthony,) and had a feast of green corn with our relations, who resided there. Afterwards, we visited the pipe clay quarry, in the country of the Yanceton Sioux, and made a feast to the 'great medicine,' and danced the 'sun dance;' and then returned to our hunting grounds on the prairie. And now our 'father' tells us the white man will never settle on our lands and kill our game; but see!

the whites cover all of these lands that I have just described, and also the lands of the Poncas, Omahas, and Pawnees. On the south fork of the Platte the white people are finding gold, and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes have no longer any hunting grounds. Our country has become very small, and, before our children are grown up, we shall have no more game."

The Sioux chief stated pretty accurately the condition of things now in process of rapid development, which threaten the utter extinction of the wild tribes, by destroying the game on which they depend for subsistence.

This great wave of emigration to the prairie west is moving onward with greatly increased velocity. It is beyond human power to retard or control it, nor would it be wise to do so, even were it possible.

This process of development, this law of Anglo-Saxon progress, is a necessity and a consequence of, and flowing directly from, our free institutions, which, in their strength, purity, and beauty, tend to stimulate and bring forth the vast resources of agriculture, mineral and commercial wealth, within the boundaries of our great empire.

Hence it is that the savage, the wild hunter tribes, must give way to the white man, who requires his prairie hunting grounds for the settlement and homes of millions of human beings, where now only a few thousand of rude barbarians derive a scanty, precarious, and insufficient subsistence; and where, by improved methods in agriculture, and an application of labor-saving machinery, these millions may be fed and clothed, and add, yearly, to our great staples and products of national and individual wealth.

I have stated, thus briefly, a few of the leading facts, and the condition of things, now in process of rapid development, as at present existing in the Indian country, and which have a tendency to irritate, excite, and exasperate the Indian mind, and fill it with alarm and jealousy to such a degree that an interruption to our friendly relations with the wild tribes may occur at any moment.

With a view to allay this excitement, calm this irritation, and to remove all cause or source of uneasiness, alarm, or misapprehension in the future, I beg leave, respectfully, to make some suggestions, and offer some plans for your consideration, by the adoption of which, either in part or in whole, or in some modified form, or others similar to them, I feel confident in the opinion that these wild Indian tribes may be rescued from utter extinction, and in due time may be brought into such a state of domestication as to be in a condition to raise corn and support themselves by their own labor and industry.

It will require time to accomplish this very desirable and philanthropic object, in order to teach and instruct the Indian in the agricultural and mechanical arts. It will, likewise, require an immediate appropriation, and the selection of faithful and competent servants to begin operations; for whatsoever is done, or intended to be done, should be commenced at once, or with as little delay as possible. In view of all the circumstances, and the difficulties surrounding the subject-matter, I would propose the following plan, viz:

1st. That the chiefs and principal men of all the wild tribes of the prairies and the mountains should be invited to a great council, at a point convenient, central, and neutral. The object of said council, shall be to ascertain clearly the state, condition, and wants of the Indians, and when certain definite stipulations and agreements on the part of the United States shall be made with them: provided, always, and on this express condition, that they cordially agree to settle permanently on reservations, and devote themselves to labor for their own subsistence.

2d. In order to preserve the buffalo from destruction for a little time, and until such time as the Indian may have learned to raise corn, it is recommended that the privilege of trading with the Indians by a license, granted to white persons, be suspended from the year 1860, until such time thereafter as it may be deemed proper to restore it.

3d. That missionary and manual labor schools be encouraged by appropriating a limited sum annually.

4th. That a physician be employed to reside with each tribe permanently.

5th. That a blacksmith and carpenter, and one or more farmers, be appointed for each tribe, and continue in service at the discretion of the President of the United States. In regard to the necessity of holding a "great council," in which all of the wild tribes shall be represented and present, it may be stated, that it is intended and proposed, to prevent all jealousies and misconception on the part of the different tribes as to the views and wishes of the United States government, and to show that it is held for the benefit of all the tribes. Sufficient and ample time should be taken for mature and careful deliberation, and nothing essential should be omitted or hurried over. The Indian is a creature of forms and ceremonies, and in all of his business transactions acts slowly and with cautions deliberation. Every stipulation and agreement, therefore, should be carefully stated, and then written and read in council; and no promises made, unless they are carried into effect forthwith, or initiatory steps begun, to prove to the Indians that everything is undertaken with earnestness and truthfulness.

It is necessary and important, according to the customs and habits of the Indians, that a present of suitable magnitude for the occasion, consisting of clothing and provisions, should be given to the chiefs and principal men who are assembled at the council; and that an annuity in provisions, clothing, and useful articles of prime necessity, for a certain number of years, at the discretion of the President, should be given to the tribes in proportion to their numbers. That in making provision for one or more farmers, blacksmith, carpenter, and physician on the reservation of each tribe, it is made with the express condition and understanding, that unless the Indians will devote themselves to labor, and cultivate their several allotments of land, after a reasonable length of service as apprentices, these are all to be withdrawn, and the annuities terminated.

In consideration of the above stipulations, agreements, and promises duly performed on the part of the United States, the chiefs, for and in behalf of their respective tribes, shall cede to the United States all of their lands, except such reservations as each tribe shall designate, which shall be surveyed, and proper boundaries marked, at the expense of the United States.

With this very brief outline, which, I am aware, is crude and imperfect, I submit the grave and important questions involved to your serious and deliberate consideration, and request that you will be pleased to take such action in the premises as you may deem proper and best for all the parties, at the earliest and most convenient time, for on this prompt and decisive action depend the lives and well being of many thousands of your red children in these distant prairies and mountains.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS S. TWISS,
U. S. Indian Agent, Upper Platte.

Hon. A. B. Greenwood,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Wyoming Scrapbook

(Letter from E. E. Robinson, Station Agent of Lookout Station, Union Pacific Railroad, in which he vividly describes the blizzard of 1872 in Wyoming.)

Lookout Station,
Feb. 26, 1872.

Dear Friends:

You probably have been wondering for the past two months why you have not received a letter from me. You have probably seen accounts in the eastern papers of the great snow storms, and the Blockade of the Union Pacific Railroad this winter? Well, we have had one which will be remembered for years to come, on account of its severity and long duration. Whittier's "Snow Bound" is good but if J. G. could have spent this winter in rustivating among the wilds of Wyoming, and among the barrens of the Rockies he no doubt could have appreciated his own writings better than he now does. "Snow Bound" is nice to read but it is "bad medicine" to have experienced. I will now endeavor to give you a description in brief of the winter and some of the many storms and blocks we have had.

"On the 2nd of December a solitary footman might have been seen wending his way across the plain (I've seen this expression before somewhere) and approaching Lookout Station. Upon his arrival it proved to be Conductor Harris of the eastern bound Freight, which he reported to be stuck in a drift six miles down the hill, and wanted me to summon assistance to get his train out of the snow, which I immediately did. I reported the state of affairs to the Superintendent who sent out two engines and crews, to Lookout that night. The next morning with forty men and three heavy ten wheel engines we started from here and went down the hill to where the train was stuck but after working six hours we had to abandon the train and work our way back. The snow was flying and drifting into the cuts so fast that it was hard work for the three engines to work their way back to Lookout. Men could not stay out of the cars more than half an hour at a time to shovel on account of the severity of the storm. One man could not keep standing room for himself on the track by shoveling the snow drifting faster into the cut than it could be shoveled out. It was impossible to see more than one car length. The next day we started out again, the storm having moderated somewhat, and by hard work succeeded in getting three cars and the engine belonging to the train out of the drift, and

bringing them to Lookout. The third day we started out again brave as ever, and when we reached the cut where the train was the day before, there was no train to be seen. Some thought at first that help had come from the west during the night and had got the train out of the drift, but on examination this was found to be a mistake for the cars were still there but the snow had drifted over them so as to completely bury them from sight. This was pretty good even for a Rocky Mountain storm. The snow was still drifting, and after working hard all day with no success whatever we began to get discouraged—we were “snow bound”—there had been no train at Lookout for five days. But we still had our engines and plenty of “grub,” so we concluded to “wait a little longer till the good time coming,” comes. The next morning come clear, calm and pleasant, and off started our train in good spirits, two heavy engines ahead then two cars full of men, then another engine coupled in behind them and backing up so that there would be an engine headed right, whether we went forward or back, and we could buck snow going either way, each engine having a plow.

We started out at a rate of 30 miles per hour, going through drifts from 4 to 6 feet in depth. Myself and four others were riding in the rear car and became frightened on account of the motion of the car, the last engine crowding it so hard when the train struck a drift that it would jump around like corn in a popper, and the engineer knowing nothing of this kept using more steam. I pulled the coupling pin, clambered over the tender and told the engineer to stop.—He had just stopped his engine when on looking out of the cab window I saw the other engines and cars in the ditch. If the rear engine had been coupled on, every man in the cars must have been killed or dangerously hurt. Here we were, after six days work at the train, six days worse off than when we first began. The banks at the side of the drifts where they had been shoveled, were in some places fifteen feet high and the track covered with snow to that depth, and the more we shoveled the higher it grew. Our engines in the ditch three miles from anything to eat, and night coming on. The men began to get discouraged. The shovelers all walked to the station and the rest of us stayed with the wreck. One of our party had a photograph of a chicken with him and the six of us lived on that photograph of a chicken 24 hours. This may seem a poor way of living, to you, but we never enjoyed a meal better in our lives than looking at that photo. The next morning after building a track around the wrecked engines, work was resumed and at 12 o'clock that night help reached us from the west, consisting of snow plows and men, also more help from the east and at 8 A. M. all the forces reached

Lookout with the train and the road was once more open for the running of trains after seven days hard work night and day. Snow fences were immediately constructed and put up along the road in places where it was deemed necessary. Large gangs of men were at work night and day in Omaha constructing this fence and when a sufficient quantity was made, a special train of fencing was started from Omaha and given the right of the road over all other trains. These fences were found to be insufficient protection against the drifting snow. Then the company made every effort to open the road by means of snow plows of which they had thirteen. Three engines were coupled behind each plow, and by this means twenty-five engines were disabled and some of them made total wrecks by being thrown from the track, in one week, the snow being so hard that it was impossible to force a plow through the drifts. Then seven snow train outfits were immediately fitted out and sent to the front. These snow trains were arranged so as to board seventy-five laborers in each and also afford sleeping accommodations as well. By the means of these snow trains in addition to their usual force of men, and each train provided with a strong snow plow, the road has kept trains in motion over the mountainous district by shoveling ahead of ten or twelve trains bound west, and then turning all the plows, engines and outfits and working the same force back ahead of as many more eastern bound trains. Every train since December 1st, with but very few exceptions, has been worked through the snow in this way. The snow belt extends from Laramie to Washakie, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles and embracing the divide of the Continent. This is a barren country, destitute of supplies and during the blockade these had to be forwarded long distances by mules or other conveyances at a great cost to the company. All snow trains were stocked with two weeks provisions and no passenger trains were started out without a train of provisions and coal enough for thirty days supply. By this arrangement passengers although liable to detention by snow were in no danger whatever of suffering from a want of fuel and provisions, and some have said the company made no effort to supply them—this is false. During the blockade from Feb. 2nd to Feb. 17th was the only time when there was any danger of suffering. Then the company immediately purchased provisions for five hundred men for 30 days and started a train out from Evanston, loaded with this supply and sent it to the west end of the snow district and from there forwarded it by horses, and by men on foot, to the snow bound passengers as fast as possible and there was no reasonable cause for complaint. We have had the most severe storms in rapid succession than any before experienced on these plains for thirty

years, and no human labor could back against them. Of course this winter will injure the company; it will injure the reputation it has already earned as a short route to the Pacific. But the company profiting by the experience of this winter can keep the road open during any coming winter, no matter if more severe than this one. They will prepare for it during the summer months and no one need have any fear of traveling by this route in the future. The Union Pacific Railroad is still the "Highway of Nations" and always will remain so. But this winter will be remembered for years as the most severe one ever experienced on the plains. But there has been a humorous side to the blockades as well. The minutes of a meeting held by Snow Train, 3 at this station Jan. 2nd, while laying still on account of the storms will show you that fun was not blocked out if trains were. Meetings were held in my office every night to express our views in regard to the weather and as to the continuance of the blockade, etc. At last we resolved, that we did not want to dictate to the Almighty but would suggest with all due humility to providence that this thing of snow every day and wind blowing every night was getting altogether monotonous. One of our party found a poem "The Beautiful Snow" and read it for our benefit, we passed a resolution, that the author of "Beautiful Snow" was a Damphool and had no respect for Pacific Railroads. Carried unanimously. But now the great blockade is over (so we think) and probably the like will never happen again on this or any other road—three months of severe storms following each other in rapid succession each storm making a blockade of a week or more in duration is something that does not happen but once in a lifetime.

I have given you as good a history of our troubles as I can at present you may hear more about it soon, and you may hear that the block is not over yet.

CAMP CARLIN

In August, 1867, Colonel Elias B. Carling selected the site of the supply depot which he was to establish, on the military reservation, about a mile and a half down the creek from Fort Russell, proper. It was about half way between Fort Russell and Cheyenne. This was a military "camp" and was usually garrisoned by a detached company of infantry. It was called Camp Carling in honor of Colonel Carling. From the beginning there was confusion in spelling the name, sometimes it was Carling, sometimes Carlin—even in official records. The granite marker that now stands on the site of the old flag pole says "Camp Carlin". The official name of the supply depot was "Cheyenne Depot".

At Camp Carlin, large warehouses were built along the railroad siding so that freight cars could be unloaded on the platforms. There were also deep cellars for storage of vegetables and potatoes and other supplies that might be damaged by frost.

It was the second largest depot in the United States Army, and was something of a marvel to the frontiersmen, mountain men and trappers who came in to this outpost of the greater world. The camp had sixteen large warehouses, in addition to blacksmith shops, wheelwright shops, carpenter shops, saddle and harness shops, sales stores, cook and bunk houses, wagon sheds, stables and corrals. One hundred wagons and five pack trains operated from the depot, and in the corrals were never less than 1,000 mules. Nearly 500 men, teamsters, packers, artisans and laborers were employed at Camp Carlin, and twelve army posts, some of them 400 miles distant, were supplied from this point.

The road from Fort Russell to Cheyenne followed Crow Creek and passed through Camp Carlin, a convenient half-way stopping place on the way to and from the "city". (Cheyenne).

As the need for use of military force against predatory Indians lessened and finally vanished, Camp Carlin shrank in size and importance, and at last, in 1887 or 1888, passed out of existence.



CHEYENNE BELLS OF THE LATE 1880's

1. Katie H. Friend; 2. Sallie R. Searight; 3. Lillie M. Morgan;
4. Fannie H. Crook; 5. Louise Swan; 6. Espie S. Woods; 7. Hattie White;
8. Maude H. Smith.

Katie H. Friend never married lives in Waco, Texas. Sallie R. Searight married Major Robert M. Dowdy, U. S. Army, lives in Washington, D. C.; Lillian M. Morgan, daughter of E. S. N. Morgan (Secretary of the Territory 1880-1887), married an Army Officer; Fannie H. Crook, daughter of Dr. Crook, married Dr. Otto Snider, U. S. Army; Espie S. Wood married Fred Nash; Louise W. Swan married R. S. Van Tassell; Hattie White and Maude H. Smith, no information obtainable.

TERRITORIAL SEAL OF 1882

Mr. A. S. McCullough, of Clifton, Ohio, has kindly given to the Wyoming Historical Department, a celluloid button, on which is the Territorial Seal of 1882, the design being colored. The upper half is a mountain scene in natural colors, the lower left quarter is green, and the lower right quarter is red. It very much resembles the celluloid political campaign buttons of today.

This button was given to Mrs. Jane McCullough, mother of A. S. McCullough, by her brother Joe McCluskey, who was a private in Company G. Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, Second Battalion; he was stationed at Fort Laramie, and while there he served in guarding the telegraph line and the Oregon Trail from Fort Laramie to South Pass, Wyoming, from October 1863 to July 1866.

The First Territorial Assembly, 1869, enacted the following law which provided for a Territorial seal.

Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Wyoming:

Sec. 1. That the seal of the territory of Wyoming shall be of the following design, namely: A norman shield, on the upper half of which is emblazoned a mountain scene, with a railroad train, the sun appearing above the horizon, the figures "1868" below the middle point of the top of the shield. On the first quarter below, on a *white* ground, a plow, a pick, a shovel, and a shepherd's crook; on the next quarter, namely: the lower point of the shield, on a *red* ground, an arm upholding a drawn sword; the shield to be surmounted by the inscription, "*Cedant arma toga*," and the entire design surrounded by the words, "Territory of Wyoming, great seal."

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, December 9th, 1869.

This is the only Territorial law which provides for the coloring of the seal.

In 1882 the Territorial Assembly enacted an act to correct two errors in the seal, provided for by the 1869 Legislative Assembly. It provided for the 1868 to be 1869, and "*Cedant Arma Toga*" to be "*Cedant Arma Togae*." There were no other legal changes in this seal. When the 1882 seal was struck the norman shield was greatly embellished with fancy outlines which the 1869 seal did not have.

The seal of 1882 was used until 1893. The First State Legislature, 1890-1891, provided for a new State Seal, but there being a definite error in the first State Seal, it was never used. The Second State Legislature, 1893, provided for a new State Seal. This seal has been in use since 1893, the only change, being the dimensions were reduced some few years ago.

This button was without doubt made after 1882. I have every reason to believe it was made for Statehood celebration, in 1890.

While this button is correct in every detail, it is wrong in the green coloring of the lower left quarter, which according to the 1869 law, should have been white.—M.H.E.

RAWLINS SPRINGS MASSACRE

**Report of E. P. Goodwin, J. A. Campbell, and S. R. Hosmer,
Special Commissioners to Investigate Facts Con-
nected with the "Rawlins Springs Massacre,"
in Wyoming Territory, in June 1873.**

To the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

The special commission appointed to investigate the facts relating to the killing of a number of Indians near Rawlins Springs, Wyoming Territory, on the 28th of June last, have the honor to submit the following report:

In the absence of the Hon. N. J. Turney, and the non-arrival of his successor, Stephen R. Hosmer, esq., in accordance with the instructions of the honorable Secretary of the Interior, Gov. John A. Campbell and Rev. Edward P. Goodwin commence the investigation at the earliest practicable moment after the notification of their appointment.

It seemed to us of first importance to secure the testimony of the parties at Rawlins as principals in the affair; accordingly we visited that place, and on the 21st and 22nd of July took the sworn statements of the persons who seemed to have most connection with, and knowledge of the matter. Following that, we proceeded to Fort Steele and took the evidence of Lieutenant Rogers, who visited the spot where the fight occurred, under the direction of General de Trobriand, and noted facts of importance connected therewith.

On the 24th of July we met Mr. Littlefield, Indian agent for the Utes, by appointment, at Laramie, and took his sworn statement respecting the non-participation of the Utes in the fight.

Returning to Cheyenne we were joined by Commissioner Hosmer, who had arrived during our absence. In view of certain reports communicated to Governor Campbell by Dr. Daniels, Indian agent for the Northern Arapahoes, Sioux, and Cheyennes, we arranged for a meeting on the 30th of July at Red Cloud agency with certain Arapahoes, said to have been in the party fired upon, as also with such of their chiefs as could be induced to be present.

On our arrival at the agency we found, much to our disappointment, that Dr. Daniels was absent; that none of the Arapahoes said to be concerned in the affair had been notified, or were within reach. We were compelled accordingly to be content with the second-hand statements made to some of the

Note:—Rawlins Springs should be Rawling's Springs. The Springs were named after an early day trapper, named Rawling; the town of Rawlins was named after the then Secretary of War.

Arapaho chiefs, more particularly Plenty Bear and Black Bear's son, (known as Black Whiteman,) by members of the party on their return.

The names of the whites engaged in the affray, copies of all the evidence taken, and statements made, are herewith submitted to the Department.

Passing to the results of the investigation, it appears beyond doubt that the Indians concerned were not Utes, as at first supposed, but Arapahoes. The party of whites who did the shooting undoubtedly believed the Indians to be Utes. But the admission of the Arapahoes that they were the party, their grief for the loss of their dead, and their demand for the return of the ponies and guns lost, and for compensation to be made to the relations of the Indians killed, would seem to be decisive.

And with this agrees the statement of Agent Littlefield that the Utes knew nothing definitely of the fight; that none of their number were either killed or missing, and that no feelings of resentment or hostility had been aroused among them.

It is the conviction of the commission that the affair was very nearly what it would appear to have been from the sworn statements of the Rawlins party. The version given by the Arapahoes differs materially from these, as was to be expected. But neither their account of the movements of the Indians prior to the fight nor their explanation of the fighting was satisfactory, while their proverbial disregard for truth even in matters of trifling importance, according to their agent, makes their statements of little worth compared with the sworn and agreeing testimony of the whites.

The truth would seem to be that a party of Arapahoes, made up largely of young braves, eager to win distinction, took the war-path for a raid upon their traditional enemies, the Crows; that, hearing while on their way that there had been a recent fight with the Crows by a party of Arapahoes and Cheyennes, they concluded that it would not be wise to make the attack proposed, and decided to attack the Utes instead; that they turned their course to the south for that purpose, and crossed the railroad ten or twelve miles west of Rawlins; that some of their party captured two horses belonging in Rawlins while out at pasture; that two of their number concealed in the sagebrush near the road, the rest being in advance and on the bluffs or hills to the south, espied a young man coming with a four-mule team; that they concluded suddenly to capture the team, and accordingly fired upon and wounded the boy in the foot; that he returned the fire, and hastening back to Rawlins gave the alarm, whereupon a party of ten, headed by the sheriff of the county, started immediately in pursuit; that they supposed the Indians to be Utes and fol-

lowed them, not with the intention of making an attack upon them, but of ascertaining who they were, that they might inform the agent and urge upon him the necessity of keeping the Indians in his care upon their reservation; that, on overtaking them, or rather heading them off, the next morning, the Indians claimed to be Utes; that the whites recognized and positively identified two horses as belonging to citizens of Rawlins; that they insisted on the surrender of the horses, and upon the Indians refusing to give them up they insisted upon their return with them to Rawlins to meet the agent of the Utes then expected there; that the Indians declared they would not go; that they denied also the shooting of the boy, charging it upon the Arapahoes; that while the whites were seeking to persuade them to return to Rawlins the Indians suddenly drew their pistols and firing behind them as they rode, spurred their horses into the bushes; that the whites returned the fire, killed and mortally wounded four of their number, captured eleven horses and one Winchester rifle, and came back to Rawlins; that the Indians buried two of their dead where the fight occurred, and two on their way back; that they abandoned the proposed expedition against the Utes, and immediately returned, not to the agency, but to the Indians farther north, and that they now claim the surrender of the lost horses and gun, and also that presents be given to the relatives of those killed in the fight.

As is shown by the evidence, the investigation sought to ascertain exactly how the trouble originated, and precisely who were the aggressors. The result is, in the judgment of the commission, that the whites do not appear to be blameworthy. Their evidence was positive and agreeing that no old grudges existed which they were anxious to avenge; that there had been no difficulties with either Utes or Arapahoes due to recent gambling or horse-racing; that the members of the party were not intoxicated when the fight occurred, and that there was no liquor with the party; that there was no ill will from any cause felt toward the Indians, but that, on the contrary, a consultation was held before coming up with the Indians, wherein it was agreed that they would not attack them unless themselves attacked; that the Indians fired the first shots, and they returned the fire in self-defense; and furthermore did not pursue the Indians after they took to flight.

The commission are therefore of the opinion that the trouble was wholly due to a war expedition growing out of an ancient feud between the Arapahoes and the Utes, which expedition was in direct violation of the treaty ratified by the Northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes in 1868, whereby they bound themselves not to cross the Platte nor go beyond the limits of their reservation, hunting excursions alone excepted.

It is therefore the judgment of the commission, that no just claim can be set up on the part of the Indians, either for the return of the captured property or for damages incurred by the fight. And the commission find it difficult to see how such claim can be entertained without putting a virtual premium on the very elements of willful lawlessness which it is the prime object of all Indian treaties to repress.

At the same time the commission readily perceives that, with reference to future dealings, it may be deemed politic by the Department to conciliate the Indians by the restoration of the captured horses. But it is felt that this should only be done coupled with the emphatic declaration by the Department, that the Indians had justly forfeited all claim to the property; and they should further be made to understand, that the government cannot be expected to keep its pledges while they break theirs; and that, therefore, with every violation of their agreements, they must expect not only the censure of the government, but the penalty which such violation entails.

As to the best means to prevent such collisions in the future, concerning which it is made the duty of the commission to report, the commission desire to express themselves with great diffidence. They feel that such a question goes to the root of the whole Indian policy, and that to have clear and decisive opinions, and to be sure that these are wisely settled, where so many and so delicate questions are involved as is the case respecting the relations of whites and Indians on our frontiers, is no easy thing.

Nevertheless the investigation made by them has developed and deepened in the minds of the commissioners certain convictions which they venture to express for the consideration of the Department.

First, then, it appears to the commission that it would be a helpful step in the management of Indian affairs to have the various reservations surveyed at the earliest practicable day, and their boundaries and limitations thoroughly and permanently established so far as may be practicable; it is greatly to be desired that such boundaries should be the natural ones of mountains, streams, divides, and the like. The Indian finds great difficulty in getting right notions of imaginary lines of latitude and longitude. The consequence is, that he is easily betrayed into violations of treaty stipulations, both as respects invasion of the territory of the whites and that of other Indians; and naturally out of such disregard of lines and boundaries, sooner or later, trouble comes.

2. Another and fruitful source of "irritation" is the practice of issuing passes or permits whereby Indians, individually or in small parties, are allowed to go beyond the limits of their reservations.

Such permits are always liable to abuse by offering temptations to thievishness, predatory forays among the whites which provoke retaliation and excite bad blood, and similar raids coupled with more hostile intent upon other Indians. And the facts go to show that in many if not in a majority of instances, Indian nature is not proof against the temptation held out, nor white nature proof against the prejudice aroused, and in consequence outbreaks occur.

The general feeling along the frontier is strongly against the system, and your commission feel certain that it is productive of more mischief than good and should be done away.

3. Your commission venture further, and raise the question whether it would not be a great gain to so shape the policy of the Department as to prohibit at an early day all going beyond the bounds of their reservations by the Indians for whatever purpose. This would interfere, we are aware, with the hunting privileges now enjoyed, and would hence be, without doubt, strenuously opposed by the various tribes enjoying such immunities. But there can be little debate as to the value of such a prohibition in preventing the collisions which under the present order of things continually occur.

Through the opening of the Pacific Railroad, with its connections, these hunting grounds of the Indians have been thrown open to settlers and immigration is rapidly pouring in. The mining-districts also, which border the reservations, are rapidly filling up; the result is that the hunting expeditions of the Indians find, on the one hand, increasing difficulties in their path as respects the securing of game, and on the other increasing temptations to run off stock, pillage, and commit depredations generally; and the likelihood of collisions and troubles with the settlers and other whites is obviously very much enhanced by the multiplied opportunities afforded of procuring liquor, indulging in gambling, horse-racing, and other vices to which the Indian is prone, and out of which almost inevitably mischief and often bloodshed comes.

Furthermore, it is the clear policy of the Government, as witnessed in all treaties with the Indians, to induce them, at the earliest possible day, to give up their roving and predatory habits, and, instead of relying upon the always uncertain supply of game, to become cultivators of the soil with permanent homes, and thus gradually, under the influence of labor-schools and other appliances of Christianity, cease to be a savage, and become a civilized people.

Obviously, this is the only way in which, apart from utter extermination, a complete end of Indian troubles can ever be hoped for; and this involves the necessity of surrender, at some time, by the Indians, of the present privilege of hunting beyond the limits of their reservations. It seems therefore to

your commission that the true interests of both whites and Indians imperatively demand that the policy of confining the Indians to their reservations be steadily and strenuously urged; and whenever difficulties should occur in the application of such policy, as they doubtless would, especially in its initiation, it would seem to your commission better to secure its establishment by increasing the amount of annuities or of supplies granted than to take the risk of pillage and blood shed inseparable from the present system. And if the expense of such a policy were deemed by any an objection thereto, it ought to be sufficient answer to say that by the witness of experience, it is vastly cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them. So the honor of the government must be maintained and the beneficent ends it proposes, as respects both whites and Indians, be realized. The avoidance of collisions is cheap at any price.

4. But the most prolific cause of trouble remains to be noted. It is the fact, attested by our conferences and witnessed to by both Indian agents and officers of the Army who have had most acquaintance with the tribes, that there is neither any organic unity among them, nor any recognized permanent and responsible headship. The Indian chiefs, certainly among the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, with whom we had more particularly to do, are the braves, who, by their prowess and daring, have won renown and made themselves leaders by a kind of popular acclaim. They are, however, clothed with no authority, have no control over their respective tribes other than their personal influence, and hence can only lead and act for them to the extent of their ability to persuade the Indians to accept their views. At any time a rival may arise, and, either by his eloquence or his deeds, wrest away the chieftainship and become the chosen leader of the people. The consequence is that the tribal headships are incessantly changing, and hence what has been agreed to under one chief is repudiated under another, or sometimes part of a tribe will cling to one chief and abide by his counsel, and part adhere to another, and thus two authorities come to exist, each supreme in its sphere, and yet in direct antagonism as upon such a question as that of peace or war.

Naturally enough the Indian transfers this notion of obligation into his dealings with the government, and accordingly thinks himself freed from the compacts entered into by his chiefs whenever these change their opinions, as they so often do, or whenever other chiefs with differing views get the people's ear and usurp their place. Further, because of the lack of anything like tribal unity and hence of tribal responsibility, they deem themselves not bound by the engagements of their

chiefs unless they personally concur in the desirableness of what is done.

In illustration of such notions, the commission found that the Arapahoes interviewed by them did not consider themselves bound by the treaty of 1868, mostly because they had not personally agreed thereto, and partly because another set of chiefs, who had not been parties to the treaty, had, since its ratification, come into power. And that this is the prevalent Indian notion of obligation, would appear from the fact that no demand for the surrender of Indians known to have committed depredations or outrages upon the whites can be enforced anywhere upon the frontier. Your commission have been repeatedly assured, alike by the officers of the Territory of Wyoming and those of military posts situated therein, that they are powerless to secure the apprehension of such wrongdoers, although their delivery by the Indians upon demand by the proper authorities is one of the first provisions of every treaty.

So long as such ideas obtain, it must be obviously impossible to ratify treaties that will be of any avail. Indeed, it is more than doubtful whether, among all the numerous tribes or bands throughout this region, a single treaty is today regarded by the Indians supposed to be obligated thereby as of binding force in all its stipulations; while they insist stoutly upon the full measure of all the pledges entered into by the government, they seem to think themselves privileged to be their own judges of the good faith to which they are held. And thus it happens that, in the main, the only force of these compacts with the various tribes is with those who are either in sympathy with the objects they propose, or who have discernment enough to see that conformity to the treaty is their only sure means of securing the bestowals of government.

In this state of things, something more is needed to insure peace than a reliance on the good faith of the Indians in carrying out the provisions of the treaties made with them. As in the case of the Rawlins fight, or the more recent massacre of two white women in the Sweet Water country, in just so far as they dare, the Indians will follow their own likings, and in spite of all compacts engage in forays upon each other, or in pillaging and murdering the whites.

The remedy for this unfaith and its consequent disorders, it may not be easy to point out. But after a careful survey of the difficulties involved, and comparison of the views entertained by citizens, Indian agents, and officers of the army, your commissioners offer a few suggestions.

1. It is a matter of especial satisfaction that, so far as appears, whatever the difficulties of this vexed question, they are not due to any failure on the part of the government to

perform its part in the compacts made. On the contrary, while hardly an agreement has been fully observed by the Indians, and many clear provisions have been repeatedly disregarded, no invasions of Indian territory by whites have been allowed, no annuities withheld, no supplies cut off. In fact, the government has acted throughout, not merely with scrupulous fidelity, but with marked forbearance and generosity.

2. It is clear, however, that, in carrying out the policy of the Department, too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the necessity of having agents of unquestionable ability and integrity. Their position is, in its nature, one wielding a prodigious influence, and capable of being made potential for good or ill, according as those who occupy it are men with or without the true qualifications for the place. The men imperatively needed are those fully in sympathy with the policy of the government, above all suspicion of dishonesty, and possessed of a good share of discretion, tact and sound sense. For standing, as they do, close to the Indian, it is clear that, however wise and beneficent the measures proposed by the Department, they may fail utterly of success, through either the cupidity or the stupidity and blunders of the agent.

3. It may be questioned whether the present rate of compensation is sufficient to insure men of the ability demanded for such an important trust. Too often, it would appear, the scant salary of the agent becomes a temptation to practices which cost the forfeiture of the confidence of both whites and Indians; and when this occurs, as it sometimes does, the very medium through which the government seeks to dispense benefits becomes a source of continual mischief. One unprincipled agent can counterwork the whole Department, and foment troubles which it will require years of treasure and blood to subdue.

4. Your commission are further persuaded that the various Indian agencies might be so used as to constitute probably the most effective of all instrumentalities in the realization of those beneficent results which it is the aim of the present Indian policy to secure. Whatever the Indian fails to understand, he understands clearly the argument of supplies. Year by year it is becoming plainer to nearly all the tribes that they are dependent upon the government for food and clothing. Take away the supplies now furnished, and it hardly admits of doubt that a full half of the Indians of this region would be faced by starvation. They could not dispossess other tribes of their hunting-grounds, and they could not possibly support themselves on their present reservations.

If, now, the various Indian agencies were instructed to make the issue of their supplies and the payment of annuities conditioned upon the Indians keeping strictly within their

reservations, and upon their prompt surrender of all perpetrators of wrong, it is evident that a most potent argument for justice and good order would be brought to bear.

So keenly felt already is the dependence upon the government for material for tepees, for blankets, and clothing; and so urgent, especially, is the demand for food, that it is firmly believed by your commissioners that few tribes or bands can be found in these reservations which a rigid application of such a rule would not ultimately bring to terms.

Of course the enforcement of such a policy would demand the support of the military arm of the government. But it is idle to think that any policy can be made effective without such support. And it is the opinion of military officers whose long experience among the Indians qualifies them to judge, that only a small force of soldiers would be needed to secure each agency against possible attack. It was, for example, the judgment of officers at Fort Laramie that a single regiment, with two pieces of artillery, would be ample to protect the Red Cloud agency from all uprising among the 12,000 or 14,000 Indians supplied therefrom.

5. Finally, if, in connection with such a policy, a provision could be made whereby each tribe or each cluster of agreeing tribes could have some thoroughly competent and honest attorney appointed by the Department, whose duty it should be, in all cases of violation of treaties, or of collision or other difficulty with the whites, to conduct the case in behalf of the Indians before the territorial or other courts having jurisdiction, it is the opinion of your commissioners that great good would result.

Such an attorney would serve effectually to protect the Indians against the undue influence of prejudice and animosity so often felt upon the frontier. And, at the same time, he would avail more and more, as he secured the confidence of the Indians, to restrain their propensity to retaliation for supposed wrongs; to cultivate among them true ideas of obligation, and to establish over them the full supremacy of law.

In conclusion, your commissioners desire to express their acknowledgments to General de Trobriand, of Fort Steel; General Bumford, of Fort Russell; and General Smith, of Fort Laramie, with the officers of their respective commands, for valuable assistance rendered, and many courtesies received, while engaged in the investigation.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

EDWARD P. GOODWIN,

J. A. CAMPBELL,

S. R. HOSMER,

Special Commissioners.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, August 9, 1873.

FORT LARAMIE—errata

Reference is made to the article entitled "Fort Laramie, Guardian of the Oregon Trail," which appeared in the last issue of *Annals*. On page 8, sixth line from the bottom, "Arapaho band" should read "band of Cheyennes and Arapahos." On page 12, fifteenth line from the bottom, "on Crazy Horse Fork" should read "near Crazy Woman Fork." Mr. J. Elmer Brock of Kaycee states that the exact site of the destruction of Dull Knife's village was on the Red Fork of Powder River and that evidence of the battlefield is to be found on his ranch. A "Report on Battles and Skirmishes in Wyoming Territory" reprinted in *Annals of Wyoming*, XIV, 3 (July, 1942) from 4536 H. R. Document 446, p. 401, 57th Congress, Second Session, suggests that the Dull Knife engagement took place on "Bates Creek, near North Fork of Powder River."

**MILITARY POSTS IN NEBRASKA TERRITORY
WHICH LATER BECAME WYOMING
DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST**

Platte Bridge, Nebraska Territory, established July 29, 1858; garrisoned by 86 officers and men.

Camp Walbach, Nebraska Territory, established September 20, 1858; garrisoned by 107 officers and men.

Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory, established June 16, 1849; garrisoned by 232 officers and men.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

December 1, 1944 to May 1, 1945

Logan, Ernest, Collection, donated Oct. 1944, by his son, W. E. Logan.

Johnson, William R., 420 E. 20th St., Cheyenne, donor of a boot jack used in 1849.

Brackley, Captain William L., 410 Cedar St., Laramie, Wyo., donor of "Coyote Bill's" three piece buckskin suit; large white felt hat; one pair of buckskin gloves; one horsehair watch chain, with one ornament, a hand carved out of bone.

Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce, donor of large painting, "Potter's Bull."

Roedel, Andy, Cheyenne, donor of eleven photographs:

1. Dinty Moore; 2. Cheyenne Air Mail field 1922; 3. Homer Barry, Eddie Rickenbacker and Top Payne; 4. Top of Elk Mountain; 5. Top Payne noses over; 6. De Haviland remodeled at Cheyenne, 1924; 7. Winding one up for Jack Knight, 1922; 8. Jimmy Murray's wrecked plane, 1920; 9. Collisson's wreck at Rawlins, 1923; 10. C. V. Pick up at Rawlins, 1922; 11. First Fatality, Cheyenne-Salt Lake Divisions, John Woodward—Tie Siding, 1920.

Coulehan, Mrs. Charlotte, 2202 Capitol Ave., Cheyenne, donor of Johnson's Illustrated Atlas, 1862; one Cheyenne Daily Leader, 1890; one Connecticut Courant, Oct. 1764.

Scheff, Mrs. Sarah Rayor, 2405 E. Lincolnway, Cheyenne, donor of Nazi flag taken in March 1945 by her husband, Captain Scheff, U. S. A.

Hobbs' Furniture Co., Cheyenne, donor of a glass display case—36"x36"x30".

Purchased

Two Water Colors of Wyoming trout by G. Lindle Dunn. Cost \$25.00 each.

Map of Lieut. Bryan's route for a military road between Ft. Riley and Bridger Pass, bought from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., \$2.00.

Books—Purchased

Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, *The Old California Trail, traces in folklore and furrow*. Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton, 1945. 327 p. illus. Purchased from publisher for \$3.12.

Brooks, Bryant Butler, *Memoirs of Bryant B. Brooks*, Glendale, Calif., Clark, 1939. 370 p. Purchased from publisher for \$12.50.

Torrey, Edwin C., *Early days in Dakota*. Glendale, Calif., Clark, n. d. 289 p. Purchased from Clark for \$5.00.

Adams, James Truslow, *Atlas of American History*. New York, Scribner's, 1943. Purchased from McClurg for \$6.67.

Gifts

Mazzuchelli, Rev. Samuel. *Memoirs, historical and edifying of a missionary apostolic of the order of St. Dominic among various Indian tribes and among the Catholics and Protestants of the United States.* Chicago, Hall, 1915. 374 p. Gift of St. Mary's Convent, Cheyenne.

The Ernest Logan Collection Donated to the Historical Department by Dr. W. E. Logan, December, 1944

Photographs—Picture file

- C 1311 Lake Minnehaha "M" File No. 26
1
- C 1311 The Denver Post Boys Band—Denver 1908 "F" File No. 88
2
- C 1311 Camp Carlin 10x8 not framed "C" File No. 95
3
- C 1311 Quartermaster Depot—Camp Carlin "C" File No. 95
4
- C 1311 Logan Store, 211 W. 16th St. (Interior) "L" File No. 18
5
- C 1311 Union Pacific Depot 1876 Cheyenne "U" File No. 5
6
- C 1311 Telephone Building—Now the Arp Hotel, S. E. Corner of Capitol Ave. "C" File No. 19
7
- C 1311 A. Laughlin, Wyo. Pioneer "W" File No. 52
8
- C 1311 W. E. Ingraham, Wyo. Pioneer "W" File No. 52
9
- C 1311 Mr. Barney, Wyo. Pioneer "W" File No. 52
10
- C 1311 Two unidentified Wyo. people—one woman, one man "W"
11-12 File No. 52
- C 1311 Union Pacific Depot—Cheyenne 9x7 "W" File No. 5
13
- C 1311 Eleven prints of Allen M. Dean's paintings 5x7, "D" File
14-24 No. I
- C 1311 "Toney" the American dollar dog "W" File No. 52
25
- C 1311 Two Cheyenne Homes, unidentified "C" File No. 19
26-27
- C 1311 Capitol building as of the first contract 1886, The first wings
28 are being added as of the 1888 contract.
- C 1311 Three postcards, scenes of Cheyenne streets and buildings.
33-35 "C" File No. 19
- C 1311 North Side of 16th Street between Capitol and Pioneer.
65 "C" File No. 19
- C 1311 W. W. Howard, Lost Angeles, California, he surveyed for
66 the U. P. R. R. from Omaha to Laramie City in 1866-67.
"W" File No. 52

- C 1311 Purchased framed pictures of Camp Carlin, \$2.50
68
- C 1311 Custer Battle Field \$2.50—On Wall of Museum
69

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- C 1311 Piece of an 1890 Washington, D. C. newspaper torn from the
30 walls of the log barn on the John Whitaker ranch at Iron
Mountain. "Vertical File" *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 Two Cheyenne Frontier Days envelopes. 1900, 1902. See
31-32 Vertical File *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 Morrison, Merrill & Co. 1889, Bill of Sale-Vertical File-
36 *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 The Bailey school book, the author, Mary Bailey, was Prin-
37 cipal of the West End School, Cheyenne. Vertical File *Logan,
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- C 1311 Biographical outline of Mrs. Lizzie Walker Logan, (Mrs. Ernest
38 Logan). Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 Bill of sale between Mrs. Lizzie Logan and John Hess, 1887.
39 Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 Historical anecdotes by Ernest Logan, long hand 19 P. no date,
40 Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 Fort Laramie 1877, some history on, by Ernest Logan. Typed
41 manuscript of two and one half pages. Vertical File, *Logan,
Ernest*
- C 1311 One 1888 A. O. W. W. Select Knights invitation to a Ball, Feb.
42 22, 1888. Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 One souvenir folder of Cheyenne, Wyoming. Vertical File,
43 *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 One calling card of Mrs. Hill Logan, mother of Ernest Logan.
54 Vertical File, *Logan, Ernest*
- C 1311 One biographical outline of Ernest Logan. Vertical File,
62 *Logan, Ernest*

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- C 1311 One rare Indian spoon horn
44
- C 1311 One spur found on the Thornburg battle field 1879
45
- C 1311 One pair of Indian moccasins
46
- C 1311 One clothes pin of 1873
47
- C 1311 One Indian beaded knife scabbard
48
- C 1311 One Indian beaded medicine bag
49
- C 1311 One metal instrument found west of Wheatland on the
50 Sibylee Wyoming; looks like an old fashioned scissors

- C 1311 One large arrow head
51
- C 1311 One pair of shoes, found in the early 1850's
52
- C 1311 Two elk teeth given to John Hunton at Fort Laramie, by
53 an Indian, Baptist Peuree (Big Bat)
- C 1311 One ribbon Indian ornament
55
- C 1311 Two small silver and copper bracelets made by Ernest
56-57 Logan
- C 1311 Seven cut nails from ruin of printing office at Fort Laramie
58
- C 1311 Two copper pieces, one an Indian head, one a head of a
59-60 Long Horn, made by Ernest Logan
- C 1311 A buckskin bag, an Indian relic belonging to Sir Cedric of
61 England, who came to Wyoming on a hunting trip. (No
Date)
- C 1311 One gallon tin oil can made by hand in about 1874 at
63 Camp Carlin by Hill Logan, Father of Ernest Logan
- C 1311 Tin lid of can, made by hand at Camp Carlin before 1874,
64 by Harry Lynch

In Southeast Corner of Museum.

- C 1311 Lathe made by Hill Logan in about 1869.
29
- C 1311 One child's chair made by Hill Logan while at Camp Carlin
67 in the early 1870's
- C 1311 Photograph of Mrs. Logan and 2 children, Ernest and Ella,
68 case No. 46
- C 1311 Photograph of Camp Carlin, in picture file
69
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70
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71
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January, 1946

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A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



These two cottonwood trees marked the old entrance to Fort D. A. Russell in 1884. They are still standing (1945). The larger tree to the right, at one time marked the entrance to Camp Carlin. It is the only tree left of those by-gone days. Photograph donated to the Wyoming Historical Department by Captain T. D. Conklin of Public Relations, Fort Francis E. Warren.

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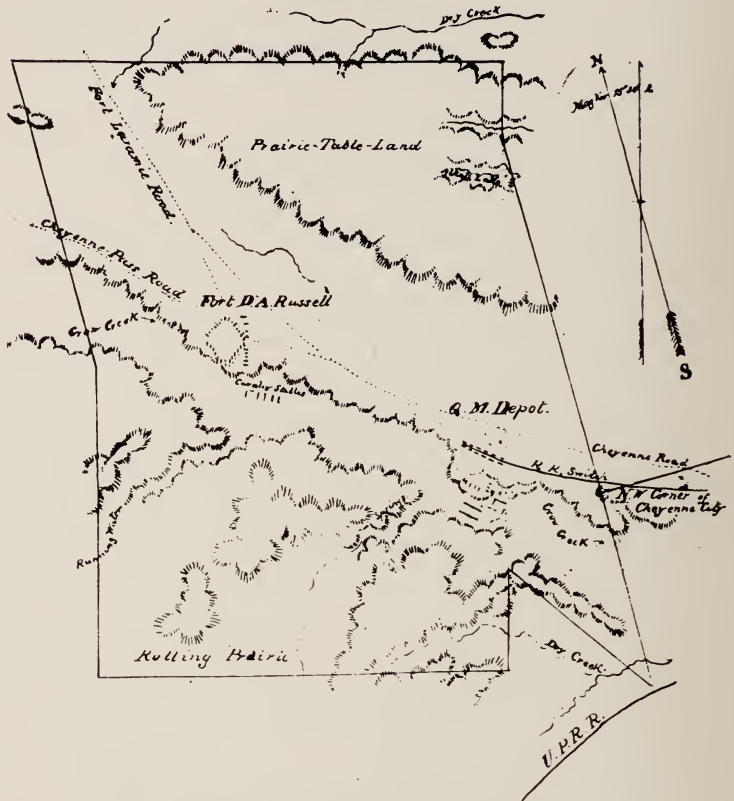
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Cheyenne, Wyoming

Military Reservation of Fort D. A. Russell, Wy. T.
1869



**Description of Military Reservation
at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming**

Beginning at the N. W. corner of the City of Cheyenne. Thence due south one mile to Union Pacific Railroad. Thence north $51\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West (by compass) 73 chains thence south (by compass) 40 chains, thence west (by compass) two miles. Thence north (by compass) one mile 40 chains, thence due north one mile 45 chains, thence east (by compass) two miles 33 chains, thence south (by compass) 33 chains, thence due south one mile 62 chains, to the point of beginning.

The magnetic variation is $15^{\circ} 30'$ East.

(Copied from photostat.)

History of Fort Francis E. Warren

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Fort Francis E. Warren Today

The Military Reservation of Fort Francis E. Warren is located in the southeastern part of Wyoming, west and directly adjacent to Cheyenne, the State capital. The reservation is roughly rectangular in shape, with an area of 7,520 acres. It is crossed in the southern part by Crow Creek, a small prairie stream flowing eastward. The surface of the reservation, particularly where the buildings are located, is rather unevenly terraced, rising in irregular plateaus or benches from Crow Creek bottoms to the higher rolling prairie land above. The sandy soil contains much fine gravel; it drains readily and is seldom muddy.

The climate of southeastern Wyoming is characteristic of the great plains area in which it lies. The elevation is around 6,000 feet and there is, naturally, considerable wind, but never of great destructive force. There is much clear weather with bright sunshine throughout the year. Summer days are seldom hot and the nights are cool and refreshing. Winter weather may be moderate both as to snowfall and low temperatures, or it may be extreme in both. There may be sudden weather and temperature changes at any season of the year and at any time of the day. This feature is not always agreeable, but on the whole, the climate in this part of Wyoming is healthful and invigorating.

Cheyenne, the close neighbor of Fort Francis E. Warren, is a thriving western town with a population of about twenty-five thousand. The country surrounding Cheyenne is range land, with here and there a dry land farm. The important and most profitable industry of the locality is, and has always been, livestock raising.

Cheyenne and the Fort Francis E. Warren Military Reservation have a highly strategic location in the United States, being approximately 755 miles from the Mexican Border and 710 miles from the boundary line of Canada. They lie within a distance of 1,618 miles from New York and about 1,252 miles from the Pacific coast (Los Angeles). They are close to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, not far from Sherman Pass, a great natural land bridge, that extends from the open prairie to the top of the range thirty miles away. This pass over the

mountains is used by the Union Pacific Railroad and the Lincoln Highway.

Fort Francis E. Warren is named in honor of Senator Francis Emroy Warren, who was, for many years United States Senator from Wyoming. President Herbert Hoover changed the name of the reservation by proclamation, January 1, 1930. Previous to that time, the reservation bore the name of Fort D. A. Russell, in honor of General David A. Russell, a Civil War hero who fell at the moment of victory at Opequan, Virginia, September 19, 1864. In the early history of the reservation, the name, Fort D. A. Russell will be used.

Fort Warren proper is situated on the north side of Crow Creek. The permanent buildings are red brick. The grounds are well laid out and landscaped. There are barracks for a garrison strength of 3,367 men, quarters for 225 officers, 71 sets of non-commissioned officers' quarters, and numerous service buildings.

Until October, 1940, Fort Francis E. Warren had seen little change except that which comes with slow, steady growth and improvement. When the unlimited national emergency arose in 1940, making expansion of the Army imperative, changes on the reservation were profound and rapid. Plans for the building of the Quartermaster Replacement Training Center were quickly put into action. From December, 1940 to July, 1941, a military city, consisting of 282 temporary type frame buildings, complete with all utilities and streets, was built on the south banks of Crow Creek opposite and about half a mile distant from what is now referred to as "the old post".

Further construction was authorized and the Quartermaster Replacement Training Center at the declaration of War December 8, 1941, has 387 buildings, sufficient for a garrison strength of 20,000 men.

Western Exploration and the Railroad Surveys

The early history of Fort D. A. Russell, as the post will now be called, is full of interest, romance and adventure. Beginning with the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803, the first western land acquisition of the United States, and following through the early explorations of this immediate part of the West, a logical and continuous historical background can be quickly and easily established.

The Louisiana Purchase Treaty had not yet been signed when President Jefferson, in a confidential message to Congress, suggested that a small, select group of able men be sent to explore the Missouri river and to find the best route of communication with the Pacific Ocean. He suggested that twelve men from the military service would make a sufficiently large

exploring party and that \$2500 should cover all costs. The men taken from the service were to volunteer for the expedition and, as the thrifty President remarked, would have to be paid by the army anyway. He also suggested that the men could be rewarded upon their return by grants from the public lands.

Captain Lewis and Lieut. Clark, 1st Infantry, were the able leaders chosen and their journey was certainly successful. They "ascertained, with accuracy, the geography of the country, its commerce and its inhabitants". Whether or not Jefferson set the pattern for western exploration, for years afterwards small, select groups of able men from the military service explored the western lands, "ascertained the geography and learnt the characted of the country." This branch of the service later became the Topographical Engineers.

The idea of a route of communication with the Pacific Ocean was dominant in the minds of some of the eastern financiers, perhaps on account of the rich trade with the orient. At any rate, John Jacob Astor, with a purely commercial idea in mind, sent a party of explorers known to history as the Overland Astorians, to find a practical commercial route to the Pacific Ocean. The party crossed Wyoming on both the westward and the eastward journeys, 1811-12.

In 1832, when the nation possessed about 120 miles of railroad, a magazine called "The Emigrant" published an article suggesting that a transcontinental railroad be built. A little later (1845), Asa Whitney, a Boston merchant, presented a memorial to Congress explaining how a railroad to the Pacific Ocean could be built and what was equally important, how it could be financed by land grants to the builder. At this period it is important to note that a trade treaty with China had been made (1844). Oriental trade, however, languished for a time because the Chinese medium of exchange was gold and that the United States did not have, until after the California discoveries of 1849.

Then in 1855, Commodore Peary opened trade negotiations with Japan. In the meantime Texas had joined the Union in 1845 and the Mexican cession was completed by treaty, 1848. After our territorial claims were secure from ocean to ocean, the time had come for a great interior expansion and development, and this marked the beginning of the most fascinating period of our national history.

In 1853, Congress passed a law providing for a "Survey for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean."¹ The War Department was in charge of the Survey.

1. The Railroad Surveys were conducted on the authority of the Army appropriation act of March 31, 1853. The findings were published by the War Department, 1854-55.

The Topographical Engineers did the work under the direction of Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War. Five routes west of the Mississippi River were surveyed between the international boundaries of Canada and Mexico. These routes were designated as (1) The Northern Route of the 47th and 49th parallels; (2) The Overland Route, the Mormon Trail or the Central Route of the 41st and 42nd parallels; (3) The Buffalo Trail on the 38th and 39th parallels; (4) the route on the 35th parallel, and (5) the route on the 32nd parallel, called the Southern Route. The findings of these Pacific Railroad Surveys were published in twelve large volumes, 1855-56.

Following the Jeffersonian precedent of advancing geographical knowledge they were complete in topography, geology, botany, ornithology, zoology, and anthropology. The narrative accounts, as written by the Engineers, are seldom read today, but in 1856 they presented the first accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the unknown West. One fact stood forth; there were many practicable railroad routes to the Pacific Ocean. In Congress it was not a question of whether a Pacific Railroad should be built, but which one should be built first.

The New England senators favored the northern route, the South wanted the southern route, and the Middle West wanted the central route. Localism and extreme sectional interests prevented any constructive legislation until the opposition of the Southern senators was removed by the secession. The central route was then chosen and the Railroad Act of 1862 was passed.

The Railroad Act of July 1, 1862² was the charter of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. While this act was not a war measure, it is doubtful whether it could have been passed at any other time or by any other Congress. It provided for large subsidies in land to the Union Pacific, and in return the United States was to be guaranteed the use of the railroad for mail and for military transportation. The law prescribed the route which the railroad should follow. A single clause practically predetermined the location of Cheyenne and Fort D. A. Russell five years before the actual sites could be selected and surveyed. This clause required the definite location of the "east base of the Rocky Mountains" on the line of the railroad survey by a presidential representative. From that particular point westward the railroad subsidy was to be trebled. In other words, the Union Pacific Railroad Company was to receive \$48,000 a mile in subsidy for mountain construction instead of \$16,000 a mile as had been received for construction over the comparatively level prairie.

The eastern terminus of the Union Pacific was located by President Lincoln at Omaha. Construction began in December

2. U. S. Stat. 12:493.

1863 but no rapid progress was made until after the Civil War was over (April, 1865) and the nation could turn its attention to the frontier.

General Grenville M. Dodge, who had proved his ability in the construction of communications during the Civil War, resigned from the Army and became the Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific in May, 1866. The previous summer, General Dodge was on an Indian campaign in the Powder River country and it was while going from Fort Laramie southward on the Fort Laramie-New Mexico road that he discovered the famous Sherman Pass.

Under General Dodge the railroad construction acquired a distinct military character, due to the previous Civil War experience of many of the men and to the necessity for protection from the hostile Indians in the country through which the railroad was built.

Late in 1866, the end-of-track reached Julesburg, Colorado Territory. The final survey of the line over the Black Hills, as the mountains to the west of Cheyenne were then called, had been completed by Mr. Evans and his party. The survey west from Pine Bluffs, Wyoming had been delayed because of Indian hostilities and "a revision of the location" of the line of survey from the Lodge Pole Creek valley over to the Crow Creek valley. Before the discovery of Sherman Pass the line of survey followed Lodge Pole Creek and crossed the Black Hills at Cheyenne Pass about ten miles north of the present route of the Union Pacific.

General Dodge left the end of track at Julesburg, June 28, 1867, accompanied by Mr. Jacob Blickensderfer, Jr., the presidential representative who was to "fix" the east base of the Rocky Mountains. General J. A. Rawlins, Chief of Staff, U. S. A., was also in the party as well as high railroad officials. The line surveyed by Evans crossed Crow Creek and this point was called Crow Creek Crossing. Here General Dodge was joined by Gen. C. C. Augur, Commander of the Department of the Platte.³

General Augur's instructions were to locate a military post where General Dodge located the end of a railroad division. Both locations depended on the point fixed by Mr. Blickensderfer as the "east base of the Rocky Mountains". This point Mr. Blickensderfer fixed at 525.78 miles west from Omaha and 6.637 miles west from Cheyenne.

On July 4, 1867, General Dodge selected and named the site of Cheyenne, and General Augur selected the site of the military reservation that he was to locate where General Dodge

3. U .S. Congressional Documents, serial 1346, H.R. Ex. Doc. 331, P. 1-3, 18, 45, 48.

located the division of the railroad. After these sites were selected, General Rawlins delivered an impressive and patriotic Fourth of July address, and then everybody celebrated.

Later in July, Lieut. R. W. Petriken, Corps of Engineers, surveyed the military reservation, three miles long, two miles wide, length north and south magnetic meridian. The "town and claim" of Cheyenne, two miles square, was surveyed by the Union Pacific surveyors, also on the magnetic meridian. The declination was $15^{\circ} 30' E$. This perhaps explains the off compass directions of the streets of Cheyenne. The military reservation received its name, Fort D. A. Russell, formally on September 8, 1867.⁴

General Augur, while still at Crow Creek Crossing, directed Brevet Brigadier General John D. Stevenson, Colonel 30th Infantry, to assume command of all the troops in that vicinity and of all the detachments engaged in escorting and protecting employees of the Union Pacific Railroad. General Stevenson was also commanded to "assume and exercise such control of all inhabitants of the vicinity as was needful to preserve good order and protect property in the absence of all civil authority." In addition to those duties, General Stevenson and the 30th Infantry laid out and built Fort Russell, proper, during the fall and early winter of 1867.⁵

In August, 1867 Colonel Elias B. Carling selected the site of the supply depot which he was to establish on the military reservation about a mile and a half down the creek from Fort Russell proper. It was about half way between Fort Russell and Cheyenne. This was a military "camp" and was usually garrisoned by a detached company of infantry. It was called Camp Carling in honor of Colonel Carling. From the beginning there was confusion in spelling the name, sometimes it was Carling, sometimes Carlin—even in official records. The granite marker that now stands on the site of the old flag pole says "Camp Carlin." The official name of the supply depot was "Cheyenne Depot."

Building the First Post

Construction began at Fort Russell and Camp Carlin in September, 1867. As with other commonplace things of long ago true descriptions of these first buildings are difficult to find. Colonel Carling, Quartermaster at Cheyenne Depot, advertized for bids on building materials in the Rocky Mountain News, published in Denver, Colorado. According to the Secretary of War's Report, the contract for these materials was given to J.

4. U. S. Congressional Documents, serial 1368, H.R. Ex. Doc. 1, Pt. 2, Dept. of the Secretary of War. P. 1197.

5. War Dept., Surgeon General's Office, Circular 4, Dec. 5, 1870.

Mason as follows: for green lumber, \$80 per thousand feet; for seasoned lumber, \$90 per thousand feet; for clear lumber, \$100 per thousand feet; dressed, \$10 additional; for tongue and groove, \$15 additional; for shingles, \$12 per thousand. There were no contracts for logs although the early *Records of Medical History* says, "Temporary log huts for the enlisted men were erected in September."

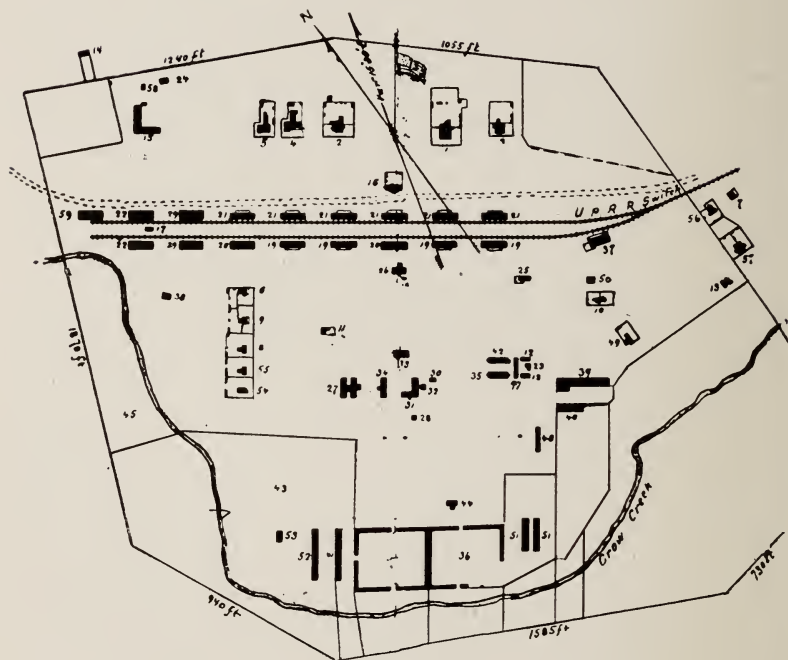
The officers remained in tents. Permanent company quarters were erected in October and November, 1867. Officers quarters were completed and occupied in February, 1868. Drawings in the *Records of Medical History* show each officers quarters to have been a five room, story and a half frame house, built double. These houses were built of rough boards placed upright with the cracks battened. The inside was finished with planed boards and battens instead of plaster. The barracks were constructed in the same manner except that the walls were filled to the eaves with adobes. This method of building barracks can still be seen today at old Fort Laramie. A local newspaper article of the day said that a favorite method of building in Cheyenne was to fill the spaces between the studding with adobes and then plaster over the whole. Dr. Hayden in his geological report of 1868 says that a fine quality of lime was found in the foot hills west of Cheyenne and was much used by the people as it made a fine white plaster. Later Quartermaster reports on repairs show the barracks as being lathed and plastered. Not one of these first buildings remain on the reservation today. Four cavalry stables were built in Crow Creek bottoms, of rough lumber, stockaded.

The original form of the post was diamond shaped, one axis 800 feet; the other, 1,040 feet. Fort Russell never had a stockade. An early description of the post says that it was surrounded by an adobe wall, four feet high. The post entrance faced east, the infantry and cavalry barracks were on the southeast line of the diamond, adobe laundresses quarters on the southwest line, the hospital and officers quarters were on the northwest and northeast lines. A row of quartermaster sheds was near the east entrance, outside the post. Laundresses quarters, forty-six of them, were south, southwest, and west of the post. A row of these quarters was also built across the creek. These buildings were built, according to *Records of Medical History*, of pine slabs, stockaded, and were used by married, enlisted men as well as laundresses.

There were service buildings, carpenter shops, blacksmith shops, a bake house with ovens for 600 rations, an amusement hall and a post trader's store. Each company had its own wash house back of the barracks. Cows and chickens could be kept by officers and these buildings were back of the quarters.

Cheyenne Depot, Wyo., 1884

Scale—One inch to 800 feet.



At Camp Carlin, large warehouses were built along the railroad siding so that freight cars could be unloaded on the platforms. There were deep cellars for storage of vegetables and potatoes and other supplies that might be damaged by frost. There were large stables and corrals for mules and horses, and living quarters for the packers and wagon masters. As to the actual number of civilians employed at Camp Carlin, accounts vary. Some say as many as 800 men were employed there. In the *Records of Medical History* the number of civilian employees at Cheyenne Depot averaged 285.

The road from Fort Russell to Cheyenne followed Crow Creek and passed through Camp Carlin, a convenient half-way stopping place on the way to and from the "city."

Early Patrols and Scouts

During the Civil War Indian depredations increased throughout the West. Troops could not be spared, however, a few were required to garrison the frontier posts properly. Western travel on the Oregon Trail had been forced southward, following the South Platte River and the Lodge Pole Creek valley over the Cheyenne Pass. In 1866, the route changed again and went from Julesburg south-west to Denver, then northward to Fort Sanders near Laramie, and then on west to Salt Lake City.

When Fort Russell was established, the first duty of the troops was the railroad patrol. Every railroad surveying party and construction gang worked under protection of the troops. There were escort parties for travelers and emigrants, and scouts after stolen livestock. The distances of these scouts varied, some were only a few miles, others were two or three hundred miles away.

In 1867, Major Frank North was in command of a battalion of Pawnee Scouts. They were stationed along the Union Pacific right-of-way from Plum Creek, Nebraska to the Laramie Plains. In 1871, they were stationed at Fort Russell.⁶ The Pawnee Scouts, being hereditary enemies of the Sioux, were particularly valuable to the army at the time. The Union Pacific was completed by the Gold Spike ceremony, May 10, 1869. The Indians did not bother the railroad after its completion but troops were stationed along the right-of-way from May to November for some years afterwards.

There were no Indian Reservations near Fort Russell. The Indian title to the lands south of the North Platte River had been extinguished by a treaty with the Cheyennes in 1865.⁷ The Sioux treaty of 1868 set aside the lands north of the North Platte River and east of the summit of the Big Horns for the

6. U. S. Cong. Doc. serial 1324, p. 59.

7. U. S. Stat: 14:703.

Sioux hunting grounds.⁸ Indian raids were conducted from this reserve on which no white man could legally enter.

The last Indian scout from Fort Russell ended in October, 1895.

Early Garrison Life

The garrison life of the frontier troops depended upon the location of the post at which they were stationed. Fort C. F. Smith in the Big Horn Valley, Montana, was called "the place nearest to hell and yet not in it." Fort Russell was different. There were no hostile Indians close by and no isolation in the full meaning of that word. There were dangers and hardships, but none greater than those on any frontier.¹²

During the months when grass was good and the Indian ponies were strong, the troops were in the field on scouts and patrols. A common saying among the pioneers was, "Spring is here, and so are the Indians." *Grass is five inches high* meant only one thing: the Indians could leave their reservations to hunt and if they chose, steal, plunder and murder.

While the troops were away the garrison strength was often very low, frequently under a hundred men.

In the winter when the companies returned to the post the strength would increase to as many as six or seven hundred officers and men.

At western posts the labor of building and repairing was performed by the troops, for in many localities there was none other available. The men so employed received the extra pay for constant labor at the rate of 35c a day. After July, 1884, the pay for extra duty was increased to 50c a day.

The everyday ways of living in pioneer times hold a deep human interest, and especially since those ways have so nearly disappeared. While there is something about the army that verges upon the eternal some of the old things have gone and perhaps may never return.

In the matter of clothing it is certain that the troops will never again be issued buffalo overcoats made from tanned buffalo skins, nor will they again be issued seal skin helmets and gauntlets as they were during the 1870's. Buffalo shoes and buffalo moccasins were part of frontier equipment. Arctic overshoes, "snow excluders," were experimental clothing in 1876. Sheepskin lined overcoats came later after the material for the buffalo overcoats became a scarcity.

8. Ibid 16:635.

12. New York Life Insurance Company advertised policies without extra premium for residence on the frontier. May 16, 1868. Cheyenne Leader.

FORT D.A. RUSSELL, W.T. *General Plan 1875*

Scale: 320 feet to inch.

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Socks were "stockings" then, and worsted ones were 41c a pair. Gloves were issued three to a pair—two rights and one left. The infantry uniform was dark blue jersey—the cavalry wore dark blue blouses, sky-blue trousers. For some reason the "dragoons" did not care for the sky-blue overcoats, even at a far off frontier army post, and would not draw them with their clothing issue. The coats had to be returned to the Philadelphia depot.

Army shoes were frequent experimental clothing for both officers and men. In those days of long marches, shoes were important equipment. Even practice marches were long, sometimes five to six hundred miles. Shoes, it seemed, had to have stitched soles—otherwise the pegs, nails or screws would work loose and cause trouble. Corns were a common affliction in those days. Cavalry boots were huge, knee length, and very heavy.

As to barracks furniture: chairs were made by prison labor at Leavenworth; bunks were "iron" and in the early 1880's for the first time, woven wire bunk bottoms were used with mattresses instead of bed sacks filled with straw. Whether barracks pillows were feather is not stated, but the hospital pillows were stuffed with horsehair, as shown on a bill for cleaning and repairing them—25c each.

The foot lockers were made according to the specifications stated in the Army law of 1866, not much different in size from those of today.¹³

The barracks were heated by stoves, with wood for fuel, during the first years; and later as Wyoming coal fields were developed, coal, especially Rock Springs coal, was used. One time the garrison supply of coal was very low, but the contractor could not furnish more until the Chinese miners at Rock Springs finished their New Year's celebration, and went back to work. In the bitter cold of 1883, the post overdrew its coal allowance, and the Quartermaster was held responsible for the shortage. After considerable trouble involving weather reports and average temperatures (coal was allowed on a low temperature basis) the allowance was increased one-third.

The Quartermaster's requisitions for stoves and stove repairs were very large. The stoves were cast iron and in those days there were no standard parts. The quality and durability of today could not be bought then. It did not exist.

For lighting there were candles, and the candle lantern, candles being a component part of the ration. Sperm oil and mineral oil were used in small brass lamps, which held about a half pint. The mineral oil issue was measured in ounces, not hard to understand when the price ranged from \$2.50 down to

13. Wyoming State Museum has a foot locker belonging at one time to Col. E. B. Carling.

a dollar a gallon. Sperm oil was furnished when it was cheaper than kerosene, as late as 1876. As time passed, mineral oil (the Army always called it mineral oil) became cheaper and the post had "exterior illumination," twenty street lamps, and after 1890 there were thirty. These lamps were cared for and lit by the prisoners.

The Quartermaster's requisition for illuminating supplies always asked for many "lamp chimneys," seven or eight hundred for the lamps in twenty-nine rooms. The old barracks were cold and draughty and the lamp chimneys were none too durable. When the lights were put out, they could be heard cracking for an hour afterward. The Quartermaster always added a note of apology for such large requisitions. "It's a very windy country," so he said.

There was another recurring item asked for in the Quartermaster's stores for expenditure; two hundred feet of walnut for coffins for those who died on the reservation and were buried in the post cemetery.

Then, as today, there was experimentation with various kinds of army equipment—arms, intrenching tools, and field equipment. During the 1890's a bicycle brigade was seriously considered, and earlier, a cannon that could be fired from the back of a mule—the mule didn't like it and the bicycle troops never materialized. There was a combination bayonet and intrenching tool that wasn't exactly satisfactory either. From the report it seems that the commanding officer marched the troops out to the hardest gumbo that he could find (no mention is made of deliberate purpose) and timed the men in the trial. Twenty minutes were required to scoop out a sufficient shelter, not to mention earth protection from gun fire, so the bayonet-intrenching tool never became a part of equipment.

The general reorganization law of the army after the Civil War provided for schools for enlisted men and post children at frontier army posts. School at Fort Russell was held in a room set aside in whatever building had unused space. At one time or another the school room was in unoccupied quarters in the old post hospital and in a partitioned off space at one end of the amusement hall. A school house was never built, although at one time the Post Quartermaster was notified by the Omaha depot that lumber for that purpose had been shipped to Fort Russell. The instruction was under the supervision of an officer. The teachers were enlisted men who received extra duty pay. The subjects taught were those of the common branches of English education, but after the Spanish American War, Spanish was a "recommended" subject. All books, supplies, and school equipment were furnished by the government. Attendance varied with the garrison strength, and, as with many other

things in the army, the interest of the Post Commander was a great factor for success.

The company laundress was an army institution that passed away upon the introduction of steam laundries and Chinese laundrymen. According to an old army law, each company was allowed one laundress to each nineteen men, or fraction thereof. These women were usually wives of enlisted men and drew rations on the same basis as the men. The company wash house was back of the barracks and here the laundresses washed the company clothes. These women lived with their families in the little frame and adobe houses just outside the post proper, south and west of the post across the creek. A row of these cottages was still standing at the time of the flood in 1904. The first steam laundry with its accompanying Chinese was installed by 1893, for a complaint about the sanitary condition of the Chinese laundrymen's quarters was made a matter of medical record by the post surgeon.

Food is always an interesting subject and army rations especially so at this particular time. In 1802 Congress provided an army ration of meat and bread, and one gill of rum, whiskey or brandy daily, and to every one hundred rations; two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, and a pound and a half of candles. Quantities as to bread and meat varied from time to time and the spirit ration was later replaced by sugar and coffee. As foodstuffs increased in variety and the food habits of the nation changed, army rations changed, too. When the process of preserving perishable foods by canning was perfected, army rations were greatly improved and the variety increased. On the frontier, game was added to the ration, and troops were issued ammunition for hunting purposes. Frontier posts were required to plant gardens, and the men, it seems, had to share in the cultivation of them. At Fort Russell, the drawback to success was the lack of sufficient irrigation water. After the Spanish American War no record of gardens is shown on any report. Fort Russell troops never suffered for adequate rations while at the post and the greatest privation ever reported was on General Crook's Big Horn Expedition in 1876, when a nine day march was made on two days rations and horsemeat.

The post exchange replaced the post trader and was a great improvement in all ways. Fort Russell's Exchange has been, through the years, well managed and profitable. The first exchange was established about 1890.

The post had a library from the very beginning, and certain magazines and newspapers were supplied by the government. In this matter the Post Commander also exerted considerable influence.

Winter was the happiest time at Fort Russell in the early days. The Indians went back to their reservations and the

troops came in from the field for the winter's rest. The town was friendly and there was the exchange of hospitality and good will that comes from isolation and a certain dependence for safety. At the nation's "notables" visited the West, Cheyenne and the Fort entertained all who came their way.

For amusements of their own there were dancing clubs and dramatic clubs; for sports there were the usual athletic contests, hook and ladder contests, horse racing and the fads of the day.

It was not until the 1890's that organized recreation was recognized as a valuable asset to the army as a morale builder and not until after the reorganization following the Spanish American War was it made an integral part of army training.

The Indian Campaigns

The subjugation of the Indian by the white settlers of the United States covered roughly a period of three hundred years, assuming that the conquest began with the arrival of the first colonists at Jamestown and ended with the last sporadic uprisings of the western tribes during the 1890's.

In 1785, while the influence of William Penn was yet strong, Congress passed a law recognizing the right of the Indian to the lands over which he roamed and claimed as his own. The law further provided that the right and title to that land could be obtained by the United States only through purchase and by treaty agreements. The Indian tribes were "domestic dependent nations" but nevertheless the United States executed treaties with them on the same basis as with foreign powers, as late as 1872. At this time Congress reduced the Indian Treaty to the status of a simple "agreement."

Out of the many Indian treaties, two of them were of particular importance to Fort Russell. By the Treaty of 1865 the United States obtained from the Cheyennes and Arapahoes the title to the lands to be crossed by the Union Pacific Railroad, and thus removed those hostile Indians from the immediate vicinity of the Post. The second treaty was that made by the peace commissioners at Fort Laramie in 1868. This treaty set aside the lands north of the North Platte River and east of the summit of the Big Horns as a hunting reserve for the Sioux. This joined their permanent reservation in Dakota on its western boundary. As a model of appeasement this treaty was unsurpassed. The military posts, Fort Reno, Fort Phil Kearney, and Fort C. F. Smith, the farthest outpost in Montana, were abandoned. And it was further provided that no white person could legally enter that reserve. These provisions made the territory the soul and center of the Indian hostilities that finally culminated in the Sioux War of 1876.

The Indians could and did use the southern part of that rough country as a base from which to conduct their raids on the white settlers, and to steal their livestock. From the time of the territorial organization of Wyoming until the abrogation of the Treaty in 1877, in the thinly settled strip of country lying between the Union Pacific Railroad and the North Platte River, the Indians stole six hundred thousand dollars worth of livestock and killed seventy-three settlers. Wyoming's total population at the time did not number ten thousand whites.

It was into this strip of country that the troops from Fort Russell on the railroad, and from Fort Fetterman and Fort Laramie on the North Platte, went on their scouts for the protection of the settlers and the recovery of stolen stock. Very little stock was recovered, chiefly because the whites could not cross the North Platte River in pursuit of the well mounted and well armed marauders.

The troops from Fort Russell were also sent on scouts into Colorado and western Kansas. This country was indeed buffalo land—and where there were buffalo, there were Indians. There were no engagements of particular importance on the part of Fort Russell troops in that locality, although scouts were frequent in that direction.

The Sioux War began early in 1876. Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, with small bands of anti-reservation Sioux, refused to come into their home reservation upon the order of the Secretary of Interior. As the dead line date of January 31 was ignored by the red men, the War Department took over the situation, February 7. General George Crook, Commander of the Department of the Platte, gathered all available cavalry at Fort Fetterman. Under the command of Col. J. J. Reynolds an attack was made on the renegade Indians in March. A great number of the Indian ponies were captured, but the weather suddenly became extremely cold and the Indians recaptured their horses. Thus the troops lost a decided advantage. They were forced to withdraw to neighboring posts and await warm weather. The Indians mobilized and recruited from surrounding restless tribes. The villages of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse numbered about a hundred tepees at the opening of hostilities. The village that Custer sought to attack in June contained about 2,000 lodges, swarming with warriors.

There were a number of commands in the field and the general idea was to fight the Indians where the troops met them—in a battle field that covered 90,000 square miles. The troops from Fort Russell joined Crook's command at Fort Fetterman late in May and moved northward through the sinister Powder River country. There was a battle with the hostiles on the Rosebud, June 17. Nine men were killed, twenty-three were wounded.

General Crook established his cantonment at Camp Cloud Peak on Goose Creek, northern Wyoming. On the evening of June 25, Col. Anson Mills reported a heavy pall of smoke in the northwest, but not until June 30 was word received that General Custer and his entire command had been wiped out.

General Crook received reinforcements and recruits at Camp Cloud Peak and then began his epic march in pursuit of the fleeing Indians through the rough, wild country, between the Big Horns and the Black Hills. Crook took no wagons on this march. Rations became low and before the little town of Custer, Dakota, was reached the troops were eating their horses. Lieutenant Joseph Lawson, Irish and a Kentuckian, said—"Eat my horse! I'd feel like a cannibal!" Cannibals or not, horses were eaten, and mules and captured Indian ponies, too.

The Fort Russell troops returned to their station November 2. The *Records of Medical History* says—"The hospital funds are low, due to extra rations for the emancipated men returned from the 'Big Horn Expedition'."

On March 2, 1877, Congress abrogated the Treaty of 1868 and the great Sioux Reservation existed no more. "Glory to God"—so said the Cheyenne Leader of March 3, 1877.

Immediately, new military posts were built in the country retrieved from the Indians. The summer of 1877 saw troops well armed and equipped, sufficient in number and under central command, ready to cope with any situation that might arise.

In late September, 1879, Nathan Meeker was brutally murdered by the Utes at the White River Agency in western Colorado. Nathan Meeker was the founder of Union Colony, now Greeley, Colorado. While unrest among the Utes was reported and troops were asked for by those who understood the situation, no steps were taken for protection—until too late.

On August 6, 1879, the Military Notes in the *Cheyenne Leader* said, "The Fifth Cavalry is enjoying the first summer leisure it has had in many years. Over fifty percent of the troops at Fort D. A. Russell have never been on a scout." Then on September 18: "The Fifth Cavalry is to report at once to the Commanding Officer at Fort Fred Steele." Thus began the campaign against the Utes in 1879. Accounts of the uprising have been given from more than one point of view, and one outstanding fact is evident. The strength, maliciousness, and treachery of the Indians were under-estimated by Nathan Meeker who was so brutally whipped to death at the White River Agency, simply because he advanced the theory that work didn't hurt anybody, either white or red; by the governor of Colorado who did not ask for a sufficient number of troops—in time; by Major Thornburg, who started on his march to the White River Agency, September 25, from Rawlins with only three companies of cavalry and one of infantry in his com-

mand; and by the outside commentator who said, "In all probability they (Thornburg's command) will march to the Agency and never see an Indian."

From Bear Creek, Colorado, Major Thornburg sent his last telegram. "Have met some of the Ute Chiefs. They seem friendly and promise to go with me to the Agency. Do not anticipate trouble." This on October 2: "Major Thornburg's party was ambushed within 15 miles of the White River Agency, September 29th. He was killed and Grafton Sowery, a scout." Captain Payne, Fifth Cavalry, took command and sent for reinforcements. The wounded—Captain Lawson, Surgeon Grimes, Lieutenants Paddock and Wolf, and 35 men. One hundred and fifty horses and mules were killed.

General Wesley Merritt, Commanding Officer at Fort Russell, left Cheyenne immediately for Rawlins with three hundred men and six hundred horses to relieve Captain Payne and remount the cavalry that had lost its horses. General Merritt reached Payne's command after a severe fight with the Indians, killing 37, with no loss to his command. On October 18th, two cars filled with the wounded from the Milk River fight were run into Camp Carlin and transferred to the post hospital. A long trip for the wounded—over three hundred and fifty miles.

During the 1880's Fort Russell enjoyed comparative peace. The post was rebuilt in 1885. The Quartermaster's record read rather monotonously—"No expenses incurred by Indian uprisings."

In 1890, a strange thing happened—a delusion called the Messiah Craze broke out among the western tribes, and a ceremony called *ghost dancing* became prevalent almost everywhere among the Indians.

At this time the Indians had a just grievance, for the Congressional policy of "work or starve" was in full swing, and the Indians were starving at Pine Ridge, not because of not working, but because of the "irregularities" of the Indian agent.

On November 18, 1890, General Mizner, commanding Fort Russell, received orders to have seven companies of the 17th Infantry in readiness to move against the Sioux at the Pine Ridge Agency. On December 17, the troops left by special train for Rushville, Nebraska, with full equipage for a winter campaign.

In the meantime, Sitting Bull, the anti-reservationist of 1876, and still a leader, was killed while resisting arrest, by Indian police, December 15, 1890.

There was no further serious trouble with the Sioux at the Pine Ridge Reservation after rations were issued and the starving Indians fed. The troops returned to the post early in January. Later remarks leave the impression that the garrison was

not too well equipped for a winter campaign in the field, particularly in transportation equipment.

The last Indian scout from Fort Russell left the post on July 23, 1895, and returned on October 13 the same year. There were no engagements with the Indians, and, in fact, no trouble except such as was caused by an undue amount of newspaper publicity. The Bannock Indians at the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho were accustomed to making frequent visits to their friends, the Shoshones, on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The Indians, in crossing the game country that lay between the reservations, were inclined to help themselves to more than their share—if they were supposed to have any share. (A U. S. Supreme Court decree said later that they did not.) At any rate, the newspaper build-up was such that it appeared as if every inhabitant in Jackson Hole was in imminent danger of being scalped; so the troops were ordered into the field. The guard reports and the morning reports of this scout are among the old records at Fort Russell. There is no harrowing account of battle or bloodshed. The sentry wrote his report with his "one lead pencil," the only guard property for which he signed. These reports may not be exactly classic, but they tell with an unmistakable finality the end of a conquest.

The sentry made a record of all who passed by. It read from day to day like this: "An old man and a little boy in a wagon drawn by a horse and a mule—after wood." "A man on horseback to Jackson Hole on business." "A wagon, two women and five children to visit the camp." "A Mr. Stevens on horseback, and Miss Stevens, his daughter." And only once, "A Bannock, going to Jackson to recover his property."

The West now belonged to the man on horseback, the women and children, to Mr. Stevens and his daughter.

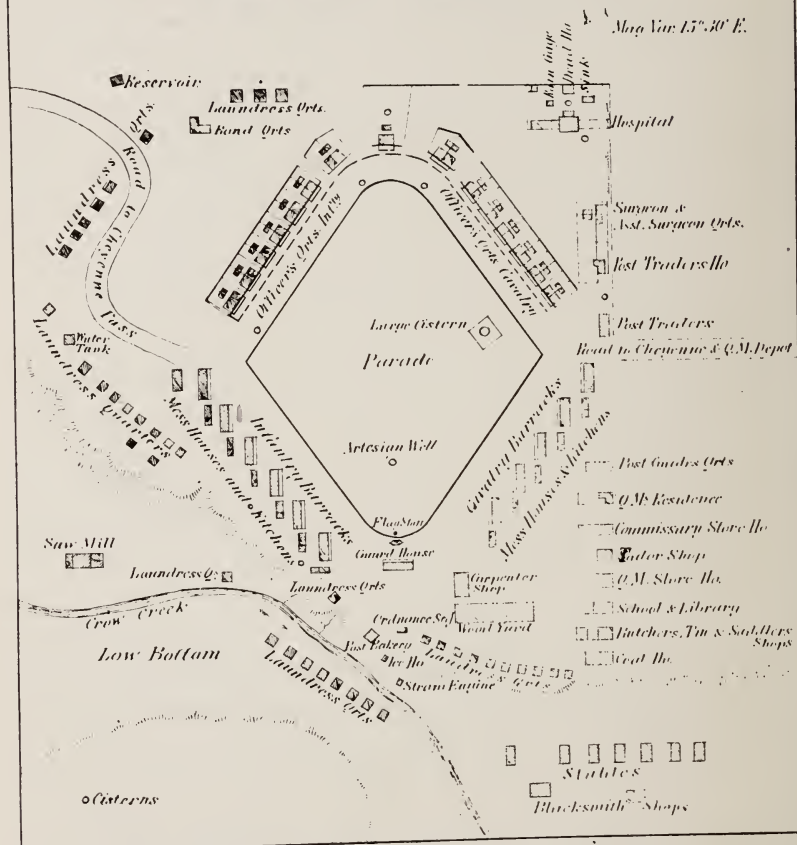
The New Post

The permanent and substantial growth of the West began after the subjugation of the Indians and the recognition of the value of western irrigated lands and western cattle ranges, as well as the mineral resources of the country.

After the Indians were fairly well confined to their reservations, new military posts were established nearby to provide a certain amount of necessary protection for the settlers in the surrounding country. After the new reservations were established, some of the old Wyoming posts could be abandoned, particularly Fort Sanders near Laramie and Fort Fetterman near Douglas. This was done in 1882. Fort Russell, having a strategic value because of its location on the railroad, was made a permanent post by the War Department. The last cavalry was withdrawn from Fort Russell, June 26, 1883, and when the post

*FORT D.A. RUSSELL, WY.
General Plan, 1885*

Scale, 320 feet to 1 inch.



was rebuilt in 1885, it was as an Infantry Post for only eight companies.

Upon rebuilding, the form of the old post was changed. The entrance was moved eastward several hundred feet to provide a suitable place for the new brick barracks and new officers' quarters. A row of non-commissioned officers quarters was also built to the south of the barracks.

There are today two large cottonwood trees still standing that mark the entrance to the "New Post" of 1885. These trees are in line with the eastern end of the row of one story barracks and the non-commissioned officers' quarters built at the same time. The Quartermaster's Record shows that \$400 was expended by the War Department for trees for Fort Russell, and also that fifty bushels of grass seed were received from Omaha with hope that it would be successful. Twenty-seven buildings were constructed in 1885, and those still standing are in use today. The old hospital was built later, 1887, and an administration building in 1894. There was an amusement hall that was the center of social life for the troops. The amusement hall was also the chapel and the school. The wash houses, located back of the barracks, were later barber and tailor shops. The railroad station was located at the west end of the Post. The station called "Russell" had not yet been built. Stables and carriage houses were back of the officers' quarters. The post exchange was not far from the stone building now numbered 253. Merchandise was sold in one building; in another was the restaurant and bar.

The water system is shown on the same tracing with the fire plugs at regular intervals. There was no sewer system until 1890.

Letters Sent—1882-86

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To

Quartermaster General

U. S. Army

Washington, D. C.

Thru: Regular Channels

Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo.

April 19th, 1886

Sir:

In compliance with G. O. No. 113, A. G. O. 1882, I have the honor to report that since last Annual Report the form of the post has been completely changed. A number of new buildings have been erected and the old buildings overhauled and repaired which work was placed under the superintendence and direction of Captain James H. Lord, O. Q. M. who it is presumed has rendered full report as to character and capacity of buildings, but to render this subject complete, the following summary is respectfully submitted:

NEW BUILDINGS FOR OFFICERS' QUARTERS

One double brick house for Commanding Officers' quarters, capacity 10 rooms and cellar under back extension, two-story shingle roof. Six quarters for Captains, brick, capacity nine rooms including attic rooms with cellar under back extension one-story shingle roof. The old double frame quarters have not been changed in form but were partially repaired in the way of new floors, painting in and outside, and paper on walls. All of the old buildings, sheds, etc. were torn down and new ones erected in their stead, a very great improvement giving the buildings a uniform appearance throughout and helping greatly sanitary conditions. Owing to the great amount of work which was required to be done to comply with the requirements of the War Department to make the post complete in the way of buildings, etc., some repairs had to be necessarily postponed for another year. The necessary estimates for the same accompany this report.

Men's Barracks

Six new brick barracks have been constructed with extension of frame, being the old barracks added to or moved to meet the new form of the post. The capacity of barracks or main building 30 x 105 divided as follows: dormitory 93 x 30, orderly room and storeroom back of same 12 x 30. The back of the extension is 80 x 30 divided as follows: day room, two store rooms or shops, dining room, kitchen, cook's room, wash and bath rooms.

The main or new buildings need but few repairs such as whitening the walls and compartments of shelves for convenience of the men for uniforms, etc. The flooring in the extensions need to be renewed, also a few of the locks and sash, estimates for which are herewith transmitted. Two of the eight companies occupy the old barracks, improved, but for comfort and convenience they do not compare with the new ones, besides they are off the parade proper being in the rear of the barracks taking the new order of things into consideration.

When regular barracks are built they might be turned into storehouses with advantage as additional storage room is very much needed at the post. These buildings need general repairs in the way of new floors, sash, locks, etc., estimates for which accompany this report. The Band occupies its old quarters—new quarters should be built as soon as possible—this no doubt will be done should the appending appropriation become law.

Miscellaneous Buildings

Six small one-story brick buildings have been erected for non-commissioned staff officers—they are small and comfortable for man and wife, but when there are a number of children in the family they are too small and decidedly uncomfortable and unhealthy, but this defect in case of a large family can be remedied by a small extension, one which is provided for in my estimate for the commissary sergeant who has four children. The capacity of these buildings is three rooms, shingle roof. One oil house, brick, capacity 18' x 30', shingle roof. One frame shop for all purposes of the Quartermaster Department, dimensions 25' x 80'. One frame ice house, capacity 1,000 tons, dimensions 30' x 80' x 16'. One brick bake house, capacity 20' x 55,' capacity of oven (rations) 500 men. One brick magazine, shingle roof. One brick engine house, shingle roof, capacity 20' x 25'.

Since last report a water system has been introduced and so far has given entire satisfaction with the exception of a few minor defects which are provided in estimates accompanying this report. The system consists of four-inch cast iron main which encircles the post, except the east side or entrance to the post. There are fire plugs at regular intervals and the water is conducted to men's barracks and officers' quarters by inch pipe. There is direct pressure from the engine house and pressure by gravitation from a large tank elevated sixteen feet above the parade ground, capacity 20,000 gallons.

In connection with my personal report of last year, I deemed it proper to mention to the Quartermaster General the subject of steam laundries at posts where steam power is available. A laundry of this character is in my opinion very desirable especially now since the great improvement in the men's buildings, etc. Washerwomen are few at the post and the ones now remaining are not always reliable. I think there would be no serious trouble in its management as the work done would meet all current expenses. Rules based upon the management of laundries in cities might be devised, the simpler they are the better. In order to bring this matter more directly to the attention of the Quartermaster General, plans, and detailed estimates for a laundry to be constructed at this post are herewith transmitted.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

JAMES REGAN

1st Lieut. R.Q.M. 9th Inf.

A.A.Q.M.

1890-98

The last decade of an eventful hundred years in our national history seems to mark the end of an era, perhaps because it marks the end of our isolation and the beginning of our off-continent wars. Wealth had increased enormously and our population was beginning to stabilize itself as American. The West was no longer an unknown quantity, and aside from the Indian Wars, 1898 marked the end of thirty-three years of peace. From 1874 until the Spanish-American War the strength of the army had been frozen at 25,000 officers and men, a ratio in the 1890's of one soldier to 3,000 civilian population.

It is needless to say that the United States Army reached its lowest ebb during this time and that this neglect of the fighting forces was causing deep concern among thoughtful army leaders.

Appropriations from Congress for the army were meagre and hard to obtain. Military posts fell into disrepair, and in the case of Fort Russell, almost dilapidation. The morale of the army was low and desertions were very common. The type of recruit was not always the best either. Colonel Poland reports, "There have been twenty-five desertions since August 1, 1893, fifteen less than the preceding twelve months. As there has been no material change in customs of service, duties at the post, or general treatment of the men, it is to be inferred that the regiment has been supplied with fifteen better men than mustered in last year." He comments further—"Winter recruits as a rule are unreliable, as only temporary shelter and subsistence is sought." Boards of Survey reported upon desertions and made no particular deduction, except the very general one—"instability of human nature."

The new barracks erected in 1885 were not large enough to accommodate a full company with the minimum allowance of 800 cubic feet of space per man. The old guard house was a source of aggravation, too, being small and hard to maintain in a sanitary condition. The water system of 1890 and the sewer system of about the same date were, however, very important improvements.

Camp Carlin was dismantled in 1890, and some of the buildings were sold to Cheyenne residents. Some of them were moved up to the post and according to the newspaper "the thirty handsome cottonwoods which formerly stood at Camp Carlin have been taken up and replanted at the Fort. The trees were very large, being over 15 years old." One cottonwood remains at Camp Carlin to this day, not far from the granite marker. There is only one stone building on the reservation and it was built with the old foundation stones from Camp Carlin. It can be said, without dispute, that

building number 253 contains one remnant of the original construction material used on the reservation in 1867.

The mule has done its part of faithful service in the army and now, no less than the cavalry and artillery horse, is passing into legend. At Fort Russell during the 1890's, there was a mule pack train that was the pride of the 17th Infantry—"the only thoroughly trained pack train in the army and the best in the world." In this train was General Crook's mule "Apache." When she was condemned, Captain Roach wrote a very eloquent appeal asking that she, as the riding mule of a distinguished officer, might live out her days in the train she served so faithfully. The request was granted.

It was from this pack train that the first of Fort Russell's "cadres" were sent out to "activate" other trains at other stations.

Three times between 1890 and 1895 troops left Fort Russell for service in the field. First, to the Pine Ridge Agency against the Sioux in 1890; again in western Wyoming along the Union Pacific against a part of Coxey's army, in 1894; and the last Indian scout in the Teton Pass country in the late summer and fall of 1895.

The Indian campaigns come under another topic so the Coxey Army Affair will be described here as it has a certain historical significance.

Colonel John S. Poland reports under the topic, Troop Movements:

Commonweal Army. May and June, 1894.

On the 13th of May, 1894, a telegram was received advising that the troops be held for quick action to proceed west and assist in preventing interference with the property of Union Pacific Railway by Coxeyites, Commonwealers, tramps, et al. On the 15th, the Second Battalion, 17th Infantry, B, C, E, and F companies under command of Colonel J. S. Poland left the post at about 3:30 p. m., Cheyenne at 4:00 p. m. for Green River, arriving there at 5:00 a. m., May 16. U. S. Marshal Rankin, Wyoming, requested troops to hold as prisoners 147 Commonwealers charged with seizing a train on the Oregon Short Line, Idaho Division of the U. P. R. R. at Montepelier, despite the officials of the road and U. S. Deputy Marshal (sic) *and hauling the same to Green River.*

On the 18th, these 147 prisoners were examined by the U. S. Circuit Judge Renit, and adjudged guilty of an offense committed in Idaho, and ordered their return to Boise. Major Bisbee, 17th Infantry, with Captain Lovering, 4th Infantry, left Green River at 4:00 p. m. for Pocatello, Idaho, as guard, with orders to escort these prisoners to Boise, Idaho. At Pocatello, Captain J. M. Burns, Company "E" 17th Infantry,

was left to protect railroad trains and property, and the remainder of company "C", 4th Infantry was picked up and proceeded with Major Bisbee's command to Boise, delivering the said prisoners into the jurisdiction of Judge Beatty, U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Idaho. On the 21st, Major Bisbee with Company "F" returned to Pocatello and took station until relieved, June 15th, to return to post, June 14, 7:00 p. m.

The two companies retained at Green River, "B" and "C", 17th Infantry remained at that station, Captain C. S. Roberts, 17th Infantry, commanding, until June 9 when they returned to the post the same day. The colonel of the regiment rejoined his station May 28, 1894. This movement of the troops of the 17th Infantry entirely broke up the march of the so-called Commonwealers eastward, over the lines of the Union Pacific Railway from Ogden and Pocatello.

One little thing was overlooked by Colonel Poland. Idaho was a part of the Department of California and he had no jurisdiction there. This was later the subject of considerable correspondence between the departments. However, the Commonwealers were "stopped" and Colonel Poland added one more pertinent remark. "A great moral force," so he said, "is a bayonet on a gun and a web-belt full of cartridges."

The following extract from Colonel Poland's request for change of station for his regiment is eloquent in its simplicity and truth. He was perhaps unaware at the time that he had lived and helped to shape the destiny of the West in its richest and most colorful era, when it was, as he said "beyond the ragged edge—".

The 17th Infantry has made an excellent record, shown by recent inspections, as soldiers, conforming to regulations and orders with intelligence, cheerfulness, and persistency. No serious public events have occurred to mar its reputation as a peaceable, law-abiding, well-behaved organization, and worthy, for its extraordinarily long service at remote posts on the frontier since 1866, of a change to some eastern post which will afford every advantage of education and association with cultivated, intelligent society of that civilized country.

How such a privilege would be enjoyed after twenty-seven years of rough and tumble life beyond the ragged edge of civilization, even can better be imagined than described.

"In conclusion, I respectfully recommend feeling that my regiment has an almost incontrovertible claim to the consideration recommended, that the 17th Infantry be permitted to succeed the troops now occupying Fort McPherson or Fort

Thomas, when their removal is decided upon—I have the honor to be

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN S. POLAND."

Note:

(After the Spanish-American War, the system of keeping army records changed and the fine examples of military literature found in the narrative reports of the army officers were to be forever lost—in impersonal printed forms).

The Spanish-American War began abruptly with the torpedoing of the battleship, *Maine*, in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15, 1898. President McKinley lost little time in calling for a volunteer army and for a formal declaration of war by Congress. The Eighth Infantry, then stationed at Fort Russell, left for field service in Cuba, April 21, 1898, two days before the war was declared. A small detachment of the infantry troops was left at the post to care for company property. The Wyoming National Guard was mustered into the service on May 16 at Fort Russell as the First Wyoming Infantry, U. S., Major Frank M. Foote, commanding. This battalion moved to San Francisco and from there to Camp Dewey, Manila, arriving July 31. The troops disembarked August 6 and the city was entered and occupied August 13, 1898. The First Wyoming Battalion was the first organization of the First Brigade to reach the wall of Manila. At 4:15 p. m. of that historic afternoon, Major Foote received orders from General Anderson to occupy the Luneta Barracks. At 4:45 p. m. the battalion flag was hoisted—the first American flag raised in Manila. This flag now rests in the Historical Museum of Wyoming. These troops later took part in the Filipino Insurrection and did not return to the United States until September, 1899.

General Wesley Merritt, who commanded at Fort Russell during the years of the Indian campaigns, was in command of the forces at Manila.

Colonel Torrey's Rough Riders were also mobilized at Fort Russell. They were mustered in as the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry. The regiment left Fort Russell for Camp Cuba Libre, Jacksonville, Florida, on June 22. The regiment saw no action and was mustered out, October 22, 1898.

On September 29, 1898, four companies of the 24th Infantry took station at Fort Russell. The 24th had just returned to the States from Siboney, Cuba, where the regiment had rendered heroic service at the time of the yellow fever epidemic during the months, July to September, 1898.

Fort Russell, 1900-1920

After war—reorganization.

The war with Spain lasted about one hundred days, long enough, however, for the United States to acquire foreign possessions and to assume responsibility for them. The Reorganization Act of February 2, 1901, fixed the maximum enlisted strength of the army at 100,000 men, including the Philippine Scouts. Not until the National Defense Act of June 30, 1916, was the maximum strength increased, and then only to 170,000 officers and men. The American people have always abhorred the idea of a large armed force, and will not adequately provide for one until the enemy compels them to action.

After the reorganization in 1901, the question arose again as to which military posts should be rebuilt and enlarged. The water supply at Fort Russell had to be guaranteed by a new contract before any building program could be started. This was done by the city contract of 1903. The first of the new building was the construction of two sets of artillery barracks and stables in 1904. In that year an electric light plant was installed, the first electric lighting of the post, although Cheyenne had had a plant in operation since 1882.

In 1905, William H. Taft was Secretary of War. He recommended that the "old frontier posts" should be rebuilt on modern lines, and a definite effort made to group the buildings properly and improve the general appearance of the post. In 1906 Taft recommended that Fort Russell be enlarged to a brigade post, as at the time there were barracks and quarters for a regiment of infantry, two batteries of field artillery and four troops of cavalry. There was also a target and maneuver reserve of 36,800 acres. This was done in the following three years. The first artillery at Fort Russell had arrived, September 29, 1901.

Troop movements during the years 1900 to 1910 are interesting chiefly because the regiments had seen overseas service. The 18th Infantry, Companies E, F, G, Field Staff and Band arrived at Fort Russell, October 22, 1901, and left for the Philippines, March 21, 1903. This regiment of Regulars had been in the Islands at the capture of Manila in 1898. On March 24, 1904, the 11th Infantry arrived at Fort Russell from the Philippines. In 1905 an insurrection arose against the organized government of Cuba, and the President of the Republic requested intervention by the United States. An expeditionary force was sent under Brigadier General Bell. In October, 1906, the 11th Infantry left Fort Russell, this time as a part of the Army of Cuban Pacification. They were stationed at Morro Barracks, Santiago, Cuba, until February 21, 1909. This

army was a "moral force," small in numbers, but covering every nook and corner of the Island, just as the frontier army of the West covered every nook and corner of a million square miles of territory. The 11th Infantry remained at Fort Russell from March 9, 1909 until February 26, 1913.

Trouble began on the Mexican border in 1911. In March of that year troops were mobilized for maneuvers at San Antonio, Texas. There were two innovations of far-reaching results, compulsory typhoid prophylaxis, and the use of aeronautical equipment in maneuvers. This mobilization for maneuvers involved 16,000 officers and men. The mobile strength of the army within the United States borders was only 31,850 once again causing uneasiness among military men for the ration of mobile strength to population was lower than in 1876.

The Army Air Corps saw its beginning as a branch of the Signal Corps. General Allen, Chief Signal Officer, wrote in 1910, "Aerial navigation has taken hold of the entire civilized world as no other subject in recent times, and represents a movement that no forces can possibly check.

"In its military aspects, it is a subject we must seriously consider whether we wish to or not, and the sooner this fact is acknowledged and measures taken to put us abreast with other nations, the better it will be for our national defense."

The Field Service Regulations, 1910, provided for the organization of aeronautical companies of the Signal Corps and for wireless companies as well, and for "aero-wireless battalions on the same basis as field companies and battalions."

Henry L. Stimson was Secretary of War in 1911. He remarked that our army was more of a local constabulary than a national organization, and that we were left far behind in the one indispensable adjunct of war—the airplane. Congress finally voted an appropriation of \$125,000 for aeronautical equipment in the army appropriation bill of 1912.

In the meantime Madero had overthrown the Diaz regime in Mexico. It became necessary for the United States to patrol the border to enforce the neutrality laws. Later there were revolutions against Madero, and he in turn was overthrown by Huerta, February, 1913. On February 26, the 11th Infantry and 4th Field Artillery left Fort Russell for the Mexican border. There is no consolidated Morning Report for February 25, 1913, the only occurrence in all available records.

Carranza promptly instituted military operations against Huerta. The fighting occurred along the border, and the wounded that fell into American hands were cared for by army personnel. The troops were as busy keeping curious sightseers out of harm as they were in keeping the hostile Mexicans from crossing over and fighting on American soil. While it was not actual war, it was trying service for the

troops and was so well accomplished with so little display that it was accepted simply as a part of the day's work for the army. For the first time trucks, six of them, were used between the camps on the border and the base depots. Nineteen motorcycles were used for messenger service and reported upon as satisfactory.

In 1914, conditions were still very bad. The 1,703 miles of Mexican border were patrolled by 359 officers and 8,260 enlisted men. Vera Cruz, Mexico, was occupied by troops under command of General Funston. On June 30, 1914, the mobile army within the United States was 1,495 officers, 29,405 enlisted men. And on July 18, Congress finally authorized the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps, 60 officers, 260 enlisted men. The garrison strength at Fort Russell averaged about 350 officers and men from February 1913 until February 1916. During 1915, depredations on the border continued and on the nights of March 8-9, 1916, Francisco Villa attacked Columbus, New Mexico, killing American soldiers and civilians. On March 10, the following day, General John J. Pershing was put in command of the United States forces on the border. This command marched 400 miles into Mexico. All cavalry regiments of the army except the Second were in the field at this time. The first tactical unit of the aviation section was put into the field from the base of the First Squadron at San Antonio, Texas. Much was learned about aviation in this "practice war" that was very valuable later on. Truck transportation became an integral part of army transportation simply because there was no other in that land without railroads.

General Pershing's column withdrew from Mexico, February 5, 1917. The purpose of the Punitive Expedition was accomplished after eleven months of hard campaigning.

The outbreak of the war with Germany, April 6, 1917, found the United States with an unprepared army. The first draft legislation was passed May 18, and the first registration, June 5. There were three recognized armies—the Regulars, the National Guardsmen, and the National Army. Fort Russell was a point of mobilization and later for training field artillery and cavalry. The outbreak of the war found the United States with no airplane industry and no system of training aviators. Newton D. Baker called the Liberty Motor "America's first victory in the air." He trusted to American ingenuity to accomplish the rest.

New branches of service were created, and others placed under different commands. In July 1917, the Signal Corps received the Pigeon Service. On May 20, 1918, it was relieved of its aviation duties. Chemical Warfare Service was created as a separate branch June 28, 1918. The Tank Service of the

National Army was placed under the control of the Chief of Engineers, February 1918. The Ordnance Department remained in charge of the design and production of the tanks.

One thing was true, when the American people settled down to production during the first World War, the results were astounding.

The Armistice was signed November 11, 1918. The demobilization plan for the army was by military units at the posts nearest home for the troops. Fort Russell, under this plan, received its first "casuals" in March 1919. Brigadier F. W. Wilson commanded the post during demobilization. Morning Reports of March 31, 1919, showed 385 casuals at the post; June 22, 1919, showed 1377; and September 30, 1919, showed 37. The garrison strength December 31, 1919, was 592 officers and men. December 31, 1920, showed no change in organization, and a garrison strength of 1,000.

The Reorganization Act of June 4, 1920, provided for a maximum strength of the Army to be 280,000 enlisted men and 17,717 officers.

The Years of Peace

The Reorganization Act of June 4, 1920, created new branches of army service, particularly the Finance Department, Detached Officers List and Detached Enlisted Men's List, Chemical Warfare Service, and Air Service. Provision for reserves was made by the President, and the Enlisted Reserve and Reserve Officers Training Corps. The Tank Service created in 1918 was made a part of the infantry. This reorganization of the armed forces did not immediately affect Fort Russell, however, the reservation was at one time inspected as a possible air base.

The 15th Cavalry was transferred to the 13th Cavalry and the 53rd Infantry was placed on the inactive list. For five years, 1922-27, the post was garrisoned entirely by artillery and cavalry organizations. At this time it was not unusual for the animal strength to outnumber the garrison strength of the post.

From the time of the first Frontier Days celebration in Cheyenne in 1897, the troops have always contributed to its success, especially the parades. While the garrison was composed of field artillery and cavalry organizations, the Frontier parades were the most picturesque ever staged in Cheyenne, or ever likely to be, for the grim utility of modern war equipment cannot compare in glamour with the magnificent cavalry troops of that day. The horses were some of the finest the army ever owned, for they were selected as nearest to standard from the thousands of World War purchases; and a G. I. truck can't inspire the same romantic thrill as the old white covered supply wagons drawn by the army mules.

In June 1927, cavalry troops were withdrawn from Fort Russell for the second and perhaps the last time.

Years of peace at army posts are usually pleasant years, or so it seemed at Fort Russell. By 1925 the United States had lapsed again into a profound state of peace. The commissioned strength of the army had been reduced to 12,000 officers, and the enlisted strength to 125,000 men. The garrison of Fort Russell was not affected by the reduction in any particular way, but followed the old tradition and turned its collective attention to improving living conditions, making roads and beautifying the grounds.

Relations between the post and Cheyenne were cordial and cooperative. Fort Warren bowl was built and sports received considerable attention. While the "horse" organizations were here, polo was the great game. There were three polo fields on the reservation, two practice fields and one exhibition field.

During the late 1920's an extensive reforestation program was under way. Western yellow pines were brought down from Pole Mountain and planted according to a definite landscape plan. A detachment of men was sent to the Pike National Forest in Colorado for evergreens. They returned with two thousand trees, and today there is on the reservation ample proof of the success of their mission. Major Orlando Ward, 76th Field Artillery, and Lieutenant Jean Edens were the reforestation officers.

Several interesting activities were carried on during 1928. The buildings for the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the Citizens Military Training Camp were completed. A boundary survey of the reservation was made, the first since 1910. The old water tank, part of the water system of 1890, was used as a point of triangulation in the survey. This old tank was dismantled a few years later. A topographical survey was made in 1929, and the first aerial survey in 1930. The Department of Commerce installed its first radio station on the reservation that same year. On January 1, 1930, the name of the post was changed to Fort Francis E. Warren, in honor of Senator Warren, one of Wyoming's most distinguished men.

Senator Warren came to Wyoming in 1868, and throughout his life was closely identified with the political interests of Cheyenne and of Wyoming. He served as United States Senator from 1890 to 1893 and from 1895 to 1929. Senator Warren was on the Military Affairs Committee in Congress and worked consistently for the welfare of the army and particularly for the reservation that now bears his name. He was the father-in-law of General John J. Pershing.

The early 1930's were uneventful, aside from the depression years complicated by a rather extensive drought. In 1934

the War Department enlarged the rifle range by the purchase of about 1600 acres. In 1939 an exchange of a very small acreage was made, and to the present time the boundaries remain unchanged.

The new post theater and the gymnasium were completed in 1939. And so ends the era of peace at Fort Warren.

On September 8, 1939, President Roosevelt declared a state of national emergency, and a year later, September 16, 1940, the Selective Service and Training Act was approved at 3:08 p.m., E. S. T. The act provided for an armed force sufficient for the defense of our continental and territorial possessions.

In order to house this new army and provide for training, cantonments were established at various locations throughout the United States. At Fort Warren, construction was immediately begun for a Quartermaster's Replacement Training Center. Beginning October 1940, the surveys on the reservation were quite as important as those in 1867. Crow Creek again assumes importance.

It is the dividing line between the old and the new. Fort Warren proper is the "old post." The cantonment across the creek is the "center." The National Guard units from Utah, North Dakota and California left the post, December 1941, and for the first time in its long and colorful history "no combat organizations are stationed at Fort Warren."

PART II

THE WATER RIGHTS OF FORT WARREN

Of all western history, few things offer more interest or hold more significance than the water and the water rights of the so-called arid western lands. The western lands of the public domain were brought into private ownership by well established customs and laws beginning even before our national independence. The laws governing the waters of these western lands, especially the running waters, are an altogether different subject—their beginnings go back into old Spanish and Mexican law and even to the customs of the Indians themselves. Upon the discovery of gold in northern California, water, so necessary in placer mining, and the ditch that carried it, assumed great importance. It was here the "first come, first served" theory of priority rights prevailed. In southern California the theory of pueblo rights, meaning the superior rights of the group, prevailed. And on the whole the water itself was considered, in California, property of the government to give according to first use and first need. The ditch,

the "artificial watercourse," that carried the water to the place of use was considered separate from the water itself, and was subject to private ownership as any other real property. The only property right existing to the running water in a stream was the use of the water. The running water was not considered a part of the land. Thus the water and irrigation laws of the western states, concerning the waters of non-navigable streams, have their origin in two things—the placer gold mines and the domestic and agricultural needs of the Spanish mission settlements in California.¹⁴

In 1866, Congress passed the first national water rights legislation entitled, "An act granting the right-of-way to ditch and canal owners through the public lands, and for other purposes." The purpose and wording of this bill was "obscure" and further legislation on such a controversial subject as western water rights was not recommended. It was thought better to leave the regulation of water and water rights to local use and custom. However, the vested and accrued rights of the first appropriators of water were protected by that law and the United States was the recognized "proprietor" of those rights at that particular time.

When Fort Russell and Cheyenne were established during the late summer of 1867, the water supply for both was directly "out of the creek" for men and animals. At that early date the need for a domestic supply of water did not seem paramount—fire protection was just as important—and after that came the "gardens, trees, and lawns."

It is interesting to note that General Dodge and General Stevenson devised the first scheme for the joint water supply of Cheyenne and Fort Russell.

This is the account of Mr. Baker who visited Fort Russell on behalf of the city and published an account of the interview in the *Cheyenne Leader*, February 19, 1868.

"It appears that from what we then and there learned, that General Dodge on the part of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and General Stevenson on the part of the military authorities have already decided to bring the waters of Pole Creek and Crow Creek by means of a canal through the military reservation north of the city and thence through the town site. It was and is understood by and between those gentlemen that the Union Pacific Railroad Company is to perform all the necessary surveying and engineering on the line of the canal, and that the military will construct and complete it to the south line of the reservation, and then the water can be readily diverted to any part of the city that may be desired. Before any definite action was taken, General Dodge was sud-

14. Wiel, Samuel C., *Water Rights of the Western States*, Bancroft-Whitney, San Francisco, 1908.

denly called away and the project is only awaiting his return to have definite action taken." Then, on January 23, 1869, the *Cheyenne Leader* contained this article:

Fire and Water

"One of the handiest things in case of an extensive fire is an abundance of water. Cheyenne has never been guaranteed an unceasing supply of water, although last summer a bill of five hundred or six hundred dollars was presented for carriage hire, charged against the city as for vehicles used in surveying a ditch from Pole Creek. The ditch was really surveyed to the summit of the divide which is as far as necessary, as from that point the water could be brought hither by natural channels. It was stated at that time that the commanding officer at Fort Russell had agreed to put on men to dig the ditch if the city would survey it, as Fort Russell was to receive the first use of the water. On the strength of these military promises, the city procured the survey at considerable expense and without having received even a drop of water or other benefit for that expenditure. . . . We have a good engine, and with the water we expected to have, the town would be provided with pretty good insurance against any very extensive fire.

The fire department of Cheyenne still has the "good engine" of 1869. The proposed diversion in 1868 of the waters of upper Pole Creek to the Crow Creek watershed has never been done although it has been seriously considered.

On July 6, 1870, several citizens of Cheyenne organized a company for the purpose of constructing a ditch to conduct water from Crow Creek to the city of Cheyenne. The Company was called the "Wyoming Ditch and Water Company." Water was to be taken out of Crow Creek at a point two miles from headquarters of Fort Russell. The right-of-way for the ditch, according to the corporation papers, was to extend across the reservation. Cheyenne bought the ditch from the company in 1872, but apparently did not use it, nor was it extended across the reservation. By 1874, Fort Russell was using the ditch to fill reservoirs and cisterns and for irrigation purposes. This continued for about ten years. In 1883, the city laid a pipe to the reservoir on Crow Creek that supplied the Fort Russell ditch, and in that way deprived the post of irrigation water that it formerly used. The following year the city and Fort Russell entered into an agreement by which the city was to furnish water to the post in exchange for the ditch and for the right-of-way across the reservation.

This is a description of the post water supply written by the Quartermaster in compliance with a circular letter, December 10, 1883.

December 10, 1883.

To:
Chief Quartermaster
Department of the Platte
Omaha, Nebraska.
Sir:

In compliance with circular letter dated War Department, Quartermaster General's Office, November 19, 1883, I have the honor to report that there is no regular system of water supply to this post, the method being one of the most primitive order.

The present means of water supply are two shallow plank wells in the bottom, southwest of the post, which are fed through gravel beds from Crow Creek, a shallow stream coursing by the post. These wells are in dimension 6 x 6 and 8 x 12, and contain two feet of water. The water is pumped from the wells by two force pumps of four horse power each, which are old and defective, connected with a horizontal engine of ten horse power, by a system of belts and pulleys, the engine being also used for sawing the necessary cord wood for the post. The lifting power of this engine is very slight and would not do to force water through the post. The water is supplied to the post by means of a water wagon, drawn by eight mules, which is filled at the engine house. It takes this wagon from early morning to late in the afternoon to supply the water required by the officers and enlisted men. During the summer months the post was supplied with water for irrigating purposes, by a shallow ditch connected with a dam about two miles above the post, but since the city has laid their pipes to connect with this lake this supply has been stopped.

As a reserve supply of water there are four cisterns constructed at the post—two capable of containing 22,000 gallons each and two 27,000 gallons each. The accompanying diagram will show the location of these cisterns. The cisterns are non-effective at present, by the plaster work inside being defective and broken owing to the severe rains and poor quality of the cement. Requisitions are pending to put these cisterns in proper repair.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

JAMES REGAN

1st Lieut. R. Q. M. 9th Inf.

A. A. Q. M.

About this time the War Department ordered the abandonment of frontier posts that no longer served a military purpose. Fort Russell, because of its favorable location, was selected by the War Department for a permanent post, and plans were made for re-building with brick buildings. At

this time a system was devised to use the underground flow of Crow Creek for a supply of domestic water. A tank was installed and a four inch pipe was laid encircling the post, bringing running water into the barracks and quarters for the first time. Fire plugs were also installed. The agreement of 1884 marks the actual beginning of the joint water supply of the post and Cheyenne.

After the water rights law of 1866 was passed, the recommendation for more national legislation was evidently followed. In the meantime another theory of water rights was growing in the western "irrigated" states, that of state control and state ownership. The territorial legislature of Wyoming passed a law in 1886 requiring a statement of claim to be filed by all users of water from Wyoming streams, for the purpose of setting priorities. The city of Cheyenne, now in possession of both the pipe and the ditch diverting water from Crow Creek, based its claim upon these two, nine (9) second feet for the ditch, three and four hundred eighty-one thousandths (3.481) second feet for the pipe. The total amount of water claimed was 12.481 second feet.

The adjudication of the waters of Crow Creek was made April 19, 1888. Cheyenne was allowed its claim in that decree, but the Clerk of the Court in copying the figures in the Journal wrote them in words, twelve thousand four hundred and eighty one and in figures 12,481. That adjudication rests. The city of Cheyenne is entitled to 12,481 second feet of water from Crow Creek.

Fort Russell, not having possession of the ditch, could not file a claim for irrigation water under the law of 1886.

Wyoming became a state July 10, 1890. In the constitution of Wyoming are two significant sections, one concerns the control of water, the other, the ownership of the waters of the state. They are:

"Sec. 31—Water—Control of—Water being essential to industrial prosperity, of limited amount and easy of diversion from its natural channels, its control must be in the State, which, in providing for its use, shall equally guard all the various interests involved."

"Art. VIII. Sec. 1. Water is state property. The water of all natural streams, springs, lakes or other collections of still water, within the boundaries of the state are hereby declared to be the property of the state."

However, "percolating waters, developed artificially," meaning underground water obtained from wells, belong to the owner of the land on which the waters are so developed.

It seems that Cheyenne did not keep the agreement of 1884. The following letter written by Colonel Poland, com-

manding Fort Russell, explains the circumstances quite fully. This is referred to as the letter of June 29, 1894.

Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming

*To the
Mayor and Council,
City of Cheyenne, Wyo.
Sirs:*

June 29, 1894.

It has been officially reported to me that the agreement entered into between the Commanding Officer, Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo., and the city of Cheyenne, on the second day of December, 1884, has not been complied with by the City of Cheyenne, the past three weeks, by its failure to give Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation (such being the peculiar arrangement of discharge pipes at the stone gate house) an adequate supply of "*water taken from Crow Creek . . . at a point or points on said stream where the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation heretofore obtained water and freely and daily without interruption,*" and this notwithstanding it has been practicable during the same period of time "to obtain the water from Crow Creek." (See agreement referred to).

Further, by this failure to perform the conditions therein specified, the Post garden, lawns and trees are suffering damage.

I respectfully invite the closest attention to the condition of that agreement, and beg to inform you that the City of Cheyenne—either through indifference or design—failed in a similar manner to observe and fulfill the said conditions last year; and caused Fort D. A. Russell the loss of valuable produce from the Post garden, and a large number of shade trees at this post, at the same time they permitted the citizens of the City of Cheyenne to use water for three hours, from 5 to 8 o'clock p.m., less and more, daily to sprinkle and cultivate gardens, lawns and public parks.

I also invite your attention to the interviews had with you by the Post Quartermaster, April 17 and June 23, 1894, requesting you to take steps to remedy by supplying the post with sufficient water—the effects of your non-fulfillment of the conditions imposed upon the City of Cheyenne by that agreement. In your written communication to him, dated April 17, 1894, you *assumed to grant authority to the command at Fort D. A. Russell to use the water in the ditch laid across this military reservation leading to the City of Cheyenne, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays* of each week. You were not asked to grant what has never been and is not now in your power—as that has always been and now remains in the power of the original grantor of the permit to use "water from Crow

Creek taken at points where the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation *heretofore obtained water*," viz.: The Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming. You were asked to so arrange the operation of the pipes at the stone gate house located on the ditch near the dam, that this post could receive, have, and enjoy, at least three-sevenths of the water per week taken from the said Crow Creek, which right to have and use the said water is pledged by the City in the agreement referred to. The interview was to secure the rights of the original grantor. You have been reported, and I believe correctly, as saying in your interview with the Post Quartermaster, June 23, that the City of Cheyenne could not *afford* water to irrigate the post garden at Fort Russell and that you intended "the City of Cheyenne should be supplied first."

I assume this to be your premeditated deliberate intention, and in order that your citizens may irrigate lawns, private gardens and public parks, you have resolved to ignore the conditions of the agreement in which the Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, generously but unwisely granted the city the use of dams, ditches, pipes, etc., and also the use of land within the military reservation to obtain water from Crow Creek. I also rightly infer, I think, that you propose to cut off any supply of water due Fort D. A. Russell to accomplish that purpose. I take this opportunity to inform you that if you persist in your design to deprive this post and reservation of at least three-sevenths, and more, or of any part or portion of the water—if the whole shall be needed at or on this military reservation—any action tending to accomplish that design will speedily and certainly terminate the agreement of December 2, 1884, of which you will receive prompt notice. If on the contrary you shall recognize the rights of the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation, I will in the same spirit of comity that influenced my predecessors to permit your citizens to enjoy the benefits of the water not needed at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, submit the following propositions:

1. That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, or as soon thereafter as practicable, but without any delay, the City of Cheyenne having by or through its agents placed a pipe twenty inches in diameter to convey water into the City of Cheyenne across the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation (pursuant to and subject to certain conditions specified in an agreement of December second, eighteen hundred and eighty-four between the Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming and the said city) at a depth of eighteen inches, more or less, *below* and between centers of the discharge pipe for Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo., and having by their agents, selected and placed an iron pipe of an inferior

diameter, of twelve inches more or less, and of a little more than one-third of the volume of the discharge pipe for the City of Cheyenne by which the right to and use of water by Fort D. A. Russell has been impaired to the injury of the post, and by such arrangement has prevented the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation from obtaining water from Crow Creek—"At the point *where* said Fort D. A. Russell heretofore obtained water"—during the summer season for the purpose of irrigation; therefore, it, the said City of Cheyenne shall substitute for the said discharge pipe another pipe of twenty inches diameter and lay the said pipe, on the same and exact level of the discharge pipe conveying water to the City of Cheyenne; and further that the City of Cheyenne shall, without delay, provide and put in each of the two discharging pipes conveying water to Fort D. A. Russell and the City of Cheyenne, a valve of the same or similar design and efficacy or of superior make and efficiency if such can be procured, as those heretofore used in the pipes in and near the White Stone Well, so called, in order that either or both of said pipes may be closed against or opened for the flow of water into and through them.

2. That on the 1st day of July, 1894, this year and after the completion of the adjustment of the pipes as stated in proposition 1—the City of Cheyenne shall deliver to the Post Quartermaster in order that duplicates may be procured thereof for the use of Fort D. A. Russell, the keys, implements, etc. necessary to enter or close the "White and Red Wells," so called, situated upon the ditch and to close or open the valves in the discharge pipes conveying water to Fort D. A. Russell or the City of Cheyenne as may be, and whenever needed, to regulate the use of the water taken from Crow Creek.

3. That thereafter the City of Cheyenne shall draw from said reservoir, dams, ditches, stone gate house, etc., water from Crow Creek, from seven o'clock a.m. on Tuesdays until seven o'clock a.m. Wednesdays; from seven o'clock a.m. Thursdays until seven o'clock a.m. Saturdays; from seven o'clock a.m. Sundays until seven o'clock a.m. Mondays, if required.

4. That the Fort D. A. Russell Military Post and Reservation shall draw water from the same sources and through the same reservoirs, pipes, ditches, etc. mentioned above, from seven o'clock a.m. Mondays; Wednesdays and Saturdays until seven a.m. on the days next immediately following, if required.

5. That if the City of Cheyenne shall refuse to re-adjust the relative sizes and positions of the discharge pipes as required in proposition 1—it shall immediately on and after the first day of July, this year, afford without hindrance or delays an opportunity and sufficient time to the Post Quartermaster, Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, to change the size and position

of the discharge pipe conveying water to the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation to a pipe of twenty inches diameter and to lower and place this pipe on the same and exact level with the lowest pipe leading or carrying water from Crow Creek to the City of Cheyenne—and for connection with the pipe to permit the Post Quartermaster to lower the ditch conveying the water from Crow Creek to Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation; that the latter shall no longer be deprived of the benefit of the obligations assumed by the City of Cheyenne in the agreement referred to.

6. That thereafter the level of any and all pipes carrying or conducting water through the Fort Russell Military Reservation to the City of Cheyenne shall not be changed without the consent of the Commanding Officer of Fort D. A. Russell, during the continuation of the agreement of December 2, 1884, between the Commanding Officer at Fort D. A. Russell and the Mayor of the City of Cheyenne.

7. That all waste of water shall be prevented as far as possible by such Orders and Ordinances as the parties to said agreement can enforce.

8. That until the permanent remedy for the illegal deprivation of the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation of the water from Crow Creek is effected, the City of Cheyenne will deliver a duplicate key to the lock on the White Stone Well to the Post Quartermaster to enable him to enter therein, and to close and open the discharge pipe conveying water to the City of Cheyenne on the days specified in propositions 3 and 4, and which can be properly effected by a temporary gate made in the shape of a wooden disk and fitted to the head of said pipe.

The earliest possible reply to this communication is requested. Fort D. A. Russell has been without water from Crow Creek for three weeks, during which time the City of Cheyenne has been using daily (assuming for illustration that it has a population of fifteen thousand) one million five hundred thousand gallons, more or less, or about ten gallons per head. I intend that this unwarranted appropriation of all the water taken from Crow Creek at the head of the ditch where this post "heretofore obtained water" shall be stopped.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. S. POLAND,
Colonel 17th Infantry,
Commanding Post.

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Colonel Poland's propositions were complied with and while the question of "rights" was not settled, a satisfactory agreement with the city was reached.

The Spanish American War was fought in 1898 and the United States acquired overseas territory. This meant an expansion of the army and the enlargement of military posts. In 1902, the water controversy between the post and Cheyenne was reopened. This time the United States made it very plain that until the water rights of the post were secured by another contract with the city, no new improvements would be made on the reservation. Furthermore, upon the failure to comply with all terms of the agreement, the city would be compelled to remove its pipe line from the reservation. The new contract, called the agreement of 1903, involved irrigation water only. The post had its own water system dating from 1884 and much enlarged by 1890, for its garrison supply.

Between 1904 and 1910 Fort Russell was expanded, and Cheyenne, in order to meet the steadily growing demand for water, had to enlarge its supply. In doing this, the points of diversion from Crow Creek were changed to Granite Springs in 1904 and to Crystal Lake in 1910. These points of diversion involved the construction of reservoirs and pipe lines. In 1908, the post and the city entered into another contract. This is called City Contract No. 5. It provides for the joint water supply now used by the city and the post. The United States paid to the City of Cheyenne the total sum of \$400,000 as its share in construction.

The Round Top Filter Plant was built in 1911 and the gravity system was started in 1912.

In 1911 the Wyoming Legislature passed a law with specifications that apply to Cheyenne alone. The act, approved February 16, 1911, was this: "An act empowering special charter cities having a population of not less than ten thousand inhabitants to enter into and perform contracts with the United States Government, its departments, or representatives to supply water for the use of military posts, forts, or stations adjoining such cities and validating such contracts heretofore made." Section 2 of that law validates the previous contracts between the city and the post. For a considerable period there were neither difficulties nor discussions of the water situation.

A pumping plant was installed on Crow Creek near Silver Crown in 1933 making another point of diversion. In 1934, a pumping plant was also installed on the creek at Ware, and because it lay below the old city pipe line of 1883 was not considered a new point of diversion, but simply a change in the manner of conveying water. The water is pumped to the Round Top Plant.

The city still further increased its water supply by a series of wells west of the reservation. This supply, being "percolating water" needs no adjudication or any permit from the State Board of Control for a pipe line.

Major George C. Donaldson, 20th Infantry, Acting Judge Advocate, prepared a very complete record of the water rights at Fort Francis E. Warren dated Oct. 3, 1930. He does not mention any contracts or agreements subsequent to 1908. The purpose of Major Donaldson's investigation was to secure a fair distribution of the available supply of water.

In the meantime certain tracts of land on the Crow Creek water shed near and adjacent to the Granite Springs, Crystal Lake and North Crow Reservoirs were withdrawn from the public lands and set aside for the protection of the water rights of Fort Francis E. Warren. This was done by executive order, April 3, 1931, and the lands were transferred to the War Department. Some of these lands were then leased to the City of Cheyenne under certain Special Use Permits dated August 30, 1933.

The years following were drought years and the city water supply was very low. Irrigation was limited and at times almost ceased. Once again the city had to find just a little more water. The agreement for pumping the artesian wells on the reservation May 25, 1935, explains itself.

This artesian well was not a single well but a series of several wells connected together by pipes. These wells were drilled in 1904 and are very shallow for artesian wells ranging in depth from 140 to 165 feet. The "underground" waters of Crow Creek offer quite as interesting a subject for study as do the surface waters of its watershed.

The unlimited national emergency proclaimed by President Roosevelt on September 8, 1940, meant the immediate expansion of the armed forces. The building of the Quartermasters Replacement Center on the Fort Warren Military Reservation required another contract with the City of Cheyenne providing for its water supply. This agreement covers a supply taken from wells, percolating waters only. If that source of supply fails then the water for the center may be taken from the Round Top Reservoir.

This contract provided for the proper chlorination of the water.

The following is the Replacement Center agreement:

AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into in December A. D., 1940, by and between the City of Cheyenne, a Municipal Corporation of the State of Wyoming, party of the first part, and the United States Government, party of the second part, WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS party of the second part is building a Replacement Center for the location of a large number of troops on

the Fort Francis E. Warren Military Reservation, which is adjacent to the City of Cheyenne; and

WHEREAS the location of said Replacement Center will be beneficial to the said City of Cheyenne, and will contribute to the prosperity of said City;

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the above premises and other good and valuable consideration, it is mutually agreed as follows:

FIRST: The party of the first part agrees to furnish and deliver to the party of the second part at a 1,000,000 gallon steel storage tank to be located near the Round Top Filter Plant and thence through a 16" pipe line to be constructed, the following quantities of water for use at the Fort Francis E. Warren Replacement Center:

1. Average daily consumption of 1,200,000 gallons.
 2. Peak consumption at rate of 2,500,000 gallons per day.
 3. An average daily consumption during summer months of 1,500,000 gallons.
 4. Fire protection at peak rate of 3,000,000 gallons per day.
- Said water above mentioned shall be taken from the following wells:

Koppis No. 1, Koppis No. 2, Bailey No. 3, and the Eddy; party of the first part further agrees to drill an additional well to also be used for the purpose above stated.

SECOND: The party of the first part further agrees that should the supply of water from the wells be exhausted or the wells be out of service for any reason whatsoever, the party of the first part agrees to furnish said water from the distribution reservoir at Round Top. Said water will be delivered to the 16" pipe line serving said Replacement Center through a connection to be installed between the 16" line and the main valve house at Round Top.

THIRD: Party of the first part further agrees to install pumps and meters on the said wells hereinbefore described, and construct pipe lines connecting said wells with the present 18 inch line near the so-called Homman well, which 18 inch line has as its point of discharge the distributing reservoir of the party of the first part at Round Top.

FOURTH: The party of the first part further agrees to construct a 16 inch pipe line connecting with the 18 inch line from the wells and discharging at the 1,000,000 gallon storage tank hereinbefore mentioned.

FIFTH: The party of the first part further agrees to install and operate sterilization equipment to assure a safe and potable supply of water for use of said Replacement Center.

SIXTH: It is further agreed between the parties hereto that if said Replacement Center should be abandoned, or its use discontinued, then party of the first part shall have the right to use said water from the above described well for other municipal purposes.

SEVENTH: Party of the second part agrees to pay party of the first part one dollar (\$1.00) in full payment of all obligations herein undertaken by party of the first part.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, they being duly authorized, the day and year first above written.

CITY OF CHEYENNE, A MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.
Party of the First Part

By ED WARREN (Signed)
Mayor

(SEAL)

Attest: J. E. STODDARD (Signed)
City Clerk

Witness:

A. J. CHRISTENSEN (Signed)
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT,
Party of the Second Part

By LESLIE D. HOWELL (Signed)
Leslie D. Howell, Lt. Col. Q.M.C.
Constructing Quartermaster

Witness:

FRED O. STENGER (Signed)
Fred O. Stenger, Capt. Q.M.C.
Asst. Constr. Q.M.

Note:

Due to lack of space, the texts of the following instruments have been omitted:

1. The Agreement of 1884.
2. The Agreement of 1903.
3. The City Contract No. 5.
4. The Articles of Agreement of 1935.

Copies of the text of each of these Agreements and Contracts may be found in the Wyoming State Historical Department.

Land Acquisitions and Losses

The military reservation of Fort D. A. Russell was set aside by executive order, June 28, 1869. The boundaries of the original two miles wide, three miles long reserve survey by Lieutenant Petriken in 1867, were extended enough by the Department of Interior survey to include 4,512 acres. This tract remained intact until May 23, 1898. The act of admission of the State of Wyoming to the Union in 1890 bestowed upon the state 260,000 acres of land from the public domain, to be selected by the governor from whatever was considered suitable for state ownerships. In the range country the "state selections" were made from lands containing valuable springs and water holes, strategic locations for the cattle men who were at the time the sole power in the state. These lands were subject to sale, but not for less than ten dollars an acre. The one hundred sixty acre tract of the Fort Russell reservation that fell into the category of lands suitable for state ownership was the one containing the lakes so vital at that time to the post water supply, the present site of the Cheyenne Country Club. This valuable tract was transferred to the state of Wyoming for use as the "State Agricultural and Industrial Exposition" grounds, and was considered in part satisfaction of the 260,000 acre federal grant to the state. Thus it was subject to sale. This sale was made to the City of Cheyenne September 28, 1907, after the state legislature amended the act of 1891 doing away with the advertising of state public lands previous to sale. It has been extremely interesting to observe how the pioneer forefathers in contemplating any particular "skullduggery" always covered the procedure by protective legislation, intelligent, if not always commendable. This is particularly evident in laws concerning land and irrigation rights in the state. After the city obtained possession of the tract and received a patent for it, according to the State Land Commissioner's Record, in 1914, it was in turn leased to the Cheyenne Country Club, November 12, 1921. This lease violates the original purpose of the sale to the city as that was specified in the contract as for "public park purposes." However, being a long time ago and nobody discussing the matter, and few people knowing the truth anyway, the Country Club still enjoys its illegal privileges for twenty-five dollars a year.

In 1903 at the time of the second city water contract small parcels of land were acquired from Claus Sievers and from Frank Ketchum for a right of way for a conduit. This conduit or pipe line was a part of the already intricate water system of the city and the post. In 1909, the first large purchases of land were made by the War Department for the extension of the target range, approximately 1,400 acres. Not until 1934

was additional land added to the reservation proper, this time about 1,699 acres, also to enlarge the rifle range, bringing the reservation proper to 7,520 acres, its present area.

The Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range lies on the crest of Pole Mountain about 30 miles west of Fort Warren. Its high and rugged skyline is plainly visible on clear days from the post. The elevation lies between eight and nine thousand feet and the magnificent mountain scenery makes it one of the most picturesque and attractive maneuver grounds in the United States. The terrain is sufficiently varied to meet all demands of field artillery drill. The elevation and its accompanying cold, even in summer, have been considered drawbacks, but now with battlefields ranging from pole to pole the factors of cold and elevation may be real assets for training.

The nucleus of the present reserve was set aside in 1879-80 by executive orders. This consisted of our alternate sections arranged checker board fashion to form a hollow square alternating sections being Union Pacific lands. This reserve was used by Fort Sanders near Laramie, and by Fort Russell and Camp Carlin for wood and timber supplies from their first establishment. Nothing further was done with this odd-shaped tract until 1900. Then, on October 10, a forest reserve including the original four sections was created by executive order. This was called the Crow Creek Forest Reserve. It was placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture at the time the area contained 56,132.96 acres. Then in 1903, the forest reserve was transferred by executive order to the War Department for military purposes with the understanding that the use of the lands by the army should not interfere with the original purpose for which the reserve was created—forest protection. At this time the reserve was named the Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range. In 1912, the reserve was enlarged and consolidated by purchase of additional lands by the War Department. There were no further changes in administration, title, or boundaries until 1925. At this time, June 5, the reserve became a part of the Medicine Bow National Forest. Control is jointly administered by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Agriculture, subject to the unhindered use for purposes of national defense by the army. The present area is 67,915.79 acres, more or less. The name of the Target and Maneuver range was changed by General Orders No. 20, War Department, 1929, to Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range.

Upon completion of the joint water system for Cheyenne and Fort Russell in 1912, certain lands in the Crow Creek water shed were withdrawn from Department of Interior lands and placed under the control and administration of the Secretary of War. These small parcels of land comprising 7,640

acres in all are held for the protection of the water supply of the post. Executive Orders covering the withdrawals of these lands began in 1913 and continued through the years until 1931. The plats of the Department of Interior surveys of these lands were received in the general land office at Cheyenne, July, 1938. Executive Order, No. 5592, April 3, 1931, can also be found in the Department of Interior land office, Cheyenne, filed under the title, Fort Warren Lands, No. 132.

Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range

LOCATION—Situated in Albany County about 30 miles west of Cheyenne.

AREA—67,915.79 acres, more or less.

HISTORY—Originally known as Crow Creek Forest Reserve having been proclaimed as such by the President on October 10, 1900. Designated Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range by General Orders No. 162, War Department, 1904. By General Orders No. 20, War Department, 1929, name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Range in honor of Honorable Francis E. Warren.

By Executive Orders of November 4, 1879 and February 25, 1880, approximately 2,540.64 acres were set apart from the public lands as a wood and timber reservation for the use of the posts of Forts D. A. Russell and Sanders, and for the Cheyenne Depot. By proclamation of October 10, 1900 certain tracts of public land were set apart as a forest reserve, which tracts were transferred to the War Department by Executive Order of October 9, 1903 (G. O. 40, W. D., October 23, 1903) excepting certain lands as stated therein with the understanding that the use of the lands for the purposes of a military reservation would not interfere with the objects for which the forest reserve was established.

By Executive Order No. 1080 of May 28, 1909 (G. O. 114, W. D., June 11, 1909), the Executive Order of October 9, 1903, was amended so as to exclude from the reservation for military purposes a certain designated tract.

By Executive Order No. 1192 of April 19, 1910 (G. O. 83, W. D., May 5, 1910) the Executive Order of October 9, 1903 was modified to provide that the lands reserved by the latter order for military purposes except the tract excluded from the reservation by Executive Order No. 1080 of May 28, 1909 should be held as a military reservation for target and maneuver purposes and should no longer be regarded as a reservation for forest purposes.

By letter of March 23, 1908, 160 acres were transferred to the Department of Agriculture for administrative purposes of Forest Service with the provision that the same would be returned if needed for military purposes.

By act of March 13, 1908 (35 Stat. 42) an exchange of lands for lands in private ownership was authorized whenever it was deemed by the Secretary of War that certain lands within the limits of the reservation were needed for the enlargement of the military maneuver grounds.

In 1911-12, under authority of the act of March 3, 1911 (36 Stat. 1052), additional land was acquired by purchase and condemnation subject to certain reservations set out below under Easements, etc.

By Executive Order No. 4245 of June 5, 1925, all of that part of the Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Reservation established by Executive Orders dated February 4, 1879, February 25, 1880, and October 9, 1903, as amended by Executive Order of April 19, 1910, and subsequent consolidations by purchase excepting certain designated tracts were established as a national forest known as the Pole Mountain District of the Medicine Bow National Forest, the said Pole Mountain District of the Medicine Bow National Forest to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture under such plans as may be jointly approved by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of War, to remain subject to the unhampered use of the War Department for purposes of national defense.

By Executive Order No. 5592, April 3, 1931 (G. O. No. 5, W. D. July 6, 1931) approximately 7,640 acres, withdrawn by Proclamation No. 1259 dated December 20, 1913, and Executive Orders Nos. 2257, 2291, 2497, 2523, and 3040 dated October 14, 1915, December 27, 1915, December 7, 1916, January 30, 1917, and February 25, 1919, respectively as amended and modified by Executive Order No. 4678, dated June 29, 1927, for the protection of the water supply of Fort Francis E. Warren, were placed under the control and administration of the Secretary of War, subject to all public and private valid existing easements thereon and other valid existing rights and claims thereto.

JURISDICTION—Exclusive jurisdiction over the original reservation was ceded to the United States by the Act of February 17, 1893, set out in Section I, under General Legislation. Exclusive legislation over the additions to the reservation was ceded by the act of February 13, 1897, also set out in Section I, under General Legislation.

EASEMENTS. etc.—(1) Permit November 1, 1921, to State Highway Department of the State of Wyoming to extend, construct, and maintain a road across the reservation.

(2) License August 12, 1924, to Kiwanis Club of Laramie to construct a concrete base and cover for spring.

(3) Permit July 26, 1930, to United States Department of Commerce, Lighthouse Service Airways Division to use a plot 200 feet square for the purpose of a beacon site, a beacon

tower 50 feet high, and suitable buildings for the caretaker of the light.

(4) Permit August 30, 1933, to City of Cheyenne to maintain a reservoir on 48 acres for the use of said city.

(5) Permit February 24, 1941, to Highway Department of the State of Wyoming to extend and maintain a road.

(6) Reservation in deed dated October 24, 1911, recorded in Book 107 of Deed Records, page 213, Albany County, from Minna Kassahn of vested and accrued water rights for mining, agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes and rights to ditches and reservoirs used in connection with such water rights as recognized by law and local customs; also to the right of the proprietor of a vein or lode to extract and remove his ore therefrom, should the same be found to penetrate or intersect the premises granted.

Fort Francis E. Warren

LOCATION—Situated in Townships 13 and 14 North, Range 67 west of the sixth principal meridian, adjoining the city of Cheyenne, in Laramie County.

AREA—7,511.43 acres, more or less.

HISTORY—Original reservation known as Fort D. A. Russell was set apart for military purposes by Executive Order of June 28, 1869 (G. O. No. 34 Hdqrs. Dept. of the Platte, June 3, 1869). Name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren by General Orders No. 20 War Department, 1929 in honor of Honorable Francis E. Warren.

The area of the reservation was reduced on May 23, 1898, by the transfer to the State of Wyoming of 160 acres for the use of the State Agricultural and Industrial Exposition, under authority of act of Congress approved March 2, 1895 (28 Stat. 946).

In 1903, perpetual easements for right-of-way to construct and maintain a water conduit for irrigation purposes were acquired by purchase and condemnation.

In 1909, additional land acquired by purchase and condemnation for rifle range purposes. By Executive Order No. 1124 of August 27, 1909, 40 acres additional were reserved from sale or other disposition and set apart for the same purpose. In 1913, additional land acquired by purchase. Authority: Act of March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. 747).

An additional 1,597.57 acres were acquired in 1935 by condemnation under authority of the act of June 14, 1934 (48 Stat. 955). In 1939, 34.55 acres additional were acquired by exchange for the same number of acres under authority of the act of July 17, 1939 (53 Stat. 1048).

By agreement dated December 2, 1884, and supplemental agreements dated March 25, 1903, November 30, 1908, and June

10, 1935, with the City of Cheyenne, certain water rights were acquired by the United States. By these agreements the City of Cheyenne was authorized to make certain installations on the reservation.

By ordinance August 4, 1909, the City of Cheyenne granted permission to the United States to construct and maintain a sewer along certain city streets. Approved by the Secretary of War, September 2, 1909.

By agreement dated September 9, 1913, with the Colorado and Southern Railway Company, the right to lay a railway crossing over the main line of the railway company was granted to the United States.

By agreement approved February 23, 1924, with the City of Cheyenne, the perpetual right to discharge sewage in the city system in certain streets described therein was acquired by the United States.

By instrument dated August 26, 1935, the County Commissioners of Laramie County quitclaimed to the United States all the interest of Laramie County in and to certain described county roads located within the boundaries of the reservation.

JURISDICTION—Exclusive jurisdiction over the original reservation subject to the right to tax persons and corporations, their franchises and property, was ceded by the act of February 17, 1893, set out in Section I under General Legislation. (Exclusive jurisdiction over the 1903, 1909, 1913, 1935, and the 1939 additions to the reservation was ceded by the act of February 13, 1897, set out in Section 1, under General Legislation).

EASEMENTS, etc.—(1) Act of June 30, 1886 (24 Stat. 104), granted to the Cheyenne and Northern Railway Company a right-of-way, not to exceed 100 feet in width, across Fort D. A. Russell, subject to the approval of the Secretary of War. Approved by the Secretary of War on August 20, 1886.

(2) License August 27, 1886, to County Commissioners of Laramie County to maintain a certain road known as the Happy Jack Road.

(3) License August 4, 1888, to the County of Laramie, to construct and maintain a road (now Hynds Boulevard) over lands described therein.

(4) License March 11, 1909, to the Colorado & Southern Railway Company to erect, operate and maintain a building, for use as a railway station and as a residence for the station agent and family.

(5) Act of March 2, 1911 (36 Stat. 1012), granted to the Colorado Railroad Company authority to do business in the State of Wyoming and to build its line or railroad on that part of the reservation as described therein.

(6) Act of March 2, 1911 (36 Stat. 1012), granted right-of-way to County of Laramie for a road across and upon the lands described therein.

(7) Permit March 31, 1911, to the Board of Commissioners of the County of Laramie to extend county road across, along and within the reservation.

(8) Easement October 15, 1915, granted to Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company for a right-of-way for pole lines.

(9) License February 26, 1925, to the Cheyenne Motor Bus Company to operate motor bus line.

(10) Permit November 23, 1927, granted the Cheyenne Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, to place a stone marker on the reservation inscribed "Camp Carlin 1867-1927."

(11) License February 7, 1929, to the City of Cheyenne to use and occupy a portion of the reservation for the purpose of a park and the maintenance of necessary appurtenances.

(12) Permit December 26, 1929, as amended August 24, 1933, for five years to the Department of Commerce to construct, operate, and maintain a radio station and a directive radio beacon installation in the locations described therein. Although this permit has expired by its terms, the use is continued upon consideration for renewal.

(13) Easement July 9, 1931, to the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company, for a period not to exceed 25 years for a right-of-way for pole lines.

(14) Permit April 22, 1932, to Mrs. Francis E. Warren, to erect and to place a memorial tablet on one of the posts at the entrance to the reservation.

(15) Easement October 19, 1933, to Cheyenne Light, Fuel, and Power Company for a period not to exceed 25 years for a right-of-way for the installation, operation, and maintenance of an electric power pole line.

(16) License June 8, 1938, for a period not to exceed five years, to the City of Cheyenne to operate and maintain a telephone pole line, and to use one circuit in Signal Corps underground telephone cable, for the purpose of providing telephone service to the municipal waterworks.

(17) License April 18, 1940, for five years commencing February 15, 1940, to the Colorado and Southern Railway Company to operate a transportation service over those portions of the railroad trackage owned by the licensee, and certain portions of railroad trackage owned by the United States.

PART III

COMMANDING OFFICERS

FORT D. A. RUSSELL—1867-1929

FORT FRANCIS E. WARREN—1930-1945

- 1867-68: Brevet Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson, 30th Infantry.
- 1868-69: Major J. Van Vost, 18th Infantry.
Brevet Brig. Gen. H. W. Wessels, 18th Infantry.
- 1869-70: Brevet Brig. Gen. L. P. Bradley.
- 1870-73: Col. J. H. King, 9th Infantry.
- 1873-74: Col. J. V. Bombard, 9th Infantry.
- 1874-76: Col. J. J. Reynolds, 3rd Cavalry.
- 1876-77: Col. Wesley Merritt, 5th Cavalry.
- 1877-78: Captain G. L. Luhn, 4th Infantry.
- 1879-80: Col. Wesley Merritt, 5th Cavalry.
- 1880-82: Col. Albert G. Brackett, 3rd Cavalry.
- 1882-83: Col. J. P. Carlin, 4th Infantry.
- 1883-86: Col. John S. Mason, 9th Infantry.
- 1886-87: Col. Alex Chambers, 9th Infantry.
- 1887-88: Lieut. Col. R. H. Offley, 17th Infantry.
- 1888-91: Col. Henry R. Mizner, 17th Infantry.
- Dec. 10, 1894 to May 10, 1895: Col. G. M. Randall, 8th Inf.
- May 11, 1895 to Mar. 30, 1898: Col. J. J. Van Horn, 8th Inf.
- Mar. 31, 1898 to Apr. 20, 1898: Capt. E. B. Savage, 8th Inf.
- Apr. 21, 1898 to Sept. 29, 1898: 1st Lieut. Charles Gerhardt, 8th Inf.
- Sept. 30, 1898 to Dec. 23, 1898: Capt. N. H. W. James, 24th Inf.
- Dec. 24, 1898 to July 5, 1899: Major A. C. Markley, 24th Inf.
- July 6, 1899 to Feb. 4, 1900: Capt. J. G. Galbraith.
- Feb. 5, 1900 to Mar. 6, 1900: 1st Lieut. H. D. Berkeley, 1st Cav.
- Mar. 7, 1900 to Mar. 23, 1900: 1st Lt. C. Saltzman, 9th Cav.

Note:

The Brevet rank was conferred on officers by the President with the consent of the Senate for gallant, meritorious or faithful conduct in the volunteer service prior to appointment in the army. 14 U. S. Stat. 517. The brevet rank did not entitle an officer to precedence or command except by special assignment of the President. Such an assignment did not entitle any officer to additional pay.

Mar. 24, 1900 to July 20, 1900: Capt. J. G. Galbraith, 1st Cav.

July 21, 1900 to Aug. 9, 1900: 2nd Lt. H. C. Smither, 1st Cav.

Aug. 10, 1900 to Sept. 20, 1900: Capt. W. H. Allaire, 23rd Inf.

Sept. 21, 1900 to Oct. 25, 1901: Capt. D. B. Devore, 23rd Inf.

Oct. 26, 1901 to Mar. 21, 1903: Col. J. M. J. Sanno, 18th Inf.

Mar. 22, 1903 to June 16, 1903: Capt. L. W. Foster, 2nd Inf.

June 17, 1903 to Oct. 22, 1903: Major H. L. Bailey, 2nd Inf.

Oct. 23, 1903 to Mar. 19, 1904: Col. Francis W. Mansfield, 2nd Inf.

Mar. 20, 1904 to Aug. 17, 1904: Lieut Col. Walter S. Scott, 11th Inf.

Aug. 18, 1904 to Oct. 4, 1906: Col. Albert L. Myer, 11th Inf.

Oct. 5, 1906 to June 19, 1907: Major R. M. Blatchford, 11th Inf.

June 20, 1907 to Jan. 31, 1909: Col. L. W. Taylor, 2nd F. A.

Feb. 1, 1909 to July 25, 1909: Lieut Col. L. W. Foote, 2nd F. A.

July 26, 1909 to Apr. 4, 1910: Brig. Gen. Fred A. Smith.

Apr. 5, 1910 to Apr. 18, 1910: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Apr. 19, 1910 to July 17, 1910: Brig. Gen. R. W. Hoyt.

July 18, 1910 to Aug. 13, 1910: Capt. Earl W. Carnahan, 11th Inf.

Aug. 14, 1910 to Nov. 10, 1910: Brig. Gen. R. W. Hoyt.

Nov. 12, 1910 to Mar. 9, 1911: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Mar. 10, 1911 to Mar. 29, 1911: Capt. F. S. Armstrong, 9th Cav.

Mar. 30, 1911 to July 14, 1911: Lieut. Col. J. A. Maney, 2nd Inf.

July 15, 1911 to July 30, 1911: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

July 31, 1911 to Oct. 24, 1911: Col. Arthur Williams, 11th Inf.

Oct. 24, 1911 to Feb. 26, 1912: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Feb. 27, 1912 to May 17, 1912: Col. Arthur Williams, 11th Inf.

May 18, 1912 to Oct. 2, 1912: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Oct. 3, 1912, to Feb. 17, 1913: Brig. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards.

Feb. 18, 1913 to Feb. 25, 1913: Col. A. B. Dyer, 4th F. A.

Feb. 26, 1913 to May 1, 1913: Major J. A. Cole, QM Corps.

- May 2, 1913 to Apr. 27, 1914: Capt. F. Parker, 12th Cav.
Apr. 27, 1914 to Jan. 8, 1915: Capt. Samuel B. Pearson,
QM Corps.
Jan. 9, 1915 to Sept. 5, 1915: Capt. F. Parker, 12th Cav.
Sept. 6, 1915 to Dec. 31, 1915: Capt. L. S. Carson, 12th
Cav.
Jan. 1, 1916, to Jan. 27, 1916: Capt. L. S. Carson, 12th
Cav.
Jan. 28, 1916 to Feb. 5, 1916: Capt. Roy B. Harper, 12th
Cav.
Feb. 6, 1916 to Mar. 23, 1916: Col. C. W. Penrose, 24th
Inf.
Mar. 24, 1916 to May, 1917; Capt. Samuel A. Smoke,
QM Corps.
May, 1917 to Aug. 22, 1917: Col. Frederick S. Foltz, 1st
Cav.
Aug. 23, 1917 to Sept. 20, 1917: Col. E. S. Wright, U. S.
Cav.
Sept. 21, 1917 to Dec. 25, 1917: Col. J. C. Waterman,
1st Cav.
Dec. 26, 1917 to Jan. 7, 1918: Lieut. Col. Wilson G.
Heaton, 83rd F. A.
Jan. 8, 1918 to Mar. 17, 1918: Major T. M. Coughlan,
83rd F. A.
Mar. 18, 1918 to Apr. 5, 1918: Major Samuel A. Smoke,
QM Corps.
Apr. 6, 1918 to May 19, 1918: Col. Walter C. Short, N. A.
May 20, 1918 to June 4, 1918: Lieut. Col. G. Williams,
315th Cav.
June 5, 1918 to Sept. 5, 1918: Col. Walter C. Short, N. A.
Sept. 6, 1918 to Dec. 8, 1918: Capt. H. S. Bunting, 21st Inf.
Dec. 9, 1918 to Dec. 25, 1918: Lieut. Joel R. Burney.
Dec. 26, 1918 to Feb. 5, 1919: Major E. F. Koenig, 21st Inf.
Feb. 6, 1919 to Aug. 31, 1919: Brig. Gen. P. W. Davison.
Sept. 1, 1919 to Nov. 29, 1919: Col. M. O. Bigelow.
Nov. 30, 1920 to Aug. 8, 1921: Col. Thomas B. Dugan,
15th Cav.
Aug. 9, 1921 to Sept. 20, 1921: Lieut. Col. George B.
Rodney.
Sept. 21, 1921 to Oct. 2, 1921: Col. Roy B. Harper.
Oct. 3, 1921 to May 28, 1922: Brig. Gen. William H. Sage.
May 29, 1922 to Aug. 17, 1923: Brig. Gen. Edmund
Wittenmyer.
Aug. 18, 1923 to Nov. 4, 1927: Brig. Gen. John M. Jenkins.
Nov. 5, 1927 to Jan. 30, 1929: Brig. Gen. Dwight E.
Aultman.
Jan. 31, 1929 to May 25, 1929: Brig. Gen. Frank C. Bowles.

May 26, 1929 to Dec. 25, 1931: Brig. Gen. Charles R. Howland.

Dec. 26, 1931 to July 27, 1933: Brig. Gen. Frank S. Cochen.

July 28, 1933 to Sept. 13, 1935: Brig. Gen. Casper H. Conrad.

Sept. 14, 1935 to Aug. 30, 1937: Brig. Gen. C. J. Humphrey.

Aug. 30, 1937 to Oct. 18, 1940: Brig. Gen. E. D. Peek.

Oct. 19, 1940 to April 12, 1941: Brig. Gen. F. E. Uhl.

1941-1942: Col. George Blair, Inf.

1942-1943: Col. J. B. Johnson, Cav.

1943: Brig. Gen. John A. Warden.

1943-1944: Col. B. G. McGary, QMC.

1944: Col. G. O. A. Dautry, Inf.

March, 1944: Brig. Gen. H. L. Whittaker.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

FORT D. A. RUSSELL—1867-1929

FORT FRANCIS E. WARREN—1930-1945

October 1867: 30th Infantry, 2nd Cavalry.

July, 1868: 9 companies, 2nd Cavalry, 18th Cavalry.

Camps on railroad near Fort Russell, 2nd Cavalry, 27th Infantry.

October, 1869: 8 companies, 5th Cavalry, 9th Infantry.

October, 1870: 13 companies, 5th Cavalry, 9th Infantry, 14th Infantry.

October, 1871: 10 companies, 5th Cavalry, 9th Infantry, 14th Infantry.

October, 1872: 9 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 9th Infantry, 14th Infantry.

October, 1873: 9 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 4th Infantry, 8th Infantry.

October, 1874: 5 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 23rd Infantry.

October, 1875: 2 companies, 23rd Infantry.

November, 1876: 4 companies, 5th Cavalry, 3rd Cavalry.

October, 1877: 6 companies, 5th Cavalry.

October, 1878: 1 company, 4th Infantry.

October, 1879: 7 companies, 5th Cavalry, 4th Infantry.

October, 1880: 7 companies, 5th Cavalry, 4th Infantry.

October, 1881: 5 companies, 3rd Cavalry, 4th Infantry.

October, 1882: 5 companies, 5th Cavalry, 4th Infantry, 9th Infantry.

October, 1883-1886: 9th Infantry.

July, 1886 to Sept. 1895: 17th Infantry.

Sept. 1895 to April, 1898: 8th Infantry.
April, 1898 to Sept. 1898: Detachment, 8th Infantry.
Sept., 1898 to June, 1899: 24th Infantry.
June, 1899 to July, 1900: 1st Cavalry.
Aug., 1900 to Sept., 1901: 23rd Infantry.
September 29, 1901: 13th Field Artillery.
Oct. 22, 1901 to March, 1903: 18th Infantry.
Feb. 1, 1902 to July 21, 1902: 14th Cavalry.
Aug. 18, 1902 to March, 1904: 10th Cavalry.
June 17, 1903 to Aug. 31, 1904: 2nd Infantry.
Mar. 24, 1904 to Oct. 1906: 11th Infantry.
Jan. 11, 1905 to Feb. 1, 1906: 8th and 13th Field Artillery.
May 21, 1906: 12th and 19th Field Artillery.
Oct. 5, 1906 to Mar. 1, 1907: 10th Cavalry.
May 20, 1907 to May 12, 1908: 8th Cavalry.
June 27, 1907 to June 1, 1910: 2nd Field Artillery.
Nov. 21, 1908 to Feb. 26, 1913: 4th Field Artillery.
Mar. 9, 1909 to Feb. 26, 1913: 11th Infantry.
June 18, 1911 to Sept. 8, 1912: 9th Cavalry.
May 2, 1913 to Mar. 22, 1916: 12th Cavalry.
Feb. 6, 1916 to Mar. 22, 1916: 24th Infantry.
May, 1917: 1st Cavalry.
October, 1917: 24th Cavalry, 25th Cavalry.
December, 1917: 83rd Field Artillery.
April, 1918: 315th Cavalry.
May, 1918: 312th Cavalry.
August, 1918: 60th, 61st, 71st, 72nd Field Artillery.
September, 1918: 23rd Battalion U. S. G.
December, 1918: 21st Infantry.
December, 1918 to July 28, 1919: 21st Infantry.
June 28, 1919 to October 21, 1921: 15th Cavalry.
October 21, 1921: 15th Cavalry transferred to 13th Cavalry.
Oct. 21, 1921 to June 16, 1927: 13th Cavalry.
June 28, 1922 to 1941: 76th Field Artillery.
Oct. 23, 1924 to June 16, 1927: 4th Cavalry.
June 28, 1927 to March, 1941: 1st Infantry.
June 28, 1927 to March, 1941: 20th Infantry.

From August 1909 until February 1913, Fort Russell enjoyed real years of peace. The garrison strength varied hardly at all, remaining for the most part between 2600 to 2700 officers and men. After the troop movements to the Mexican border in February 1913, the garrison strength dropped to about 300 officers and men. Upon the departure of the 24th Infantry and 12th Cavalry to the border in March 1916, Captain Samuel A. Smoke, Q.M. Corps was in charge of the post. After the declaration of war April 6, 1917, line officers were again present and in command. The preceding list of organizations is as complete as can be determined from the sources available.

Fort Russell was a post for demobilization after World War I. The first casualties arrived in March and continued throughout the summer. These figures taken from the Morning Reports of 1919 are interesting:

March 31, 1919: Casuals at Post—385.

June 2, 1919: Casuals at Post—1044.

June 22, 1919: Casuals at Post—1377.

July, 1919: Casuals at Post—805.

Sept. 30, 1919: Casuals at Post—37.

CHRONOLOGY

This list contains dates of events significant to Fort Francis E. Warren (Fort D. A. Russell). Other historical data included are: dates of establishment and later abandonment of surrounding military posts; local events of importance to both the military reservation and to Cheyenne; weather data; army reorganization acts.

- 1834: Fort Laramie on the North Platte River, 90 miles north of Fort Russell, established first as Fort William, later called Fort John; the first permanent fur trading post in Wyoming. Purchased by the United States from Pierre Choteau in 1849 for a military post. Abandoned 1890. Remaining buildings on 220 acres, now a national monument.
- 1853: Railroad surveys conducted by the topographical engineers.
- 1858: Gold discovered in Colorado. These early settlements were later important to Fort Russell.
- 1862: July 1. Railroad Act passed by Congress. By authority of this act the Union Pacific Railroad Company came into ownership of the right-of-way of the old Camp Carlin Siding on the reservation, now jointly owned by the Union Pacific, and Colorado and Southern Railroads.
- 1863: Construction of Union Pacific begun.
- 1864: Fort Collins established on Cache LaPoudre River, 50 miles south of Fort Russell, to guard the Overland Trail. Abandoned, 1871. Fort Sedgwick, near Julesburg, Colorado, established to guard the Overland Trail following the South Platte River, about 117 miles to the east of Fort Russell. Abandoned, 1884.
- 1865: Sherman Pass discovered by General Grenville M. Dodge.
- 1866: Fort Sanders established near the present site of Laramie, to guard the Overland Trail. Abandoned, 1884. March. Army Reorganization Act, following the Civil War.

- 1867: July 4. Selection of the site of Cheyenne by General Dodge, chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. Selection of site of Fort D. A. Russell by General C. C. Augur, Commanding Department of the Platte. August, September; construction begun at Camp Carlin (Cheyenne Depot) and Fort Russell proper on the reservation.
September 8. Fort D. A. Russell formally named.
November. Barracks completed and occupied.
November 13. First train on the Union Pacific reaches Cheyenne.
- 1868: February. Officers' quarters at Fort Russell completed and occupied. Peace treaty with Sioux signed at Fort Laramie, July 25. Organic Act for organization of the Territory of Wyoming approved by Congress.
- 1869: May 10. Completion of the transcontinental railroad and the Gold Spike Ceremony near Promontory, Utah. The Department of Interior survey of the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation.
May 19. Completion of organization of territorial government of Wyoming by Governor John Campbell.
- 1870: June 25. Completion of Denver and Pacific Railroad. Denver's first railroad service.
Population U. S. Census, Wyoming, 9,118; Cheyenne, 1,450; Fort D. A. Russell, 828; native, 449; foreign, 379. Disastrous fire in Cheyenne, property destruction valued at \$250,000. Fire at Camp Carlin (Cheyenne Depot) with partial destruction of \$200,000 worth of hay. First diversion ditch from Crow Creek constructed.
- 1872: Purchase of the first diversion ditch by the City of Cheyenne. Fort Russell "acquired" the ditch and used it until 1883.
- 1874: Strength of the United States Army fixed by law at 25,000 officers and men. However, this did not affect the garrison at Fort Russell. Reconnaissance of General George Custer in the Black Hills of Dakota. Discovery of gold confirmed.
- 1875: The year without a summer.
January 4. Destructive fire at Fort Russell. Six sets of officers' quarters were burned to the ground and other quartermaster property. One life was lost.
January 9. Low temperature, -38°, (lowest temperature recorded at Cheyenne to date, 1942).
- 1876: February 7. War Department takes over Indian situation in northeastern Wyoming. The Sioux War of 1876 begins. The troops ordered into the field from Fort Fetterman under the command of Colonel J. J. Rey-

nolds. March 11. -3° zero. The mean temperature for the month was 27.7. This extreme weather caused delay in putting troops into the field at the beginning of the Sioux War, thus giving the Indians time to mobilize. May 19. Troops leave Fort Russell enroute to Fort Fetterman for service in the field under the command of General George Crook.

June 17. Battle of the Rosebud. Captain Guy V. Henry, 3rd Cavalry, wounded. Nine men killed.

Lieutenant Robinson, A. A., QM. Fort Fetterman informs Post QM. by telegram that invoices for grain would be forwarded on the 21st of June. Letters received Quartermaster's Department (1875-1886) P. 108. This is important. Telegraphic communication was possible with the northern post within five days of the Custer Massacre.

June 25. General Custer and his entire command wiped out on the Little Big Horn, Montana.

July 5. News of the Custer Massacre reached the outside world as published in the *Cheyenne Leader* of that date.

July 22. G. O. 65, Hqrs. of the army. Provides for construction of military post in northern Wyoming and the Yellowstone.

November 8. Troops stationed at Fort Russell return to their stations from the "Big Horn Expedition."

1877: March. Abrogation of certain parts of Sioux Treaty of 1868, opening northeastern Wyoming to white settlement.

1879: September. Meeker Massacre at Ute White River Agency, northwestern Colorado. September 29. Major Thornburg and his command ambushed within 15 miles of the agency; Major Thornburg killed.

October. Troops return to Fort Russell from the Milk River fight. The wounded were, insofar as can be determined, the only ones ever brought into the hospital of Fort Russell directly from a battlefield.

1880: Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 20,789; Cheyenne, 5,047.

1882: July 1. The first telephone installed between Cheyenne and the Post.

1883: Cheyenne installs electric lighting system (said to be the first city in the United States to install electric lighting system).

June 1. Cavalry withdrawn from Fort Russell for the first time since the establishment of the Post.

February 3. Temperature, -37° .

- 1884: War Department selects Fort D. A. Russell as a permanent military post.
December 2. First water agreement between the city of Cheyenne and the War Department. This agreement involved the reservation rights of the waters of Crow Creek. First water system at Fort Russell.
- 1885: Fort D. A. Russell is rebuilt with permanent brick buildings, twenty-seven new buildings in all.
Camp Pilot Butte is established as a sub-post of Fort Russell after the Chinese riot at Rock Springs. Abandoned, 1898.
- 1886: August 20. Easement by the War Department granting a right-of-way across the reservation to the Cheyenne and Northern Railway Company.
August 27. Revocable license to Laramie County Commissioners to enter the reservation and maintain the "Happy Jack" road and to permit travel upon it. This road remains unchanged (1945).
- 1888: August 4. Revocable lease to Laramie County to construct a county road along the east side of the reservation. This road is today Hynds Boulevard. There is a slight discrepancy in the boundary surveys of the city, the county, and the reservation.
- 1889: Revocable lease for a street railway line. Constructed in 1908. Abandoned in 1925.
- 1890: May 31. Final dismantling of Cheyenne Depot (Camp Carlin) "Telephone removed as it will no longer be needed."
December 17. Troops ordered into the field against the Sioux at the Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota. Construction of first sewer system. Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 60,705; Cheyenne, 11,690.
July 10. Wyoming enters the Union as the 44th state. Water system for domestic supply of the garrison completed. Cost, about \$50,000.
- 1891: Hospital Training Corps established at Fort Russell.
- 1893: January. Post Exchange established replacing Sutler's Store.
- 1894: May. Troops sent against Coxey's Army, Green River, Wyoming. Colonel Poland enforces the water contract of 1884.
- 1895: July. Troops leave for the field in the Teton Pass Country against the Bannocks. The last Indian Scout from Fort Russell.
- 1897: September. The garrison of Fort Russell took active part in the first Frontier Days celebration in Cheyenne.

- 1898: April. Declaration of war against Spain. The 8th Infantry leaves Fort Russell for service in Cuba.
May 23. The loss of 160 acres, present site of Cheyenne Country Club, to the State of Wyoming.
September. Detachments of 24th Infantry (colored) who gave heroic service in the yellow fever epidemic at Siboney, Cuba; stationed at Fort Russell.
- 1899: June. Cavalry troops again stationed at Fort Russell, the first in sixteen years.
- 1900: Crow Creek Forest Reserve proclaimed by President McKinley. This reserve later became the target and maneuver range.
August 8. Garrison strength aggregate 37, officers and men. The lowest garrison strength on record.
Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 92,531; Cheyenne, 14,087.
- 1901: February 2. Reorganization Act following Spanish American War.
September 29. Artillery is stationed at Fort Russell, for the first time. Maximum strength of the U. S. armed forces 60,000 officers and men.
- 1903: March 25. The second water contract with Cheyenne involving irrigation water only.
- 1904: May 20: Crow Creek rose fifteen feet above its normal level and caused some property damage on the reservation. The damage in Cheyenne was much greater and for the services of the troops in the emergency, Cheyenne voted a reward of \$500 for the men of the garrison. Total precipitation for May, 6.66 inches, maximum for month in 71 years.
Granite Springs Reservoir built. A series of artesian wells are drilled in Crow Creek bottoms—still flowing, 1942.
Two sets of artillery barracks and two artillery stables are built. The barracks are the first two story barracks to be built upon the reservation and the stables are the first to be built up out of the creek bottoms. A boundary survey of the reservation is made.
Crow Creek Forest Reserve is designated as Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range.
- 1905: The year of the big snow, 110.9 inches; 46.5 inches falling in April. Highest annual precipitation recorded, 22.68 inches. Photographs are made a part of the Quartermaster's record.
- 1906: Fort Russell recommended for expansion to a brigade post by Wm. H. Taft, Secretary of War.

- 1907: Expansion of Post begun by construction of cavalry barracks, additional artillery barracks, brick stables and Cavalry Drill Hall, as well as new officers' quarters and non-commissioned officers' quarters. The building program was completed about 1910.
- 1908: City contract No. 5. The agreement entered into by the City of Cheyenne and the War Department for the joint water supply of the City and the Post. The War Department contributed \$400,000 as its share of the expenses.
- 1909: First land acquisition for extension of rifle range. First sewer contract with the City of Cheyenne.
- 1910: Underground telephone cable laid on reservation. Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 145,865; Cheyenne, 11,320.
Boundary survey. The last survey until 1926. August, 71 year low, temperature for month, 25°. Crop damage from freezing, enormous.
- 1911: Construction of Round Top Reservation.
- 1912: Land acquisitions by purchase in Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range.
- 1913: Presidential Proclamation withdrawing certain public lands in the Crow Creek water shed for the protection of the water supply of Fort Russell. These withdrawals cover a period of years and the total acreage is about 7,648 acres. Ownership later confirmed by Executive Orders (1931).
February. Troops leave Fort Russell for Mexican border.
- 1913-16: Garrison strength averages about 350 officers and men.
- 1917: April 16. Declaration of World War I. Cavalry and Field Artillery organizations are activated at Fort Russell.
- 1918: November 11. Armistice of World War I.
- 1919: Fort Russell made a demobilization post. Demobilization continues throughout the year.
The Signal Service installs the first wireless station.
- 1920: June 4. Reorganization Act following World War I. Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 194,402; Cheyenne, 13,829.
- 1920-30: Period of remarkable weather. Temperatures on ten year average, 4° below the mean. Precipitation, ten year average, 17.57 inches; 2.89 inches above average. This meant prosperity in surrounding country and ample water for city and post.
- 1922: June 22. 76th Field Artillery, less 2nd Battalion, takes station at Fort Russell.

- 1924: February. The second agreement with the City of Cheyenne concerning the right for sewer lines through the city.
- 1925: June 5. Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range is made a part of the Pole Mountain District of the Medicine Bow National Forest to be jointly administered by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of War.
- 1927: June. The 4th and 13th Cavalry leave Fort Russell, the last Cavalry organization to be stationed here. The 1st and 20th Infantry take station.
- 1928: Boundary survey of Reservation.
Camp for R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C. is built.
- 1929: Topographical survey of the reservation is made.
G. O. No. 20, War Department, name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren.
- 1930: Department of Commerce constructs and operates a radio station on the Reservation.
An aerial survey of the Reservation is made.
Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 225,565; Cheyenne, 17,361.
- 1931: July 6. G. O. No. 5, War Department, Final Executive Order concerning withdrawn lands in Crow Creek water shed.
- 1933: January. Highest wind velocity, 65 miles per hour. The year of wind.
- 1934: July. Highest mean temperature for month, 72.7.
- 1939: Lowest rainfall in 50 years, 9.84 inches.
September 8. Period of national emergency declared by President.
- 1940: Population, U. S. Census, Wyoming, 240,742; Cheyenne, 22,474.
September 16. Selective Service and Training Act, 54 Stat. 897.
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SACAJAWEA BIBLIOGRAPHY

A splendid Sacajawea Bibliography by Inez Babb Taylor, Assistant Historian for the State of Wyoming from 1939-1941, has been donated to the State Historical Department. We take occasion to mention this work as it is and will be of great assistance to students of Wyoming History.

Mrs. Taylor is also the author of a very fine article "Sacajawea," published in the *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 3, July 1941. Through an oversight her name as author was omitted.

Documents and Letters

Wyoming Statehood Stamp*

By George C. Hahn, A. P. S.



Approved Design.

The History of Wyoming

“In the far and mighty West,
Where the crimson sun seeks rest,
There’s a growing splendid state
That lies above
On the breast of this great land;
Where the massive Rockies stand
There’s Wyoming young and strong,
The State I love!”
(Wyoming State Song)

*The American Philatelist, Vol. 58, No. 9, June, 1945.

Wyoming, known as the "Equality State" by reason of having been the first to grant the same suffrage rights to women as those accorded to men, abounds in enchanting traditions and folklore of the West. The State truly embodies the gallant, intrepid spirit of its pioneers and its many outstanding scenic attractions make Wyoming an integral part of the magnificent, historic, and romantic West.

The musical name "Wyoming" probably is an imprint left by immigrants on their westward trek from Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. The word means "Mountains and Valley alternating." It is a corruption of the word "Maugh-wau-wa-ma" of the Delaware Indians, meaning "The large Plains."

The name "Wyoming" probably first was used by J. M. Ashley of Ohio, who as early as 1865 introduced into Congress a Bill to provide a temporary government "for the Territory of Wyoming." This territory was to be formed from portions of Dakota, Utah, and Idaho Territories. Credit for popularizing the name "Wyoming" is given by Historian Coutant to Leigh Richmond Freeman, publisher of a newspaper, "The Pioneer Index," at Fort Kearny. His numerous articles advocating the name of Wyoming undoubtedly had their effect on the people of the country and on those who afterward inserted this name in the Bill for creating the Wyoming Territory.

Five different countries flew their flags over parts of Wyoming before the Territory of Wyoming was created. In addition to Spain—France, Great Britain, Mexico, and the Republic of Texas claimed parts of what now is the State of Wyoming.

John Colter, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, was the first white man of record to have entered, in 1807, Wyoming. Undoubtedly other explorers entered the country before Colter but the records are vague and not definite regarding the earlier phases of the explorations of Wyoming. On his journey Colter entered the Yellowstone country and opened an era of exploration and fur trapping. Four years later, an expedition under Wilson Price Hunt of the Pacific Fur Company, and a partner of John Jacob Astor, crossed Wyoming westward in search of a land route from the Missouri River to the Oregon Territory.

In the years following this expedition many trappers, explorers, and adventurous pioneers led an ever-increasing number of men into the territory. Among them was General William H. Ashley, the institutor of the rendezvous system of fur trading. The rendezvous was a colorful gathering of Indians, traders, and fur companies' employees for the purpose of meeting the pack trains of the companies and exchanging the furs for their next year's supplies.

The most celebrated expedition into the Wyoming territory was that of Captain Benjamin L. E. de Bonneville in 1832,

who established on August 19th of the same year Fort Bonneville. The story of the expedition was immortalized by Washington Irving in his "Adventures of Captain Bonneville."

The first trading post, known as the "Portuguese Houses," was established in 1828 by Antonio Mateo on the middle fork of the Powder River in north central Wyoming. In 1834 Fort Laramie was built by traders and named after Jacques La Ramee, one of the early trappers. Fort Laramie remained an important trading post until 1849, when the United States purchased it for use as a military post for the protection of the increasing number of emigrants.

The fur era was succeeded by the emigration period, which had its beginning in 1842. Hundreds of thousands of emigrants indelibly marked Wyoming as they toiled westward bound for the Oregon country, the Mormon colonies in the Great Salt Lake valley, and the California gold fields. Additional forts were established and the government supply freighters for these forts soon began to intermingle with emigrant trains. A stage line was started in 1851 and the early 1860's brought the Pony Express and the telegraph across central Wyoming.

In 1862 Indian warfare swept the region and came to a climax in 1866, the year known as "the bloody year on the plains," when Colonel William Judd Fetterman and eighty men were killed by the Indians at Fort Kearny. The Indian wars continued with many skirmishes engaging soldiers detailed to protect the stage stations, emigrant and freight trains, and the pioneers. A treaty of peace was concluded in 1868 with Red Cloud, Chief of the Sioux tribes, however, it was not until 1874 before the final battle with the Indians took place at Bates Hole.

The Union Pacific Railroad commenced building its tracks across the State, rapidly pushing forward and entering Cheyenne on November 13, 1867. To protect and govern the new settlements along the railway, the Territory of Wyoming came into existence by an Act of Congress on July 28, 1868. Territorial officials however were not appointed until the following year, when on May 19, 1869, the territorial government formally was inaugurated. On September 2nd of that year the first territorial election was held and the first territorial legislature convened in Cheyenne on October 12.

The first outstanding act of the territorial lawmakers was the granting of suffrage to women. Governor J. A. Campbell, on December 10, 1869, signed the "Female Suffrage" Bill, which was promoted by Esther Morris, who was known as the "Mother of Woman Suffrage" in Wyoming, and who also was the first woman Justice of the Peace. This Act of the Legislature resulted, for the first time in the history of the United

States—and perhaps of the world—in the granting to women equal political rights with men.

The decades between 1870 and 1890 were occupied by the further settlement of Wyoming. Due to the excellent feeding conditions, more than a million cattle poured into Wyoming over the Texas trail, starting the livestock industry, one of Wyoming's major industries. Wyoming, however, is not an agricultural state alone for it possesses important mineral resources such as coal, petroleum, and phosphates.

Twenty-one years after the inauguration of the Territory of Wyoming, the Territory became the forty-fourth state of the Union, having been admitted to statehood on July 10, 1890, by the signature of President Benjamin Harrison. To commemorate this historic milestone in the history of Wyoming and in the history of our country, the Post Office Department issued the Wyoming Statehood commemorative postage stamp.

Announcing the Wyoming Statehood Stamp

The Post Office Department set a precedent, when issuing in 1939 a commemorative postage stamp in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of admission to the Union of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. This was followed a year later by the Idaho Statehood stamp. Consequently it was not surprising that the Post Office Department was urged to issue a commemorative stamp in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Wyoming to the Union.

The Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs particularly was active in requesting the issuance of such a stamp and urged the State Congressional Delegation to place the matter before the officials of the Post Office Department. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, a former First Assistant Postmaster General, transmitted in a letter to Postmaster General James A. Farley on January 27, 1939, the desire of the citizens of Wyoming to have a stamp issued to commemorate the golden anniversary of the State.

In the past, with the exception of the two issues mentioned above, a state had to be at least a century old before it is honored with a stamp. According to the *Washington Post*, however, it was argued before the officials that "Wyoming, out in the Golden West, took the attitude that what other states could do in 100 years it had done in fifty."

Postmaster General James A. Farley announced on April 24, 1940, for release in morning papers. Thursday, April 25, 1940, that "A special commemorative postage stamp will be issued by the Post Office Department on July 10, 1940, in connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary of the admission to statehood of the State of Wyoming."

Following this news release, Ramsey S. Black, Third Assistant Postmaster General, issued the following notice, which appeared in the *Postal Bulletin* of May 28, 1940:

**“FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF STATEHOOD OF
WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE STAMP**

*Third Assistant Postmaster General,
Washington, May 24, 1940*

Postmaster and employees of the Postal Service are hereby notified of the issuance of a special postage stamp in the 3-cent denomination in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Wyoming to statehood. The stamp will be first placed on sale at the Cheyenne, Wyo., post office on July 10, 1940. It will be available at other post offices as soon after the date as stocks can be printed and distributed.

The new stamp is 84/100 by 1 44/100 inches in dimensions, arranged vertically. It is printed in purple by the rotary process and issued in sheets of 50.

The central design is a reproduction of the State Seal of Wyoming, extending the full width of the stamp. In a curved panel with dark ground forming an arch above the central design is the wording “State of Wyoming 50th Anniversary” in white roman arranged in two lines. In a horizontal panel with dark ground at the top of the stamp is the inscription “U. S. Postage” in white roman. In a similar panel, at the lower edge of the stamp in white roman lettering, are the words “Three” at the left and “Cents” at the right, separated by a large circular panel with dark ground containing the numeral “3” in white. In the space between the lower panel and the central design are the words “1890” at the left and “1940” at the right in large white numerals.

Stamp collectors desiring first-day cancellations of the new stamp on July 10 may send a limited number of addressed covers, not in excess of 10, to the postmaster at Cheyenne, Wyo., with a cash or postal money order remittance to cover only the cost of the stamps required for affixing. Postage stamps will positively not be accepted in payment. At first-day sales in the past, many covers have been undelivered because the sender has failed to properly address the same. Each cover must be addressed and should bear a pencil endorsement in the upper right corner to show the number of stamps to be attached thereto. It is also necessary to allow sufficient space to affix the stamps and the postmark. Envelopes should not be smaller than 3 by 6 inches. The use of large and irregularly shaped envelopes should be avoided. All cover envelopes should either be sealed or sent with the flaps turned in. Better cancellations will be provided if the envelopes contain medium-weight enclosures.

Requests for uncanceled stamps must not be included with orders for first-day covers to the postmaster at the above office.

For the benefit of collectors desiring stamps of selected quality for philatelic use, the new stamp will also be placed on sale at the Philatelic Agency on July 11, 1940. To insure prompt shipment, mail orders to the Agency must exclude other varieties of stamps.

Postmasters at Direct- and central-accounting post offices may submit requisition on Form 3201-A, endorsed "Wyoming Statehood," for a limited supply only of the new stamp. All such requisitions should reach the Department not later than June 15 if shipment on the first order is desired. Postmasters at district accounting post offices may obtain small quantities of the new postage stamp by requisition on the central-accounting postmasters.

Postmasters receiving advance shipments of the new stamp are hereby cautioned not to allow any of the stamps to be sold before July 11.

RAMSEY S. BLACK,
Third Assistant Postmaster General."

The Design

When Senator O'Mahoney urged the issuance of a commemorative stamp in honor of Wyoming's golden anniversary of statehood, he also suggested the use of the Great Seal of the State of Wyoming as the central design. This suggestion met with the approval of the Post Office Department and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was instructed to prepare a model of the stamp.

Alvin R. Meissner, an artist of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, designed this model and the same was submitted on January 17, 1940, to Postmaster General James A. Farley, who approved it on February 1, 1940.

The Great Seal of the State of Wyoming was adopted in its present design by the second State Legislature and approved on January 10, 1893. This Act was amended by the sixteenth Legislature and approved on February 15, 1921. By this amendment the width of the Seal was reduced from two and one-quarter inches to one and one-half inches.

The significance of many features of the seal is readily apparent. In the center of the design stands the draped figure of a woman, a reproduction of the "Victory of Louvre" statue. From her left wrist hang links of broken chain, and in her right hand is held a staff, from the top of which floats a banner with the words, "Equal Rights." The broken links of chain and the banner suggest the political status women always have

known in Wyoming and is symbolic of their political equality. The lighted lamp on each pillar signifies the light of knowledge.

Standing at the right of the statue is the figure of a man with a broad brimmed hat holding a lariat. This figure represents the livestock and grazing industry of the State. To the left of the statue stands the figure of a miner with pick in hand, symbolic of the State's mining industry. Inscribed on the pillars at each side of the statue are the words "Live Stock," "Grain," "Mines," "Oil," representing the State's chief industries.

On the pedestal, on which the statue is standing, the number "XLIV" is inscribed together with a star on a shield, emblazoned with vertical stripes, on which an eagle is resting. This heraldic design signified the fact that Wyoming was the forty-fourth state to be admitted to the Union.

The two dates on the bottom of the Seal, "1869-1890," respectively commemorate the organization of the Territorial government and Wyoming's admission into the Union.

The Printing of the Wyoming Statehood Stamp

The order for the printing of the Wyoming Commemorative postage stamp was placed with the Bureau of Engraving and Printing by the Post Office Department on March 23, 1940, and a quantity of 48 million of the stamps was ordered. The Die Proof was approved by Postmaster General James A. Farley on April 17, 1940.

The vignette of the stamp was engraved by Charles A. Brooks and the lettering, frame, and numerals were engraved by Edward H. Helmuth, both artists of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Plates 22583, 22584, 22585, and 22586 were assigned for the engraving of the Wyoming Statehood stamp in March 1940. The first two plates were sent first to press on May 3, 1940, and plates 22585 and 22586 went to press on May 6, 1940.

The plates were 200-subject electric eye convertible type plates, divided into post office panes of fifty stamps each, arranged in ten horizontal rows and five vertical rows of stamps. The stamps were printed on the rotary presses on regular unwatermarked stamp paper and perforated 10½x11.

The official announcement covering this stamp described the color as purple, with which description few will agree. Scott's *United States Stamp Catalogue* lists the color as brown violet, which approximates the color of the stamp more closely than the Post Office Department's official color description. No major shade varieties have been noted and as a matter of fact the shade seemed to remain quite constant.

The First Day of Sale

Cheyenne, the Capital of the State of Wyoming, was chosen as the First Day of Sale city and elaborate preparations for the efficient handling of the thousands of first day covers were made by the Post Office Department and Postmaster William G. Haas of Cheyenne.

According to the *Wyoming State Tribune* of July 9, 1940, "orders for 200,000 of the Wyoming 50th anniversary stamps have already been received from stamp collectors all over the world. The Cheyenne Post Office has 500,000 of the stamps. In observance of Wyoming's 50th anniversary, Postmaster Haas urged that Cheyenneites mail letters with the new stamps to all of their friends and relatives Wednesday, the first day of issue. 'We will have two special stamp windows open from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. The cancelling machines will be right at the windows so we will be prepared for a large volume,' said Haas." The first delivery of the new stamps was made on June 28, 1940, to the Post Office at Cheyenne and orders for the new stamps began arriving as early as June 18. Among orders for the new stamps to be affixed to covers have been those placed by President Roosevelt, Postmaster General James A. Farley, four assistant postmaster generals and many other government officials.

The first sheet of stamps sold on July 10, 1940, was purchased by U. S. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney from Postmaster William G. Haas. The Senator, after autographing the sheet, presented it to the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Lena P. Shawen, Secretary to the Superintendent, Division of Stamps, Post Office Department, Washington, D. C., was in charge of the first day sales arrangements, which were handled in a most efficient manner. Mrs. Shawen sold the second sheet of the new stamps to Miss Madelyn Seabright, President of the Wyoming organization of Business and Professional Women, and the third sheet was purchased by Miss Margaret B. Laughlin, Secretary of the Cheyenne Business and Professional Women's Club. W. D. Rhoades was the official canceller of the thousands of first day covers.

A large crowd of local collectors was at hand to watch the proceedings and the post office building was crowded all day with stamp collectors, some of whom had travelled quite some distance.

A total of 100,000 Wyoming Statehood stamps were sold at the Cheyenne Post Office between the time of opening and noon of July 10, 1940, according to Postmaster William G. Haas. The *Wyoming State Tribune* stated that "the sale of 50,000 stamps to J. E. Greer, Union Pacific freight agent, made

Wednesday morning, is the largest individual sale of stamps since the post office was established on October 5, 1869. Greer said the stamps will be distributed to thousands of Union Pacific offices throughout the United States and will be affixed to all Union Pacific mail."

A total of 325,982 stamps were sold on the first day of issue and 156,709 covers received the official "First Day of Issue" cancellation.

First Day covers received the usual "First Day of Issue" cancellation, consisting of the round machine town cancellation, reading: "CHEYENNE/JUL 10/ 9-AM/1940/WYO." with the two thin straight lines above and below the legend—"—FIRST DAY OF ISSUE—" to the right. A number of covers also received the usual hand stamp "First Day of Issue" cancellation.

First Day covers were issued for the commemorative stamp, under sponsorship of the women of Wyoming, led by Mrs. John L. Jordan, of Cheyenne, president of the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs. The cachets on these first day covers depicted the meadow-lark, the State bird, and the State flower, the Indian paint-brush, "gorgeous with the orange and scarlet of the Wyoming summer sunsets." There also were many other cachet designs, including the Golden Anniversary seal with the familiar bucking horse and cowboy.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, a member of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, remembered many of his friends with a first day cover. In a letter, enclosed in these covers, the Senator called attention that "the Wyoming Constitution is notable, not only because of the provision for woman suffrage, but also because it contains an eloquent and forceful declaration of those principles of human freedom upon which this Republic was founded and which seems today to be undergoing the supreme test."

Cheyenne, the First Day of Sale city, was founded in 1867 by a group of United States army officers and engineers of the Union Pacific Railroad. It was incorporated as a city two years later. From the very beginning, Cheyenne held a glamorous position in the development of the West. It quickly acquired a colorful reputation with which it possibly will always be associated. Its inhabitants are descendants of the hardy and fearless pioneers whose robust and courageous life made Cheyenne the bustling metropolis of today.

Varieties

The only varieties reported are contained in a listing made by John F. Lanka in the September 1940 issue of the *Bureau Specialist*, the official organ of the Bureau Issues Association. Lanka lists a thin line one half millimeter from and parallel to the center line on plate 22585, lower left, stamps 1, 10, 20, 30 and 40. This line extends across the entire left edge of the sheet. I shall be grateful to receive reports or references to any other varieties which may have been located.

Conclusion

The Wyoming Statehood Commemorative Postage stamp was withdrawn from sale at the Philatelic Agency in Washington, D. C., at the close of business of July 19, 1944, having been on sale a little over four years.

According to official records, the following quantities of the Wyoming Statehood stamp were printed:

Year ending June 30, 1940—	500,000 stamps
Year ending June 30, 1941—	48,147,500 stamps
Year ending June 30, 1942—	1,377,500 stamps
Year ending June 30, 1943—	9,400 stamps

Total—50,034,400 stamps

In addition to the above total there were issued 363 specimen stamps.

The Wyoming Statehood Commemorative postage stamp, unquestionably well designed and a "thing of beauty," was a popular stamp and a reminder to many citizens of Wyoming of that memorable night fifty years ago when Wyoming Territory celebrated her Statehood with fireworks and cannon shots all over the State from Evanston to Cheyenne. It also will be a reminder to future generations of the valiant men and women who founded the State. Senator O'Mahoney, in a special article written for the 50th anniversary edition of the *Wyoming Eagle*, appropriately stated that these men and women "were moved by the determination to set up a government in which each individual would be free, free to work, free to speak, free to pray." The devotion to the principles of liberty and freedom are not aroused alone by the people of Wyoming but also are in the hearts of every American, who, proud of his heritage, realizes that only by the preservation of these ideals free government can and will be preserved.

Wyoming Scrapbook

DEAD MAN'S TRAIL

One of the functions of the Wyoming State Historical Department is to record factually, for posterity, events and incidents of state or local interest.

I am setting forth the story of the tragedy responsible for the name "Dead Man's Trail" as told me by Mr. T. F. Carr.

Mr. Carr is now retired from active ranch operations and residing in Buffalo, Wyoming. For many years he had extensive land and live stock holdings in the proximity of "Dead Man's Trail."

Elmer Brock.

Mr. Carr relates as follows:

Dead Man's Trail is located about nine miles west of Kaycee and on the north side of the middle fork of Powder River. It branches off the present Kaycee-Barnum road near the Rinker ranch, running north a short distance, then west, turning back south to connect with the main road again near the Beaver Creek Falls. This roundabout route was used in early days to avoid two river crossings when the stream was too high to ford.

One day in the spring of 1886, probably about June, the *LX* roundup was camped at Beaver Creek Falls, this being a regular roundup campsite. In the evening there was some trouble over gambling followed by several fights. One of the combatants, known only as Pushroot Jim, had quite a reputation as a fighter and is alleged to have beaten up one Simon White, foreman of the *LX*. Jim was nighthawk for the *LX*.

The morning following the fight, White fired Jim. Jim had no horse or saddle and started out along the trail before the riders went on circle. The drive that day was from the Red Fork of Powder River country to the north of Beaver Creek Falls.

Before the men had scattered Simon White left the group, returning before the drive reached the roundup ground.

Charlie Devoe and wife, with a team and buckboard, were returning from a visit with H. W. (Hank) Devoe family at the C ranch. (Hank Devoe¹ at that time was foreman of the C ranch owned by Peters and Alston.) While traveling along what is now known as Dead Man's Trail they heard a shot. A

1. This is the same H. W. Devoe who was one of the 25 who signed the minutes of a meeting of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association February 23, 1874.

few minutes later, where the trail runs along a rim rock, they came upon the body of Pushroot Jim. He had been shot. It took the Devoes a day and a half to get to Buffalo and notify the authorities. By the time the Sheriff and Coroner reached the scene of the murder, the corpse was in such a state that it could not be moved. It was placed in a nearby depression and covered with pine boughs and a few rocks. This slight covering was soon weathered away and Jim's remains were exposed to the elements and prowling predators. Eight or nine years after the murder was committed George Curry, Hi Bennett, Bob Smith, possibly Tom O'Day, and four or five other members of the Hole-In-the-Wall gang, gathered up the remains and buried them at the foot of a scrub cedar tree at the scene of the crime. It is something of an indictment of the local authorities that they left a decent burial of an unnamed murdered man to a noted outlaw, alleged train robber and his associates.

Mr. Carr says that he did not come to this country until 1887, a year after the murder. At that time he rode the roundup with many of the men who were there at the time of the murder. He says it was the concensus of opinion that Simon White killed Jim when he left the other men the morning of the tragedy. Mr. Carr thinks Jim was unarmed and was shot only once.

Carr says he never heard of any attempt by the authorities to find out who committed the crime.

When questioned as to why the murdered man bore the name of Pushroot Jim, the only name we know for him, Mr. Carr said because he was from the Lander Country. He said the cowboys called all the men from the Lander Country, "Pushrooters," but he did not know why.²

The 1880's were adventurous times in this part of Wyoming. It was not at all uncommon for a man to find his last resting place an unnamed and unmarked grave. Time soon erases all memory of event or place.

In the case of Jim, some local history is involved. Before time erases this incident from memory, or what is often the case, exaggerates and distorts it out of all proportion, we hope you will record it for future generations.

2. Billy Johnson, a rancher from the Lander country, who was there in the 80's explains the name as follows:

Back in those early days of the open range, settlers came in and started farming on a small scale. They had little bunches of cattle, but they weren't brought up in the cow business because of the fact they were farmers and knew nothing of the ranch business. The Texans and Californians and old time cow punchers applied the name "pushrooters" to this class of people. He said they were a pretty good kind of people but their cattle got away and drifted in the winter, so they would try to rep with the outfits, but the cow punchers would cut their cattle for them because they could scarcely read their own brands.

SOME WYOMING EDITORS I HAVE KNOWN**W. E. CHAPLIN***

I came to Wyoming in 1873, locating in Laramie. After attending the public school for a brief period, necessity compelled me to seek employment. Having learned from one of the employees that the Laramie Daily Independent was in need of an apprentice, I made application for the position. The man who greeted me in the editorial and business office combined, was more than six feet tall, with powerful physique, and probably at that time, weighed 230 pounds. He looked me over in a searching way, asked me many questions about my parentage, my schooling, my previous occupation, etc., and told me I could go to work at once if I chose to do so.

The next morning, a bright day in January, 1874, found me at work as a printer's devil. Col. E. A. Slack, the editor and manager, was a man of all work. He edited the paper, frequently made it up, did a large portion of the job work, often took a turn at the hand press and was as busy as a newspaper man could be. His life was one of incessant toil, mentally and physically. The plant he had, consisted of a Washington hand press, a few fonts of advertising type, perhaps three hundred pounds of newspaper type, a job press, a scanty supply of job type and other job material. The entire outfit would sell today for less than 50% of the cost of one of the linotypes used in a modern printing house. Colonel E. A. Slack had previously conducted a daily newspaper in South Pass City, where he was burned out, his venture there being a financial loss. He conducted the Laramie Daily Independent until some time in 1875, when its name was changed to the Laramie Daily Sun and the firm was changed from Slack & Webster to Slack and Bramel. In 1876, some of the enterprising men of the state capitol made him an offer to move to Cheyenne. Their proposition was accepted and in March of that year he made the change, selling his lot and building to Hayford and Gates who were at that time conducting the Laramie Daily Sentinel. I was given the option of changing my residence to Cheyenne or entering the employment of Hayford and Gates. I chose the latter and remained at Laramie, working for Hayford and Gates and subsequently for Mr. C. W. Bramel on the Laramie Daily Chronicle, for a period of about six months. I then changed to Cheyenne and worked for Col. Slack for about two years. During my somewhat intimate acquaintance with him, covering a period of more than

*For biography of W. E. Chaplin, see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. II—No. 1—pp. 49-51.

thirty years, I had an excellent opportunity to learn his true character. He was a man of indomitable energy, tremendous will power, and high personal character. He believed in running a newspaper for a purpose and not for financial gain; at least he never made a dollar out of the business. This may seem strange, but it is a fact that he accumulated during the last six or seven years of his life, and entirely aside from his life business, all the property he left his family—a goodly inheritance. As a writer he used the sledge-hammer, pounding into shape such mental material as came to hand. When he got thoroughly interested in a subject he seemed to accumulate more and more of it from day to day until his adversaries were literally overwhelmed and driven from the field of action. To his help he was kind, sympathetic and agreeable, or exacting, domineering and exasperating, as the man or mood moved him. His advice to the young men in his employ was always for the best. He was a philosopher and it pleased him to talk to those who would listen to his wisdom. Frequently he devoted hours on a Sunday or a holiday in talking to me, and if he was not through at meal time he would insist upon taking me, a mere boy, to his house where I enjoyed the splendid dinner provided by Mrs. Slack, while he pursued the particular subject uppermost in his intensely active mind. He paid good wages, insisted upon good work and was a tremendous factor in keeping the newspaper business of Wyoming on a high plane. He was not a good business manager. In the early days of his newspaper life in the state he did not think of copying a letter, his books were kept in a haphazard, careless manner, and he never really knew whether he was making or losing money. It is not probable that a statement of his business was ever made. His editorial desk was confusion confounded. He was not methodical in any sense of the word, and yet he was able to accomplish a great deal. He preferred to reach things by approximation, going across lots rather than by the beaten path.

Dr. J. H. Hayford, of the Laramie Daily Sentinel, was the opposite to Col. Slack. He was not a practical printer, as was his competitor, yet I have known him to run the old Washington hand press, which his paper never outgrew. His writing was keen, forcible and went straight to the point. He had the power of condensation to an extraordinary degree. Judge Bramel used to say that Doc Hayford could sling more mud with a teaspoon than he could with a scoopshovel. He was a pioneer of the pioneers, coming to Wyoming from Colorado. *The Sentinel* was established in 1868, and was conducted continuously as a daily until January 1, 1879, when it was discontinued, the weekly being continued until about 1893. He had pronounced opinions upon all subjects and was free to express

his mind. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, took an advanced position upon temperance, and was exceedingly alive to all matters connected with the state and local government. He served as territorial auditor, postmaster, justice of the peace, and judge of the Second Judicial District. He was an anti-race suicide man both by practice and inclination. One day I happened to be in his office when a little blond girl came running in. He said to me, "That is my twenty-first child." He was married twice. Like Col. Slack, he made no money out of the printing business, merely a living; and died a poor man, but he left his impress upon Wyoming journalism and it was bettered by his having engaged in it.

In 1876, about the balmy month of May, there came to Laramie a tall, light complexioned individual by the name of Edgar Wilson Nye. He was loosely constructed, angular in form, and awkward in gait. His home had been in the state of Wisconsin, at the little town of Hudson. He bore a letter of introduction from a Wisconsin gentleman to Hon. N. L. Andrews, who introduced him about the city. He was of an amiable nature and soon acquired many friends. He obtained employment upon the *Daily Sentinel* at a salary of ten dollars a week, boarding at the home of the editor. His duties were to report the city news. At the same time he corresponded with several outside papers, among them the old *Denver Tribune*, which was edited by Mr. O. H. Rothacker, and in the city department of which was that great poet and humorist, Eugene Field. Field's attention was called to the quaint humor that ran through the correspondence from Laramie signed "Bill Nye." He sought his acquaintance and urged him to continue to build up in this line, that it was worth while. Nye prospered, married a talented and excellent woman and became one of the most noted writers of the west. His humor was readily accepted by such papers as the *Detroit Free Press*, *Puck*, and *Texas Siftings*. After the death of the *Daily Sentinel*, January 1, 1879, the Republicans of Albany County chafed under the fire of the *Laramie Daily Times*, conducted by Pease & Bramel, and decided to establish a daily Republican paper. A stock company was organized in the latter part of 1880 and Nye was selected as the editor and manager. The company was stocked for \$3,000; \$1,800 of the amount being spent for printing material and the remainder placed in the treasury for expenses while the paper was getting on a paying basis. The first issue of the *Boomerang* was in March 1881. It was successful from the beginning, if occupying the newspaper field can be counted as a success, but Nye was not a business man and troubles of a financial nature soon clouded the paper's career. In the first place, the mistake had been made of buying a handpress, which was soon out-grown. The next bad error was to rent quarters

over a foul-smelling livery barn. No one visited the office only through sheer necessity and the fumes from the barn carried illness to the employees above, Nye becoming a victim. Meanwhile his fame had assumed national proportions. Subscriptions for the weekly were coming in by the score and a power press was secured. His fame was so great that the *New York Sun*, a paper that never exchanged with any other paper, sent ten dollars for a year's subscription. Associated with Nye upon that paper were at least two of the best newspaper men the state ever produced—R. G. Head, the first city editor, and M. C. Barrow, the second city editor. In 1882 Dr. Hayford's term as postmaster of Laramie expired and Nye fought his reappointment. One day in the early autumn Nye received a telegram from Hon. Frank Hatton, first assistant postmaster general, to the effect that Hayford would not receive the appointment and asking him to make a recommendation. After consultation with the writer, Nye wired Hatton that he would like the place, it being agreed that Mr. C. W. Spalding, a Laramie pioneer and an excellent postoffice clerk, would be able to handle the postoffice, leaving Nye free to look after the editorial and business management of the Boomerang. Of course, this was not all Nye had to do. He was at the same time United States commissioner and justice of the peace. He was not a bookkeeper, nor in any sense methodical. All the books that were at that time kept in the office of the Boomerang was a red cash book in which all receipts were entered, and ledgers for subscriptions and general accounts. Methods were crude and exceedingly unsatisfactory. Practically all the money received from the various sources went into Nye's somewhat capacious pockets and it was an exceedingly difficult matter to get it out in a methodical and accurate manner. Nye's letter to Mr. Hatton, accepting the appointment as postmaster, was a choice bit of humor and as it is short I quote it in full, as follows:

“Office of Daily Boomerang

“*Laramie City, Wyoming, August 9, 1882.*

“*My Dear General*—I have received by telegraph the news of my nomination by the president and my confirmation by the senate, as postmaster at Laramie, and wish to extend my thanks for the same.

“I have ordered an entirely new set of books and post-office outfit, including new corrugated cuspidors for the lady clerks.

“I look upon the appointment, myself, as a great triumph of eternal truth over error and wrong. It is one of the epochs, I may say, in the nation's onward march toward political purity and perfection. I do not know when I have noticed any stride in the affairs of state which so thoroughly impressed me with its wisdom.

"Now that we are co-workers in the same department, I trust you will not feel shy or backward in consulting me at any time relative to matters concerning post office affairs. Be perfectly frank with me and feel perfectly free to just bring anything of that kind right to me. Do not feel reluctant because I may at times appear haughty and indifferent, cold or reserved. Perhaps you do not think I know the difference between a general delivery window and a three-em quad, but that is a mistake.

"My general information is far beyond my years.

"With profoundest regard and a hearty endorsement of the policy of the president and senate, whatever it may be,

"I remain sincerely yours,

BILL NYE, P. M.

"General Frank Hatton, Washington, D. C."

General Frank Hatton, as perhaps all of you know, was at one time one of the greatest American humorists, being connected with the Burlington, Iowa, *Hawkeye*, hence his friendship for Bill Nye.

Nye occupied the position of postmaster for about a year, when he was taken sick and left Wyoming never again to take up his residence in the state. His resignation was just as laughable as his letter of acceptance.

"Postoffice Divan, Laramie City, W. T.,

October 1, 1883.

"To the President of the United States:

"Sir—I beg leave at this time to officially tender my resignation as postmaster at this place, and in due form to deliver the great seal and the key to the front door of the office. The safe combination is set on the numbers 33, 66 and 99, though I do not remember at this moment which comes first or how many times you revolve the knob or which direction you should turn it in order to make it operate.

"There is some mining stock in my private drawer in the safe, which I have not yet removed. This stock you may have if you desire it. It is a luxury, but you may have it. I have decided to keep a horse instead of this mining stock. The horse may not be so pretty, but it will cost less to keep him.

"You will find the postal cards that have not been used under the distributing table, and the coal down in the cellar. If the stove draws too hard, close the damper in the pipe and shut the general delivery window.

"Looking over my stormy and eventful administration as postmaster here, I find abundant cause for thanksgiving. At the time I entered upon the duties of my office the department was not upon a paying basis. It was not even self-sustaining. Since that time, with the active co-operation of the chief execu-

tive and the heads of the departments, I have been able to make our postal system a paying one, and on top of that I am now able to reduce the tariff on the average-size letters from three cents to two. I might add that this is rather too, too, but I will not say anything that might seem undignified in an official resignation which is to become a matter of history.

"Through all the vicissitudes of a tempestuous term of office I have safely passed. I am able to turn over the office today in a highly improved condition, and to present a purified and renovated institution to my successor.

"Acting under the advice of General Hatton, a year ago, I removed the feather bed with which my predecessor, Deacon Hayford, had bolstered up his administration by stuffing the window, and substituted glass. Finding nothing in the book of instructions to postmasters which made the feather bed a part of my official duties, I filed it away in an obscure place and burned it in effigy, also in the gloaming. This act maddened my predecessor to such an extent that he then and there became a candidate for justice of the peace on the democratic ticket. The democratic party was able, however, with what aid it secured from the republicans, to plow the old man under to a great degree.

"It was not long after I had taken my official oath before an era of unexampled prosperity opened for the American people. The price of beef rose to a remarkable altitude, and other vegetables commanded a good figure and a ready market. We then began to make active preparations for the introduction of the strawberry-roan two-cent stamps and the black-and-tan postal note. One reform has crowded upon the heels of another until the country is today upon the foam-crested wave of a permanent prosperity.

"Mr. President, I cannot close this letter without thanking yourself and the heads of departments at Washington for your active, cheery and prompt co-operation in these matters. You can do as you see fit, of course, about incorporating this idea into your Thanksgiving proclamation, but rest assured it would not be ill-timed or inopportune. It is not alone a credit to myself. It reflects credit upon the administration also.

"I need not say that I herewith transmit my resignation with great sorrow and genuine regret. We have toiled on together month after month, asking for no reward except the innate consciousness of rectitude and the salary as fixed by law. Now we are to separate. Here the roads seem to fork, as it were, and you and I, and the cabinet, must leave each other at this point.

"You will find the key under the door-mat, and you had better turn the cat out at night when you close the office. If

she does not go readily you can make it clearer to her mind by throwing the cancelling stamp at her.

"If Deacon Hayford does not pay up his box-rent, you might as well put his mail in the general delivery, and when Bob Head gets drunk and insists on a letter from one of his wives every day in the week, you can salute him through the delivery window with an old Queen Anne tomahawk, which you will find near the Etruscan water-pail. This will not in any manner surprise either of these parties.

"Tears are unavailing. I once more become a private citizen, clothed only with the right to read such postal cards as may be addressed to me personally, and to curse the inefficiency of the postoffice department. I believe the voting class to be divided into two parties, viz.: Those who are in the postal service and those who are mad because they cannot receive a registered letter every fifteen minutes of each day, including Sunday.

"Mr. President, as an official of this government I now retire. My term of office would not expire until 1886. I must, therefore, beg pardon for my eccentricity in resigning. It will be best, perhaps, to keep the heart-breaking news from the ears of European powers until the dangers of a financial panic are fully past. Then hurl its broadcast with a sickening thud."

The advent of Merris C. Barrow (Bill Barlow) ante-dated the *Boomerang*. He was a postal clerk running into Laramie as early as 1878. He was city editor of the *Laramie Times* in the latter part of 1879 and 1880. The humorous style of Nye unquestionably had a tremendous effect upon his writing and yet his work was more like that of Brand or Hubbard. He evolved a vocabulary that was tremendous in its scope and very expressive. At times his English was a trifle difficult to follow, yet it was pleasing to thousands of American readers. From the *Times* he went to the *Boomerang* and thence to the *Rawlins Republican*. In 1886 he established Bill Barlow's Budget at Douglas and continued its publication until his death. *Sagebrush Philosophy*, the little magazine upon which he put so much of his time was a creation of later years. Its circulation leaped to national proportions. He was genial, optimistic and the life of a social gathering. He did everything he attempted with a great deal of ability.

There were other editors in the early days of Wyoming who had a great deal to do with the progress and prosperity of the state, but it is not my purpose to enter into extended notice of the living. When I first located in Cheyenne, Major Hermann Glafcke was the editor and proprietor of the *Daily Leader* and continued its publication for many years. Later John F. Carroll became the editor of that paper. Carroll was one of

the best and most versatile writers that ever graced a Wyoming editorial chair. In scoring an enemy his pen was as keen as a Damascus blade. He now occupies one of the seats of the mighty—the editorial chair in the office of the *Portland Oregonian*, the position so ably filled for thirty years by Harvey Scott, perhaps the greatest editorial writer of the Northwest. In the seventies there was another bright young newspaper man who worked in southeastern Wyoming. His name was James Barton Adams. His first work of importance was upon the *Laramie Daily Sun* in 1875. During the Black Hills excitement of 1876 he was in Cheyenne, working for the *Sun*. Later he worked in many metropolitan cities and finally located in the city of Denver, where he wrote the *Denver Post*-scripts for a number of years and where he now edits the *Rocky Mountain Elk*.

During the eighties, one William Lightfoot Visscher arrived in the territory of Wyoming. He came with a theatrical troop called the "Through Death Valley Company." They reached the valley in Wyoming and died. Visscher obtained employment on one of the Cheyenne papers and became a noted character in the territory. He was remarkable for two things. He had an insatiable appetite and an extremely large and homely nose. The nose was the color of a rose geranium. He was a prolific writer and had considerable literary ability.

Wyoming editors have not achieved much greatness in the financial world. Ira O. Middaugh of the *Wheatland World* changed to the banking business at Cody and was shot in cold blood by a bank robber. George W. Perry of the *Rawlins Republican* and *Sheridan Post* is the vice president of a national bank at Sheridan and is amassing a competence. One of Cheyenne's old newspaper boys, Robert Shingle, is at the head of a large banking institution in Honolulu and is one of the foremost men of the Hawaiian Islands.

Today the editorial fraternity of the state embraces many talented men, but none are widely known. They are men who are working earnestly and intelligently for the communities in which they live and for the state at large. For the most part, I believe they are sharing in the general prosperity of the state and the nation, something the early editors failed to do.

In this brief paper it is not my purpose to discuss the editors who are today doing business in the state. They must quit the business or pass beyond before their epitaphs are written by me.

Few Wyoming editors have attained national renown, and yet in proportion to the number engaged in the profession I believe that the state has contributed more than its share. Those who have attained prominence throughout the West and

the nation at large may be counted on the fingers of one hand—*John F. Carroll, Merris C. Barrow, James Barton Adams and Bill Nye.*

(Note: *E. A. Slack* issued the first number of the *Laramie Daily Independent*, December 26, 1871.

Edgar W. Nye became assistant editor of the *Sentinel* May 9, 1876.)

*For W. E. Chaplin's biography see *Annals of Wyoming*, 11; 1:49-50; 12: 3: 167, 169.

Note: This address was delivered by Mr. Chaplin April 21, 192-(?). Mr. Chaplin does not recall the year nor the occasion, but is certain it was before 1922 and delivered before the Young Men's Literary Club of Cheyenne.

Names Mentioned in SOME WYOMING EDITORS I HAVE KNOWN

		Approximate Dates
Adams, James Barton	Laramie Daily Sun	—1875
	The Sun, Cheyenne	—1876
	Denver Post	
	Rocky Mountain Elk, Denver	
Andrews, N. L.		
Barrow, M. C.	The Laramie Times	1879—1880
	The Boomerang, Laramie	1881—1884
	Wyoming Tribune, Rawlins	1884—1886
	Douglas Budget	1886—
Bramel, C. W.	Laramie Daily Sun	—1875
	Laramie Daily Chronicle	—1876
	Laramie Daily Times	1878—1881
Carroll, John F.	Daily Leader, Cheyenne	
	Portland Oregonian	
Chaplin, W. E.	Laramie Daily Independent	—1874
	Laramie Daily Sun	1875—1876
	Laramie Daily Sentinel	—1876
	Cheyenne Daily Sun	
	Laramie Daily Chronicle	—1877
	The Boomerang, Laramie	1881—1890
	The Republican, Laramie	1890—1920
Field, Eugene	Republican-Boomerang, Laramie	1920—
	Denver Tribune	
Gates, J. E.	The Cheyenne Leader	1867—1870
	The Laramie Sentinel	1870—1895
Glafcke, Major Herman	Daily Leader, Cheyenne	1872—
Hatton, General Frank	Assistant Postmaster Gen.	
Hayford, Dr. James H.	Rocky Mountain Star, Cheyenne	1867—1869
	The Laramie Sentinel	1869—1895
Head, R. G.	The Laramie Sentinel	
	The Boomerang, Laramie	1881—
Middaugh, Ira O.	Wheatland World	1894—
Nye, Edgar Wilson (Bill)	The Sentinel	1876—1879
	The Boomerang	1881—1883
Pease, L. D.	Laramie Daily Times	1878—1881
Perry, George W.	Rawlins Republican	
	Sheridan Post	
Rothacker, O. H.	Denver Tribune	
Slack, Edward Archibald	Laramie Daily Independent	1871—1875
	Laramie Daily Sun	1875—1876
	Cheyenne Daily Sun	1876—1895
	Cheyenne Daily Leader	1895—
Spalding, C. W.	Postoffice clerk	
Visscher, William L.	(Cheyenne paper)	
Webster, T. J.	Laramie Daily Independent	1871—1875

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

May 2 to October 16, 1945

Casemen, Dan D., Manhattan, Kansas; donor of four letters dated 1867, to Gen. John S. Casement.

Peterson, Ivan A., Wheatland, Wyo.; donor of one Civil War gun with one powder horn; Indian arcraft—in three picture frames; five boxes of miscellaneous Indian arcraft; three staples for oxen yokes; one picket pin to picket horses and cattle; one anklet for Oregon boots to chain prisoners; one sun dial; one chain guide for oxen train.

Schaedel, Mrs. John, 609 E. 27th St., Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one photograph (3½" x 4½") of her father, Ernest A. Logan.

McCreery, Mrs. Alice Richards, 550 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California; donor of W. A. Richards' diary, 1873; one pamphlet on the Lewis & Clark Expedition; one pamphlet—Big Horn Expedition; clippings on Wyoming birds.

Spring, Mrs. A. T., 1314 Elizabeth St., Denver, Colorado; donor of two photographs of Miss Alice M. Hebard, and a copy of address delivered at the dedication of the Alice Marvin Hebard plaque in the Johnson School, Sept. 30, 1937.

Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association; the Association's collection, donated through Mr. Russell Thorp, Secretary of the Association. It will be listed in the next number of the Annals.

Bon, Mrs. Kendall, 214 E. 17th St., Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one framed picture of Cheyenne, 1882; one framed picture of Cheyenne, 1869.

Talbot, Fred R., 2609 Bent Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one rifle, one saber, and one framed picture of Cheyenne, 1900.

Mallin, Charles F., Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one picture of the members of the tournament team of the Alert Hose Co., 1905 (Fire Dept.); the "harness" worn by the members of the tournament team sent by the Cheyenne Volunteer Fire Dept. to Fort Collins, 1905; and one pair of running shoes worn by one of the runners.

Swan, Henry, U. S. National Bank, Denver, Colorado; donor of a pigskin purse which belonged to Louise Swan Van Tassel.

Books—Purchased

Coues, Elliott, *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, New York, Francis P. Harper, 1893. Four volumes. Price, \$50.00.

Dobie, Frank, *The Longhorns*, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston. Price \$10.00.

Burpee, Lawrence J., *The Search for the Western Sea*, The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, 1935. Two volumes, new and revised editions. Price, \$9.50.

The American Guidebook. Published by the Help-One-Another Club, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Price, \$1.00.

Young, Ann Eliza, (the 19th Wife of Brigham Young), *Life in Mormon Bondage.* Limited Edition. Philadelphia Aldine Press, Inc., Boston and London. Purchased from Jane R. Kendall. Price, \$5.00.

Gifts

Mattes, Merrill, *Fur Traders and Trappers of the Old West.* Pamphlet. Donated by Mr. Mattes.

Bowles, Samuel, *Our New West*, Hartford Publishing Co., Hartford, Conn., 1869. Donated by Arthur Calverley, Charleston, South Carolina.

Story of the Wild West and Camp Fire Chats By Buffalo Bill. Donated by Arthur Calverley, Charleston, South Carolina.

Miscellaneous Purchases

Canadian Geographical Journal, Canadian Geographical Society, Montreal. Vol. VI, No. 4, (April, 1933). Cost, \$1.00.

Four group pictures of Indian Peace Commission and Indian Chiefs—at Fort Laramie, 1867 and 1868. Bureau of American Ethnology. Cost, \$1.15 for four prints.

Eight photographs of the Stock Growers Collection in the State Museum. E. W. Blew, Cheyenne Photographer. \$24.50.

Two photostats of general plans of Fort D. A. Russell, 1870 and 1875, (Fort Francis E. Warren) Mrs. J. R. Kendall. Cost, \$.80 each.

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Fort Laramie Abandoned. Photograph taken about 1910. Sandercock ranch in foreground. Next to the river are ruins of the Administration Building, and the Old Guardhouse, with corral for livestock. Other major buildings, left to right, are various officers quarters including two-story Old Bedlam, the sutler's store, the hospital, cavalry barracks, noncommissioned officers quarters, new guardhouse, commissary and bakery.

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The Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie, showing the original adobe section started in 1849 and the stone section (with plaster remaining) constructed about 1852.

The Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie

by

MERRILL J. MATTES

Historian for Fort Laramie National Monument

I

From 1849 to 1890, Fort Laramie grew from an obsolete adobe trading post, bought from the fur traders, to a huge sprawling cantonment. Buildings mushroomed, tottered and fell, and new ones were erected on their ruins. Today most of the structures which once graced the old parade ground and its environs have disappeared, ravaged by time and the heedless hand of man. Only twenty structures survive, and half of these are mere shells. Only three date back to the middle of the nineteenth century, and thus witnessed the entire military period. One of these is the sutler's store.

The sutler's store at old Fort Laramie is not valued for its aesthetic or its architectural qualities. It is a squat, squalid, hybrid and rheumatic old structure; but it has an aura of venerable antiquity which proclaims it to be a shrine of Western American history, worthy of kinship with such other notable survivors as the California Missions and the Alamo. Nothing spectacular occurred here. No heathens were converted, no battles were fought against overwhelming odds, nor were there any famous births or deaths. Yet the sutler's store is unique. Here the harsh, heroic, kaleidiscopic life of the frontier came into sharp focus. For over forty exciting years it was a favorite rendezvous for the restless folk who followed the Oregon-California Trail, or who loosely inhabited the Central Plains—soldiers, Indians, traders, travelers, emigrants, bull-whackers, Pony Express riders, stage-drivers, cowboys and ranchers. From these countless thousands can be gleaned an imposing roll-call of immortals, including Kit Carson, Jim Bridger, Nick Janis, Buffalo Bill, Jack Slade, Brigham Young, Horace Greeley, Gen. William S. Harney, Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Gen. P. E. Connor, Gen. W. T. Sherman, Red Cloud, Roman Nose, Spotted Tail and Falling Leaf. To all these the sutler at Fort Laramie was host.

According to Webster's *New International Dictionary*, the term "sutler" is derived from the Dutch verb "soetelen" and the German "sudeln," meaning "to undertake low offices, to do dirty work, etc." In modern usage a sutler is "one who follows an army and sells to the troops provisions, liquors, and the like."

The heyday of the sutler was the climatic period of Indian warfare on the Western Plains, from 1849 to 1876. In the late nineteenth century the term seems to have been discarded in favor of the more euphonious "post trader," and today we know only of "canteens" and the famed "PX."

Many itinerant sutlers who followed the military expedition against the Sioux and other unregenerate tribes may have been rather menial characters and the extremely arduous conditions under which they operated help to explain the dubious origins of the profession. However, the sutlers who through political influence secured concessions at fixed military posts were usually dignified and highly respected individuals, catering to Indians and civilians as well as soldiers, and achieving a startling degree of opulence. This is distinctly true of the successive post sutlers at Fort Laramie, who were key figures in the social and economic life at that illustrious frontier station. The sutler's store was their peculiar domain. The origin, the evolution and the uses of this timeworn building, together with related incidents, constitute the object of our inquiry.

The structure is located at the northwest corner of the parade ground, adjoining the temporary entrance road, and consists of two single-story conjoined parallel wings, approximately 75 feet in length with a combined width of 60 feet. The south half of the east wing is made of adobe bricks, laid double to a 27 inch thickness. Frames are variously hewn, whip-sawed and machine-sawed. The other half of the east wing is of grayish rock with mud mortar and hand-hewn timbers. These two sections of the east wing with roof shingled, constitute the older portion of the building. The entire west wing of lime-concrete or "grout," a crude form of masonry, with roof sheet-metaled, was erected relatively late in the fort's history. Except for the gables, the entire exterior wall has been covered with plaster, which has fallen in patches which expose the original materials.

The few buildings which yet remain at Fort Laramie, fifty-six years after its abandonment, have undergone repairs, alterations and additions, together with elements of destruction, which make it difficult to interpret their architectural history. The known available construction records are scanty enough in the case of the Army buildings, the progress of which is roughly sketched in the archives of the War Department. They are non-existent in the case of the sutler's store, which was a private concern, outside the notice of official records. To visualize its past we have only the crude outlines depicted in the successive official and semi-official ground plans of the post; the fleeting impressions of the few contemporaries who kept journals; the authentic oral recollections of those living few who saw the

fort during youth or childhood, when it was still a proud Army post; and a few scarce business records and memoirs of the sutlers themselves. From this filmy texture we will try to weave a web of understanding.

II

Adobe-walled Fort John (Fort Laramie) was purchased from the American Fur Company by the United States Government in June, 1849.¹ The first post sutler moved in with the Army, surveyed the possibilities, and in the summer or autumn of 1849 started construction of the adobe building which now comprises the southeast wing of the sutler's store. The work may not have been actually completed until the spring of 1850. The primary evidence is found in the Adjutant General's "Plan of Fort Laramie in the winter of 1849."² This rough sketch is without dimensional data, but an oblong enclosure entitled "Sutler's Store" is in proper position relative to two other structures erected about that time, which likewise survive today. These two nearby century-old companions are the stone magazine and the two-story officers' quarters renowned as "Old Bedlam." Thus the sutler's store, while possibly not "the oldest building in Wyoming," as it is frequently represented, could perhaps make valid claim to being *one of the three oldest buildings in Wyoming*.³

Certain misconceptions concerning the origins of the sutler's store have gained currency. One writer states, in effect, that the front adobe wall "is a remnant of a fur trader's store which was built by the American Fur Company in 1836" at some distance from the main adobe fort, and that this wall was so staunch that it was incorporated into the later permanent structure.⁴ Another writer has it that this building contains "a fragment of the trading post erected on this site in 1836 . . . and it is still stout enough to justify the workman who hauled it a hundred yards or so for use in the new postoffice and sutler's building."⁵ There is a secondary error implied in both statements, since 1836 could not have been the date of the adobe bricks even if their connection with Fort John could be proved. Adobe-walled Fort John did not replace its log-walled predecessor, Fort William, until 1841.⁶ However, there seems to be no solid evidence to support the belief that the adobe section of the sutler's store was in any way a carry-over from the fur trade era which ended in June, 1849. If it is suggested that the adobe structure was in existence prior to the advent of an Army Post sutler, it can be pointed out by reference to contemporary ground-plans that the sutler's store site is several hundred yards removed from the Fort John site, so it could not represent any upright "remains" of Fort John. As for the theory

that it was a separate structure used by the fur traders, there is no hint of a structure of any kind outside of Fort John prior to 1849, in any of the dozens of references available; and the fact that this building is square with the parade ground laid out in 1849 also argues against an earlier date. There is some plausibility in the theory that the adobe bricks were taken from Fort John ruins. In 1849 this stockade was acknowledged by the post commandant to be in need of repairs; yet it does not appear that it was then in such a precarious state that a portion of it was abandoned.⁷ In fact, at that time it was the principal shelter for the military, since new construction had not far progressed. There is ample evidence to support the belief that Fort John remained intact in 1849, and that it was not raided for building material until the middle fifties. There is no known documentary or structural evidence to refute the belief that the sutler's store represented *new construction in 1849*, not survival or salvage.

John Hunton, who first arrived at Fort Laramie in 1867 as an assistant to the post sutler, told Dr. Grace R. Hebard that "the front of the old store building was constructed in 1849."⁸ This could only refer to the adobe section, and it is reassuring to have this independent substantiation from one who has been generally regarded as the sage of Fort Laramie.

John S. Tutt was the first post sutler, receiving his appointment under President Zachary Taylor, and held this position until 1857. He was associated with Lewis B. Dougherty.⁹ Tutt and Dougherty apparently had a monopoly of the sutler-ships along the Oregon Trail, as in 1854 there is evidence that they were also firmly entrenched at Fort Kearney.¹⁰

Tutt probably personally supervised the construction of the original sutler's store. It is likely that the use of adobe was influenced by the example of Fort John, and that Mexicans, who are known to have been associated with the American Fur Company establishment, were employed in this work, which was agreeable to their native talents. In 1850 Assistant Quartermaster Van Vliet wrote his superior that to counteract the white labor shortage on Army construction projects, caused by the gold fever, he was sending an agent to Taos to hire Mexicans, who "work cheaper and are much better than any other people for the use that I wish to make of them."¹¹ Van Vliet must have had at hand an example of Mexican labor to inspire him.

The earliest "Forty-niners" found the fort still in the hands of the fur company. Although the Army took over formally on June 26, and building activity commenced immediately, there could not have been much construction completed at Fort Laramie by the time the last emigrants slogged westward in September. Accordingly we cannot expect to obtain

testimony from emigrants themselves as to a sutler's store. That year they obtained whatever supplies there were available through the good graces of the Post Quartermaster, who was authorized to sell supplies at cost to those actually in need.¹² The earliest specific reference to the sutler's store found in emigrant journals was made by H. A. Stine on July 4, 1850: ". . . the fort itself is composed of unburnt brick . . . outside of this is quite a number of houses. The Post Office, Suttler's store and so on."¹³

Writing on June 1, 1850, James Abbey mentions no store but tells of certain "Mountain traders . . . keen on a trade as any Yankee wooden nutmeg or clock peddler you may meet within the states. I will give you some of their prices: sugar 25 cents per lb., bacon sides, 18c, ham 25c; flour \$18 per cwt., loaf bread 50c, whiskey one dollar a quart, brandy \$18 per gallon."¹⁴ These traders may have been Tutt and his associates, colorful characters in their own right, but Dr. LeRoy Hafen suggests that they were Kit Carson and friends who came up from Taos to trade with the goldseekers.¹⁵ It is known that Carson arrived on the scene about June 1 with forty to fifty head of mules and remained about a month, selling his animals to good advantage.¹⁶ If he sold the other articles mentioned he was in competition with the sutler. Thus, it may have been with some relief that Tutt wrote the following to John Dougherty on July 1: "I have sold \$1200 worth of Indian goods at 50% . . . Kit Carson and Bill Bent have just left."¹⁷

In none of the U. S. Army correspondence have references been found to the sutler's store, though there is considerable material on all other structures. The store was a civilian affair from start to finish and the post commandants, forever hounding their superiors for more and better housing, simply never concerned themselves with the sutler's problems. We are led to assume that the sutler financed, designed, and supervised all of his own construction work; and once having got his building up, he would surely give no thought to recording such matters. However, the chief engineer of the Army, Joseph G. Totten, reported on November 30, 1850:

A powder magazine 17'x27' wide of which the stone walls are now up, will doubtless be finished before winter . . . The frame building erected last year, containing 4 sets of officers quarters—3 rooms in each set—has been floored, lathed and plastered, and is now nearly finished. 200,000 brick have been burnt, of which about 150,000 will remain for the operations of next year . . . The results of the year at both posts (Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie) have been decidedly less than those anticipated a few years ago. At both places the horse power sawmills which are

mainly relied upon for the production of lumber, were broken and continued idle many months, until the machinery necessary for their repair could be obtained from St. Louis.¹⁸

While telling nothing about the sutler's store, this letter leaves one or two suggestions. Here we have official confirmation of the 1849-1850 date for Bedlam and the magazine, the two ancient companions of the sutler's store. As to the burnt brick, these were the same used to fill the walls of Old Bedlam. It may be suggested that the sutler may have borrowed from the quartermaster's ample stockpile, to build his adobe room, but there are two objections to this theory. The bricks used in the sutler's store are not artificially burnt and are of regular dimensions, unlike those used in Old Bedlam, thus ruling against the idea of a common source. Also, the sutler's construction problems were no concern of the quartermaster and it is not likely that he would manufacture bricks for the sutler's convenience.

A plan of Fort Laramie in 1851 shows, in its true location, a sutler's store size 37' 9"x40'.¹⁹ This is divided into three sections. The largest or east section is marked size 23'x40'. This corresponds with the existing adobe section, the measured dimensions of which are 25'x40'. The two smaller sections to the west, each 14' 9"x20' represent an accretion, probably storage-space, which has long since disappeared.

It has been observed that the grayish rock with mud mortar in the present northeast wing of the store closely resembles the construction detail of the powder magazine, completed in 1850. This peculiar type of masonry is evident no where else among surviving structures. This suggests to the writer that the second or northeast wing of the sutler's store was built shortly thereafter, with the same architectural influence at work. The hand-hewn timbers are similarly suggestive of a very early date. The second wing is not shown on the plan of 1851 but it is definitely in evidence in a plan drawn up in 1854.²⁰ This, coupled with the tie-in with the stone magazine, impels us to ascribe to it the date of 1852.

In 1852 the emigrants provide fleeting glimpses. On June 8, Thomas Turnbull found at the fort "hard bread \$13 per c. Loaf bread worth 10 cts in Chicago, 60 cts here, tobacco 65 per lb. Vinegar \$2. per gallon, tea \$21. per lb. Every thing very dear."²¹ On the same day William Lobenstine reports "a good store" among the buildings comprising the fort.²² G. W. Kendall, correspondent for a St. Louis paper, tells of "three bakeries where the poor emigrant can obtain an apology for a loaf of bread at 40c and a small dried apple pie for 50c . . . Mr.

Tutt superintends the store, where a full supply of "chicken fixins" can be obtained at remunerating prices."²³ G. L. Cole undertook to deliver the mail for his emigrant train and found the post-office in the sutler's store. Here also he renewed acquaintance with a young Sioux, wearing soldier's garb, who was in possession of several fresh Pawnee scalps.²⁴ The best picture to date is provided by J. H. Clark:

A store and a post office are kept for the mutual benefit of trader, Indian, soldier and emigrant. The store is quite an extensive one, embracing a great many different articles, a much greater variety than one would suppose would be needed for this part of the world; a good many clothes are sold to the Indians and travelers. Two or three clerks were kept busy while we were there . . .²⁵

Despite this testimony as to the volume of business at the post sutler's, it is clear that, at least during the fifties, the Post Quartermaster alone was capable of taking care of the emigrants' bulk needs, such as flour, sugar, stock feed, wagon gear, etc. Thus caution is necessary in ascribing all purchases mentioned by diarists to the sutler, whose stock was limited. This point is emphasized by an editorial which appeared in the *Daily Missouri Republican* of April, 1852, cautioning emigrants not to load their teams too heavily as at Fort Laramie "the United States' Government has a very large supply of provisions, which the Commander of the post furnishes to emigrants at its cost. . . ."²⁶ This is further substantiated by John Brown, one of an east-bound company of Mormons which reached the fort on October 9: "Here we purchased supplies of the govt. store; we get them at cost and carriage . . ."²⁷

On June 17, 1853 George Belshaw describes "a pleasant looking place" including "a post office and store . . . Dried apples 12 dollars per bushel, vinegar 2 dollars per gallon. Everything else in proportion."²⁸ An interesting impression somewhat in contrast is this July 16 excerpt from the diary of Dr. Thomas Flint: "Officers quarters . . . two stables and a store, all in a dilapidated condition. Thermometer 80 degrees in the shade hanging on the adobe wall at noon. Made the ice water kept on hand by the barrel most inviting."²⁹

Generally speaking, the emigrants who put in an early appearance at the fort were well taken care of, while late comers took pot luck. In June of 1853 James Farmer found "stores here where we can purchase anything we need but very high flour 15 dollars a sack."³⁰ On the other hand William K. Sloan gloomily reports in late July that "the commissary claimed to be short themselves, having had to furnish others who were ahead of us, more than was expected. We had to be content

with two barrels of mushy pickled pork, three sacks of flour and one sack of beans."³¹

J. Linforth does not mention the sutler's store, but brings in a related factor: "The proprietors of the ferry have also a blacksmith shop, and do considerable business in supplying emigrants with horses, mules, grain, outfitting goods, etc."³² It does not appear that the sutler and the proprietors of the ferry were one and the same. Hence these dignitaries were in a sense rivals of the sutler as well as the Post Quartermaster, and this re-emphasizes caution in judging the extent to which the sutler alone provisioned the emigrants.

Frederick Piercy, a companion of Linforth's, has left us a painting of the fort in 1853 which is worthy dozens of diaries.³³ Looking north from across the Laramie we can see Fort John in the foreground, still looking fairly serviceable, except for the props which seem to be holding up the west wall. To the left, in its present identical position, is the quite dignified-looking Bedlam and beyond is the low squatting sutler's store. Other post buildings are obscured by the Fort John edifice. Off to the right, on the river bank at the Oregon Trail crossing, are small shapeless buildings which might have housed the ferry operators, blacksmith, etc., mentioned by Linforth. The survival of Fort John thus far serves again to nullify the theory that the sutler's store was built from Fort John ruins.

Mormons seemingly made up the bulk of emigrants in 1854. One who reached Fort Laramie on September 15 writes: "There are only 42 soldiers stationed here at present. Provisions seem scanty with them. They would not sell flour under \$20 per bag of 100 lbs. There is a post office and settler's [sutler's] store at the fort."³⁴

In the aforementioned official ground-plan of 1854 the sutler's store shows the accretion of the stone or northeast wing (1852) and the shed adjoining to the west, which survives from 1851; while nearby but unconnected is a new "Sutler's storehouse." We have no way of knowing just what this extension was made of, but it was probably something crude and of temporary design, for by 1863 it has disappeared.

The years 1854 and 1855 at Fort Laramie were dominated by military excursions and alarms featured by the Grattan massacre and General Harney's subsequent punitive expedition against the Sioux. An English traveler has left us a picture of the sutler's store in these harrowing times:

There is no fortification at Laramie, but the buildings are considerable, including storehouse and barracks, and all now was in a state of bustle and activity on account of the Indian war; particularly as General Harney was near, and expected to march in a day or two. There is a very good

store here, but prices, of course, are high; whiskey could not be obtained without a written order from the Governor, though many soldiers, having just received pay, tried hard by sending civilians, protesting it was only for themselves. Soldiers coats cost \$12.; lemon syrup .75 a pint bottle; preserved peaches \$4. a quart. Some of our men indulged in these and other luxuries, besides wholesale in woolen shirts, socks, etc. and tobacco. One or two bought first rate buffalo robes for \$5. each. On the door of the store was posted a notice of pains and penalties to whoever would presume to trade with any of the Sioux nation, then at war with the United States; also another notice that some persons had, for evil purposes, spread among peaceful Indians a false and wicked rumor that General Harney meant to kill every Indian he could catch, whether Sioux or not, and that such persons and all others were forbidden to publish this rumor under pain, etc. . . . I bought very little; only three boxes of yeast powder (at .30 each) to improve our bread, as saleratus is poor stuff, and a good-sized loaf of bread for myself from the bakery . . .³⁵

One emigrant of 1856 who lingered at the fort gives us an illuminating insight: "Tutt and Dougherty were the Sutlers. The store was built outside the Fort, so that you need pass the guard to get in or out . . . The store was a doby building about 70 feet long and sixteen feet wide. The store room was in the south end, the kitchen in the north and the Sutler's living rooms in the center."³⁶ Of particular interest here is this earliest known description of the interior of the building, and the outside dimensions indicated. The writer is going by distant memory, and the dimensions are therefore not entirely trustworthy. Certainly the width of 16 feet is too short since two earlier ground plans show a width of at least 20 feet for this same building. However, the 70 foot length, coupled with the fact that there were three separate compartments or rooms, substantiates the dimensions suggested by the ground-plan of 1854, and strengthens our 1852 theory for the second or northeast wing. Of course the question is immediately raised as to why, if the present northeast wing of *stone* was the same described in 1856, the entire building is referred to as a "doby building." The answer lies in the probability that the exterior walls of the entire building, adobe and masonry, were faced with a uniform plaster, possibly mud; or a lime-plaster may have been used even at this early date, which treatment we know was accorded the Army's adobe buildings. Hence, any "plastered" building, of whatever material in fact, might be considered "adobe." Even if such were not the case, and the stonework section were

exposed, the adobe was still the *dominant* material, and a casual observer would thus easily refer only to a "doby building."

III

Seth Edward Ward, who had been in partnership with William Guerrier at a trading post west of Fort Laramie, received his appointment as post sutler in 1857, and retained it for fifteen years. Ward's first partner was Norman Fitzhugh, who dropped out of the picture in 1858, whereupon Ward formed a lasting partnership with Col. William G. Bullock.³⁷ The names of Ward and Bullock are intimately associated with the decade of the sixties, which was perhaps the most stirring time in Fort Laramie history.

The Annual Report of the inspection of public buildings by the Post Commander for 1857 comments that the buildings are in a deplorable condition and that the men, as well as the public property, are constantly at the mercy of the elements.³⁸ It may be assumed that the sutler had similar difficulties, and that his building was undergoing constant repairs, re-roofing and makeshift stabilization. The original roof was probably planks covered with mud, to judge from occasional hints. In 1858 the diary of a young bull-whacker refers to a store built of mud and roofed with sods.³⁹ Captain John Irwin of the 6th Michigan Cavalry, who was stationed at the fort in 1865, has stated that at that time all buildings had sod roofs.⁴⁰

There was an accentuation of military activity at the fort in 1857 and 1858 occasioned by the campaign against the rambunctious Cheyennes and the rebellious Mormons. Long lines of cavalry and freighting trains now moved across the prairies. With teamsters, emigrants and soldiers crowding the fort at this time we can imagine that the sutler, dispensing items of comfort and cheer, must have been a busy man, but references are scarce. On June 23, 1857, Corporal Lowe of the Dragoons writes: "Everybody getting ready for the Cheyenne campaign. This is the last chance for any sort of outfit until it is over. Mr. Seth E. Ward, the sutler here, has a good stock of campaign goods."⁴¹ In a letter to his wife dated September 6, 1857, Captain Gove of the Tenth Infantry advises that "I left with Mr. Fitzhughes, sutler at Fort Laramie, \$100. to be sent to you about the 8th of this month."⁴² In 1858 the sutler's regular duties were apparently not too strenuous to prevent him from undertaking a contract to supply six companies of cavalry with hay.⁴³

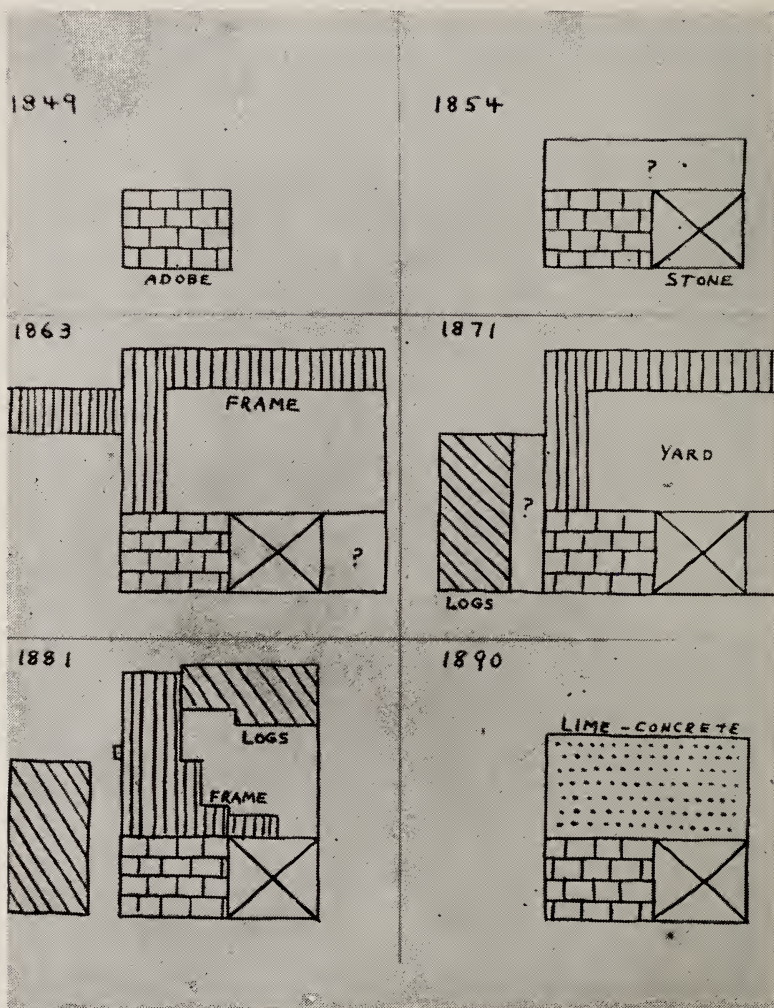
In 1859, the year of the gold rush to the Pikes Peak region, Fort Laramie figured prominently as a supply depot and base of operations, but nothing very helpful survives to illuminate our subject. Horace Greeley, the famed journalist who advised

the young men of America to "Go West," spent five restful days at the fort, a respite from the rugged experience of being a passenger on the transcontinental stage coach.⁴⁴ A manuscript by his daughter reveals that Sergeant Leodegar Schnyder was commissioned postmaster at Fort Laramie October 31, 1859 and held office for seventeen years.⁴⁵ Since the post office was quite intimately related to the sutler's store, being located in or near that building intermittently, it is regrettable that Sergeant Schnyder was not the introspective diary-keeping type.

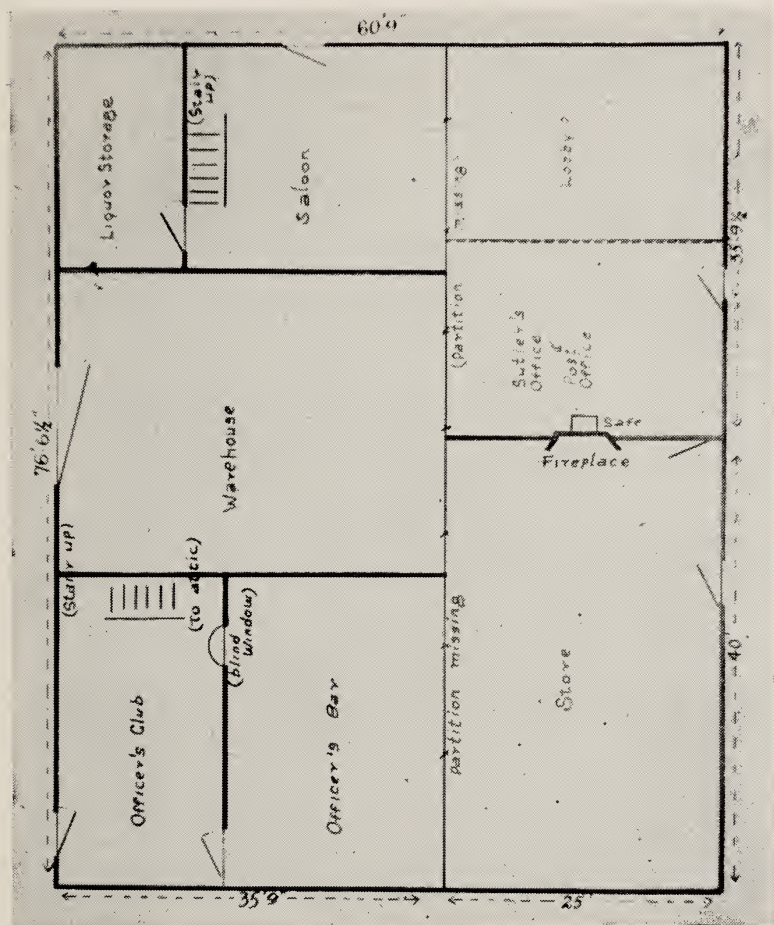
The years 1860-61 saw fleet Pony Express riders churning their way into Fort Laramie, doubtless spurred by the prospect of a cool refreshing beverage at the Ward and Bullock emporium, as well as the exacting demands of their itinerary. According to Henry Avis, one of the riders, Seth Ward was the Pony Express station keeper, although it would seem that Postmaster Sergeant Schnyder would be a more likely candidate for this office.⁴⁶ The terroristic Jack Slade, division agent for the Overland who was later hanged in Montana by vigilantes, was a frequent caller at Fort Laramie in these days, but there is no evidence that he there indulged his little whimsy of "wrecking the saloon."⁴⁷ A different type of visitor was Edward Creighton, who supervised construction of the first transcontinental telegraph line through Fort Laramie.

On August 14, 1860 the celebrated English traveler Richard Burton investigated the fort, referring contemptuously to "the straggling cantonment . . . sutler's stores and groceries, which doubtless make a good thing by selling deleterious "Strychnine" to passing trains who can afford to pay \$6. per gallon."⁴⁸ In May, 1861 Cheyenne Indians "stole one or more horses from Mr. Ward's herd" and were pursued by the cavalry, apparently without result.⁴⁹ About this same time three youths known as the Davenport brothers, who had occasionally traded at "Judge Ward's store," ran off with two or three hundred horses, the property of military officers, the stage company and private citizens. A posse caught up with them in Utah.⁵⁰

The map of Fort Laramie in 1863, prepared by the post commandant, Col. W. O. Collins, shows that the sutler's store had by this time undergone some face lifting.⁵¹ The wings to the west indicated in the plan of 1854 are gone, and the structure is now in the shape of a reclining letter "U". The main wing or right side of the "U", including the original adobe structure, with a courtyard, is given dimensions of 26'x99', indicating a third extension northward since the description of 1856. It is not clear of what material this wing was composed, or how long it survived beyond 1873, when last in evidence. The bottom and left portions of the "U", respectively 74' and 99' in length, are only ten feet wide. These were probably



Evolution of the Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie—1849-1890—Diagrammatic sketch.



Floor Plan of the Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie, 1890—Diagrammatic sketch.

frame sheds for storage and quarters. Extending south from the bottom of the "U" is a shed given as 13' by 100' divided into the following compartments—"post office, mechanic shop, mach. ph. [?], barber, mech. sh., mech. sh., and armorer." The sutler's residence, about 50 yards north of the sutler's store, appears for the first time.⁵²

In Captain Marcy's famous guidebook, *The Prairie Traveler*, published in 1863, the description of Fort Laramie includes a "mail station and post office . . . , with a sutler's store well stocked with such articles as the traveler desires."⁵³ On his visit to the fort in June, 1863, Col. Samuel Ward, a Montana-bound emigrant, complains: "Sutler sells everything high, 12 to 20c for bacon, \$12. to \$18. per hundred for flour, smoking tobacco \$1. per lb., whiskey \$1. a pint, mean at that . . ."⁵⁴

One of the classics of this period, Captain Ware's *Indian War of 1864*, furnishes some picturesque sidelights. It seems that there were benches in front of the sutler's store which became a focal point of social intercourse among all classes of frontier characters. A frequent bench-warmer was dignified white-bearded Major Thomas S. Twiss, graduate of West Point and one-time Indian agent, who was usually surrounded by several squaws finely dressed in mackinaw blankets. Here also came Ah-ho-ap'pa or "Falling Leaf," comely and ill-fated daughter of the proud Sioux Chief Spotted Tail, to sit and gaze wistfully out upon the parade ground while the soldiers smartly drilled.⁵⁵ Here on these benches of a summer evening soldiers and civilians would foregather to gossip and debate, and to be regaled with stories of adventure by the incomparable Jim Bridger. This was also a favorite spot for the Fort Laramie Glee Club, serenading with old refrains which moistened the eyes of the hardened plainsmen. Ware has this to say about the management:

The post sutler was a man by the name of Ward. His manager was named Bullock, the most courteous old school gentleman I ever saw. He was as dignified as a Major-General. Ward gave no personal attention to the sutler store, but he was making a great deal of money out of it. He had an enormous stock of goods, and as he had no competitors and as his prices were fixed by the post administration, he got the price, and sold enormous quantities. Bullock told stories of all the generals of the [Civil] war. One afternoon he took about an hour and a half in explaining to me, and instructing me in making, a whiskey toddy. It was with him a work of art. I never could see anything in his toddies that was anything more than normal, but somehow he had a reputation that none might hope to equal. In addition to this he had a mint-bed in a secluded place

which was carefully watered every day, and more attention given to it than most anything else around the post.

At another point Ware tells of "happening in the back room of the sutler store where an almost continuous game of poker was going on."⁵⁶

Other references for 1864 are scanty. A. J. Dickson tells of making purchases from Seth Bullock, whom he knew later in the mercantile business in Deadwood, in the Black Hills.⁵⁷ Private Lewis Byram Hull has left an entertaining account of life at Fort Laramie at this time, describing the drunken brawls, the bedbugs, the minstrel shows, the Indian raids, and even postmaster Sgt. Schnyder's marriage "to cross-eyed Julia," but he disappoints us in our efforts to catch a glimpse of specific doings at the post sutler's. The only mention occurs on August 21: "Sutler's train starting east. O'Brien's company go along as escort. Indians getting troublesome."⁵⁸

As a lad of 19 or 20 Will H. Young left his home in Missouri to spend a year as clerk in the sutler's store. His diary for 1865 is replete with homely but significant details. He tells of inventories, of the arrival of the sutler's supply train, of busy days when cash sales exceeded \$1,000, of dull hot days when the garrison slumbered in the scanty shade, and cold, windy dusty days when the fireplace in the sutler's store replaced the aforementioned benches in popularity. He tells also of fights, mutinies, gastronomic orgies and cozy evenings by the fire while "old Maj. Bridger" reeled off stories of Montana gold or gave a noisy exhibition of Indian dances.⁵⁹

The sutler's store figured prominently in the gruesome affair known as "The Hanging of the Chiefs." When in May, 1865, Two Face and Blackfoot brought two captive white women into the fort for ransom, the garrison held an indignation meeting here. At the peak of fury the crowd burst from the store determined to lynch the Indians. In this they were dissuaded by the stalwart Colonel Bullock, who addressed them from the porch of the building.⁶⁰ Another aspect of the Colonel's colorful career was his proverbial hospitality. This is reflected in the entry of an emigrant's journal dated July 25, 1865: "Capt. T. and me called on Mr. Bullock, the post sutler, who invited us to his house, and treated us to ice and sugar, etc."⁶¹

In August, 1865 Fort Laramie was honored by the presence of Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, then surveying a route for the Union Pacific Railroad. He was entertained royally by Gen. P. E. Connor, Nick Janis, a celebrated French guide, and Colonel Bullock, who produced the ingredients for a feast. The sutler disclaimed responsibility, however, for the soup which, it

developed, was brewed by old Nick from a fat Fort Laramie puppy.⁶²

A rough "Plan of Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory," of 1866 shows an outline of the sutler's store which conforms with the picture which obtained in 1863, with the "U" shape in evidence, and the adjoining line of shops, but these are not labelled.⁶³ J. L. Campbell's guidebook, published in 1866, states briefly: "Fort Laramie consists of both military and trading stations. A good assortment of merchandise is kept here."⁶⁴ The George W. Fox Diary indicates "30 or 40 houses, barracks, officers' quarters, warehouses, a blacksmith and suttler, etc. such as is seen at such posts . . . Traded some with the suttler . . ."⁶⁵ In a letter of reminiscence an old soldier, W. F. Hynes writes:

Fort Laramie in 1866 was rectangular in form and, as my memory recalls, consisted principally, in the sense of popularity, of the Sutler's Store, Post Office, and the quarters of Seth E. Ward, the sutler. These were under one roof, of adobe material, facing southeast, and were some of the cabins constructed by old hunters and traders which, later with the buildings here named below, became Fort Laramie . . . This was Fort Laramie when I first entered it on July of that year, as a member of the E. company of the 2nd. U. S. cavalry, commanded by Major Wells . . .⁶⁶

It is enlightening to note that the building thus described by Hynes is from all appearances the same indicated in 1856 and 1863, that is, the original adobe structure, with an extension to the north, consisting of three rooms. The fact that the upper part of the "U" structure indicated in the maps of 1863 and 1866 is not described as a part of the building tends to support our theory that this long addition consisted merely of a narrow shed, probably for storage. Hynes' testimony also reinforces the belief that the most historic part of the present sutler's store is the southeast room, the original 1849 building. It is interesting to note his implication that the building is a relic of the fur trade. Apparently this legend had its beginnings early in the post history.

While peace commissioners were dickering with the Sioux tribes for passage through their hunting grounds over the Bozeman Trail, Colonel Carrington arrived on June 13, 1866, with an impressive array of troops. The colonel's wife, accompanied by other ladies of the command, went shopping at the sutler's store, and has drawn for us this colorful picture:

The long counter of Messrs. Bullock and Ward was a scene of seeming confusion not surpassed in any popular,

overcrowded store of Omaha itself. Indians, dressed and half dressed and undressed; squaws, dressed to the same degree of completeness as their noble lords; papooses, absolutely nude, slightly not nude, or wrapped in calico, buckskin, or furs, mingled with the soldiers of the garrison, teamsters, emigrants, speculators, half-breeds, and interpreters. *Here*, cups of rice, sugar, coffee, or flour were being emptied into the looped-up skirts or blankets of a squaw; and *there*, some tall warrior was grimacing delightfully as he grasped and sucked his long sticks of peppermint candy. Bright shawls, red squaw cloth, brilliant calicoes, and flashing ribbons passed over the same counter with knives and tobacco, brass nails and glass beads, and that endless catalogue of articles which belong to the legitimate border traffic. The room was redolent of cheese and herring, and '*heap of smoke*;' while the *debris* of mounded crackers lying loose under foot furnished both nutriment and employment for little bits of Indians too big to ride on mama's back, and too little to reach the good things on counter or shelves . . .

To all, . . . whether white man, halfbreed, or Indian, Mr. Bullock, a Virginia gentleman of the old school, to whose hospitality and delicate courtesy we were even more indebted in 1867, gave kind and patient attention, and his clerks seemed equally ready and capable, talking Sioux, Cheyenne, or English, just as each case came to hand.⁶⁷

The hospitality of Colonel Bullock, here alluded to by Mrs. Carrington, occurred on the dismal occasion in February, 1867 when she accompanied her husband on the return to the States after the Fetterman disaster at Fort Phil Kearny.⁶⁸

J. C. Birge visited the fort at the time of Carrington's arrival, and paid his respects to the sutler:

We modestly approached the pompous Mr. Ward, who we were told was the sutler. He wore fine clothes, and a soft, easy hat. A huge diamond glittered in his shirt front. He moved quietly round as if he were master of the situation, and with that peculiar air so often affected by men who are financially prosperous and self-satisfied. He seemed to be a good fellow and was in every respect courteous . . .

As business proposition, it was manifestly to the advantage of the sutler and agents that some treaty be made, for the reason that every Indian treaty involves the giving of many presents and other valuable considerations. Whatever the Indians may finally receive become articles of exchange in trade. In this the astute sutler profits largely,

as the Indians have little knowledge of the intrinsic value of manufactured goods and the sutler enjoyed exclusive rights of traffic with them at the posts.⁶⁹

Still further illumination is provided by the reminiscences of Major Ostrander, a drummer boy attached to the Carrington expedition:

I spent hours in the store of the post trader, Colonel Bullock, listening to the conversation and stories told by the mountain men, guides, hunters, and trappers. They all made Colonel Bullock's store their headquarters. Old Nick Janis seemed to be the leading spirit among the old-timers still left at the fort. Many of them had made history in that country, and their stories were most entertaining, but I "cottoned" to Old Nick more than to any of the others . . .

Colonel Bullock kept a good line of guns and revolvers, and I looked them over longingly. Finally, I selected a Colt revolver of thirty-eight caliber and asked the price. 'Twenty dollars,' he told me, and he would throw in fifty cartridges.

On his return trip to Fort Laramie Ostrander relates that he found lodgings "in a store-room belonging to the sutler."⁷⁰

The "Fort Laramie, D. T." plan of 1867 shows the outline of the "sutler's store" in the same above mentioned "U" shape, with courtyard.⁷¹ The line of adjoining shops which in 1863 numbered seven, from "post office" to "armorer," and which in 1866 were unlabelled, are now labelled "camp shops." The "post office" appears to be a separate building now altogether, quite some distance removed from the sutler's building, to the east.

According to Hebard, John Hunton appeared on the scene in May, 1866, driving a mule team belonging to Ward. He intended to extend his journey to Nevada, but he was persuaded to remain at Fort Laramie. He clerked in the sutler's store until October, 1870 when he went into the cattle and freighting business.⁷² Hunton's own reminiscences reveal a slight discrepancy as to the date:

My residence commenced at Fort Laramie in June or July, I think in June, 1867, as a clerk and roustabout in the store of Seth E. Ward. My duties were, to sell goods as a clerk, to be porter and do such jobs as were required of me, to be a teamster and haul freight, wood or hay and to occasionally herd mules or oxen.⁷³

Hunton relates that it was at this time that the use of sutler's store "coins" was inaugurated:

Business . . . averaged more than \$100 a day in cash taken in over the counter besides some sales going on the books. The average garrison of the soldiers was 450 and there were about 300 teamsters, hay handlers and wood-choppers. Green backs consisted of one dollar bills up to one thousand dollars. Shinplasters consisted of five cent, ten cent, twenty-five cent and fifty cent notes. On them through mutilation and discount amounted to a considerable sum each day to the Sutler store as we sometimes had as much as fifty dollars of them taken in during the day's business . . . To avoid the loss and inconvenience of careful handling, Mr. Ben Mills, the bookkeeper, and Mr. Gibson Clark, his assistant, and right hand man, talked the matter of the copper checks or coins over with his close personal attention for a few days and then sent an order to his business manager in St. Louis to have them struck off and sent by express as soon as it could be done. They did not arrive until about the last of October, 1867 . . . I think, but am not certain, there were 15,000 coins made; six thousand 50 cents, the size of a half dollar; six thousand 25 cents, the size of a quarter, and three thousand 10 cents the size of about two-thirds of a quarter, as I remember all were stamped on one side, "S. E. Ward, Sutler, U. S. A., Fort Laramie, D. T." and on the other side "Good for 50c in Sutler Goods" or . . . as the case might be . . . The coins were intended for the use of soldiers only.⁷⁴

It appears that the sutlers who followed Ward, namely the Col-linses, London and Hunton all resorted to this convenient medium of exchange. Some of these tokens have been recovered in the course of archeological excavation.⁷⁵

In October, 1867, Jim Bridger, who had been serving as scout and guide at Fort Phil Kearny, secured a leave of absence and journeyed to Fort Laramie to rest and recuperate his failing health. At this time, according to Hunton, there were six subordinate employees at the sutler's store, three of whom, "John Boyd, Hopkins Clark and myself, occupied the bunk room in the sutler's store, and Bridger was given a bunk in the same room. Here he remained, occupying the room with us most of the time, until about the middle of April, 1868."⁷⁶ According to Hebard, another bunk-mate was Gibson Clark, later Chief Justice of Wyoming's Supreme Court. Also, she relates that about 1925 "Mr. Hunton took me through the building and showed me on which side of the fireplace Bridger's cot was."⁷⁷ The only fire-place in the present building is at the north end

of the original adobe section or southeast room, which in 1867 was indubitably used as the main store, rather than "the bunk room." Mr. Ed Kelly of Guernsey recalls that Hunton told him that he and Jim Bridger slept in the northeast room, or stone section, of the sutler's store, which seems a more plausible location.⁷⁸ However, the seeming discrepancy as to the exact location of the famous sleeping quarters does not detract from the lustre which accrues to the sutler's store from the fact that "Jim Bridger slept here."

In November, 1867 Peace Commissioners held a conference with the Crow Indians at Fort Laramie. Accompanying them was a French mining expert, M. Simonin, who recorded his impressions. He describes the sutler's residence as "a sort of Swiss chalet . . . This elegant dwelling puts to shame the mean appearance of the low, gloomy canteen." His account tends to confirm the existence of a post office separate from the sutler's store at this time.⁷⁹

The year 1868 is of primary importance because of the treaty with the Sioux which concluded the unsuccessful campaign against Red Cloud's warriors on the Bozeman Trail. The momentous conference at Fort Laramie that spring was attended by such high dignitaries as Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Gen. C. C. Augur and Gen. Wm. S. Harney, all famed Indian fighters, Gen. W. T. Sherman, Civil War hero, and such renowned Sioux chieftains as Spotted Tail, Fast Bear, Fire Thunder and Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses.⁸⁰ Subsequently the Secretary of the Interior recommended to the Congress an appropriation to pay a debt due to S. E. Ward for goods furnished Indians at Fort Laramie by order of the Peace Commission, the goods apparently amounting to around \$8,000. The articles so furnished included everything that an Indian's heart could desire, from brass tacks to mirrors and blankets, and fancy costumes for the chiefs.⁸¹ However, the sutler's hitherto lucrative trade with the Indians later suffered as a result of the treaty which, while describing lands north of the North Platte River to be "unceded Indian territory," in effect barred them from the south side of the river. In order to implement these provisions Gen. C. C. Augur, on November 4, 1868, issued an order prohibiting further trade with the Indians at Fort Laramie.⁸²

The dominant role played by the sutler's store in the economy of the frontier as a banking and trading center is revealed in fascinating detail in surviving copies of correspondence conducted by Ward and Bullock during 1868-70, now part of the Hebard Collection at the Wyoming University Library. These papers were ably transcribed and edited by Mrs. Agnes Wright Spring under the title "Old Letter Book" in *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October, 1941). No duplication of these

interesting documents is warranted here, except to note one letter of May 13, 1868 from Ward to a certain Collins Dixon, by which it appears that he offered for sale (without success) his entire impressive investment at Fort Laramie. This is described as "goods on hand" together with 3,000 bushels of corn, 136 mules, 20 mule wagons, 130 yoke of oxen, 26 ox wagons, mowing machine, hay press, "a comfortable dwelling house . . . and a store with two warehouses and a sitting room and sleeping room for the clerks" and "a billiard Room and two tables." The description of buildings, which Ward values at \$8,000, is helpful in suggesting the use made of the wing extensions which comprised the U-shaped structure shown in the ground-plans beginning in 1863. The Billiard Club was organized by the sutler for the benefit of officers. On August 13, Bullock informed Colonel Dye that he would have "to take the tables, as but few persons had paid their portions of the shares."⁸³ However, there is evidence that this recreational project continued for several more years.

Valuable evidence is offered by a photograph of the entire fort taken in 1868 from the south side of the Laramie River, the original being now in the files of the United States Geological Survey.⁸⁴ One can faintly discern the main adobe section of the sutler's store, and extending beyond it is a fence-like projection which fits in with the theory that this was a low shed, serving the purposes of storage and possibly also, sleeping quarters. Extending south from this shed, looking like white-faced adobe, is the row of mechanic's shops. In back of the store is a large building which answers the description of the post hospital of that date, while to the right is the peaked gable of the "Swiss chalet" which was the sutler's residence.

IV

In 1871 Seth E. Ward was replaced as post sutler by one J. S. McCormick. Ward retired to Kansas City, Missouri, while Colonel Bullock turned his attention to pioneer ranching enterprises in the Laramie River Valley. In this he was joined by his former capable employee, John Hunton.⁸⁵ In December of 1872 Gilbert Collins was appointed under President Grant as post trader, holding this position until 1877. John S. Collins, brother of Gilbert and a friend of Grant's, served until 1882. John Morrison managed the store for him. John London, brother of one of the resident Army officers, next occupied the position by appointment under President Chester A. Arthur. In 1888, during the administration of Grover Cleveland, John Hunton became proprietor of the store and operated it until April 20, 1890, when the United States Army abandoned it to its fate.⁸⁶

The Adjutant-General's plan of Fort Laramie in 1870 shows no new alterations in the outline of the sutler's store, but does disclose that the "billiard room" mentioned in Bullock's correspondence is a separate structure close to the south.⁸⁷ Across the river is "Brown's Hotel," which was a private enterprise with a saloon in conjunction which undoubtedly offered the sutler brisk competition for the soldiers' pay checks.⁸⁸

In the Army's annual report for 1870 on the condition and capacity of public buildings at Fort Laramie it is indicated that of the 49 in existence only three buildings survive from 1849.⁸⁹ These are Old Bedlam, a rough board bake house with stone oven, and a small adobe post office. Of course the sutler's store, being a private affair, is not mentioned. Little is known of the "bake house," which has long since disappeared, but it is believed that this report errs in omitting the stone magazine from the "charter membership," even though it may not have been completed until 1850. The existence of the post office as a separate affair is confirmed by the ground-plans; however, there is no proof that this structure was always used as a post office. In fact, it will be recalled that the plan of 1863 indicates a post office immediately in conjunction with the store. It appears that the building indicated in 1866 and 1867 as the post office is the same which in 1863 was marked "telegraph office." In earlier plans it corresponds with a small block labelled "chaplain's quarters." The post office seems to have been shifted around frequently, but we know it was part of or immediately adjoined the sutler's store in 1852, 1863 and 1866, and was housed in the stone wing of this building in the 1880's.

In a "Plan of Fort Laramie, W. T." in 1871 we find the sutler's store still in the same courtyard arrangement first noted in 1863. However, the companion row of shops has disappeared. The "Billiard Hall" has mysteriously expanded and now appears to have joined in to the original adobe section. In the official plan of 1873 "accompanying application for additional buildings at the Post" this auxiliary unit appears to be separated once more from the main structure and reduced to the original size.⁹⁰

Sometime between 1873 and 1881 the sutler's store underwent drastic alterations. The original adobe and stone sections of course remain, but the north projection from the stonework disappeared, and the straight narrow sheds were replaced by two wider sheds of irregular shape, respectively composed of frame and logs. However, the courtyard and the general "U" shape of the conjoined structure was preserved. On the engineer's plan of 1881 the revamped layout is labelled "Post Office, Post Trader's Store," with overall dimensions of 75'x85'.

A separate "Club Room," size 26'x51', composed of logs, is to all appearances identical with the earlier "Billiard Room."⁹¹

A list of public buildings at Fort Laramie in 1882 includes two sutler's frame "storehouses," each 120'x30' and their condition is described as "very bad indeed."⁹² These obviously were no part of the sutler's store itself. It may be that at the time they were used by the sutler, but it is believed that they correspond with buildings indicated in the aforementioned ground-plan of 1881 which were designed as Quartermaster's or Commissary storehouses. It is curious that this is the only hint of a sutler to be found in the successive Army building reports.

The "Fort Laramie, Wyoming," plan of 1888 lists "Post Trader's Store" of "adobe and stone," which corresponds with the existing structure.⁹³ The "club room" and all trace of the "U" with courtyard, as revised before 1881, is gone. It has not been ascertained from records thus far available whence came the large new lime-concrete or "grout" addition to the west, but it was presumably between 1881 and 1885 when many other buildings of this type were erected. Suggestive is the fact that the concrete officers' quarters which today is located on the south side of the sutler's store was completed in 1884.

Intimate glimpses of our subject during the seventies and the eighties are rare. This era is characterized by the final large-scale Indian campaigns; the advent of the Black Hills gold rush and the Cheyenne-Deadwood stage line, of which Fort Laramie was a major station; the brief but colorful career of the cowboys of the open range; and the coming of the homesteader. The transition stage from Indians to settlers is not conspicuous for its contributions to source material, and not many helpful diaries or reminiscences survive.⁹⁴ Indeed, diary-keeping practically died out with the passing of the transcontinental emigrants, of whom there were relatively few over the Platte route after 1869, when the Union Pacific Railroad was completed.

There were numerous homicides and other acts of violence at or near the fort in those lawless days. One of these is of special interest. The story goes that on Christmas Day of 1872, Peter and William Janis came to an untimely end in a bar-room brawl at the sutler's. Their mother was a Cheyenne, their father was Nick Janis, of French extraction, prominent scout, guide and interpreter, the same whose antics at the sutler's store have been described by General Dodge and Major Ostrander, and whose name is affixed to the Sioux Treaty of 1868. The circumstances of the tragic affair are somewhat cloudy, but it is reported that they were beaten to the draw by a man named Montrose, who quite promptly disappeared. Old Nick buried his two boys in the post cemetery, where they were later joined

by their sister Mary, whose story rivals that of Falling Leaf. She was likewise a beautiful girl whose dark skin frustrated her romantic inclinations in a society of white men, and she likewise died tragically, of typhoid fever. The Janis tombstones today constitute one of the poignant attractions of old Fort Laramie.⁹⁵

Mr. Thomas Walker of Omaha, who lived at the fort in the seventies when his father worked for the sutler, recalls that the store was a large enterprise, the main source of supply for civilians in the region, and the favorite rendezvous for all the colorful characters of the frontier.⁹⁶ Among these was the pacified Chief Spotted Tail, come to claim the body of his daughter, entombed for ten years on a scaffold overlooking the fort. Another was William F. Cody, the "Buffalo Bill" whose name is synonymous with the Old West. His dashing figure, straight and slender, with scarlet shirt and long hair, was recognized in 1876 at the sutler's store, where he paused en route north as a guide for the Fifth Cavalry.⁹⁷ This was the climactic year of the ghastly battle on the Little Big Horn and other large-scale engagements which broke the power of the Sioux nation. Several expeditions of unprecedented force were launched from Fort Laramie, a major base of operations, and it must have been a banner year for the post sutler. Unfortunately, for lack of eye-witnesses interested in preserving the picture for posterity, we have to rely pretty much on our imagination.

J. S. Collins has written some interesting memoirs in his *Across the Plains*. He tells of big game hunting expeditions based on the sutler's store in the seventies. Several prominent generals of Civil War fame, accompanied by a military escort, participated in these diversions. The Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, also went with Collins on such an expedition, in 1880. Collins built and operated the "Rustic Hotel" from 1873 on, north of the sutler's store. This appears to have been a hunting lodge or hostelry to accommodate his private friends, rather than the public.⁹⁸

Ernest A. Logan, late resident of Cheyenne, who at one time was a stagedriver on the Cheyenne-Deadwood route, has recorded his first visit to Fort Laramie in December, 1877:

J. S. Collins owned the sutler's store at that time and John Morrison was in charge. I was greatly impressed with Mr. Morrison for he was a kindly person and a favorite at the Fort. Joe and I wanted to write some letters home the day after we arrived at Fort Laramie, so we asked Mr. Morrison for paper, envelopes and stamps. He gave us the requested materials, but refused to accept any money for them. Now this struck a couple of young fellows just about

right and we were loud in our praise of him ever after. Some years later John Morrison ran the "G. H. and J. S. Collins Saddler Shop" in Cheyenne and afterwards owned several banks in Nebraska . . . A. B. Hart was chief clerk at the store, and the bar-keepers were the two Fitzgerald boys whom all old-timers will recall. Mr. Hart was still at the Fort in 1881 when I was carrying mail and express for the Black Hills Stage Company. He had charge of the officer's mess that year, and I remember that I bought some butter for him, on one of my trips to Rawhide Buttes, for one dollar a pound. Butter was a luxury in those days, but Mr. Hart spared no expense when it came to keeping his reputation as one of the best caterers in the country.⁹⁹

When the news arrived early in 1890 that Fort Laramie would be abandoned, John Hunton had about \$7,500 worth of merchandise on hand at the store which he figured would be valueless for civilian purposes. Through the influence of a former Army friend Congress granted him a consideration for his losses in the form of the donation of the abandoned Fort Laramie buildings.¹⁰⁰ However, before this grant could be consummated the Army vacated the post and on April 9 an auction of the property was conducted by Lt. Charles M. Taylor of the 9th Cavalry. Thus other citizens got hold of some of the Government buildings but Hunton was the successful bidder on others, principally the row of officers' quarters alongside the sutler's store, including old Bedlam and the converted magazine. The store itself was of course his property to begin with. The quarters immediately next to the store he subsequently used for many years as his residence. Thus John Hunton, with his rich associations and deep reverence for Fort Laramie, was able to ensure the survival of its oldest and most historic structures, while others were unsentimentally consigned to oblivion.

V

A few notes in retrospect may be helpful in rounding out the chronology of the sutler's store. In 1921 Bill Hooker, ex-bullwhacker, joined his old friend John Hunton in re-visiting and re-living scenes at Fort Laramie. He gives a nostalgic account:

I am riding into old Fort Laramie in a taxicab! The last time I entered this oasis in the then great desert, I drove seven yoke of oxen attached to two big canvas-covered wagons loaded with more than six tons of shelled corn, while Mr. Hunton, owner of the wagon train, rode a splendid

horse, directing the movement. A band was playing, away out there in the wilds of America, jackasses brayed, soldiers . . . swarmed around us, together with a number of half-breed Canadian French Indians, all anxious to hear the news from along the trail . . .

. . . as the clouds move the moon discloses the roofless hospital building, and the sashless windows in walls that still contain the iron bars of the original guard-house. The sway-backed roof of the sutler's store, built of adobe and plastered without, supporting a tottering chimney, is disclosed. Oaken doors, the planks of which are held together with bands of iron and crude hinges fashioned by some company blacksmith, perhaps as early as 1849 or 1850, are there as firmly as they were when Indians lurked on a dark night like this waiting for some indiscreet soldier or civilian inhabitant to show his head as a mark for an arrow . . .

In the old sutler's store we rummaged among the debris that has accumulated in a span of more than two average life-times, and found on a top shelf, covered with fully one-half inch of dust, two boxes of cartridges, where they had been placed, Mr. Hunton believed, by some former clerk more than 50 years ago—these are Poultney's patent metallic for Smith's breechloading carbine—50-100 calibre, and were made in Baltimore . . . In an account book found in a great pile of other documents were notations made by Mr. Hunton on September 14, 1867. I tore out the leaves to add to the Historical Museum at Cheyenne.¹⁰¹

The sutler's store is at once the pride and the despair of the historian. It is a matter of rejoicing that its essential exterior features survive, but it is sad to reflect upon the things that happened inside in recent years. When Hunton vacated the premises in the early twenties the interior walls, partitions, ceilings, floors and furnishings were essentially intact as of 1890; shelves of the store still carried molding merchandise and, as Hooker puts it, "a great pile of documents" which must have been a historian's dream, for here was sheaf after sheaf of the sutler's correspondence, ledgers and accounts, post office records and other priceless data, some of it going back to the days of the lumbering ox-drawn freighters, the bouncing Concord stage and the meteoric Pony Express.¹⁰² Historians, like policemen, seem to be plentiful except when they are needed most. Today the authorities on old Fort Laramie appear to be numerous; but where was the historian in 1890 when the auctioneer sounded the death-knell of this great military post? Why didn't some imaginative soul appoint himself custodian of the "pile of docu-

ments'' until a historian showed up to take inventory? What happened to the wooden floors, the old bar, the shelves, the chandeliers, the cracker-barrels, the ox-yokes and the long-horns? These questions are, of course, merely rhetorical. When Hunton moved out the building was acquired by others who used it for utilitarian purposes of their own, and the increasing number of tourists who paused at Fort Laramie found it difficult to restrain an impulse to carry off souvenirs. Interior furnishings of the sutler's store which may survive today are strewn all over the United States.

A few odds and ends of the sutler's documents survive in public trust. The Ward-Bullock correspondence in the Hebard Collection aforementioned is a notable work of salvage. The Wyoming Historical Department has acquired a handful of these papers, presumably including the leaves of 1867 torn out of a book by Mr. Hooker. (One wonders why it never occurred to him to save the whole book.) Some Wyoming people have kindly turned over their acquisitions to the National Park Service. These include a few articles of furniture and some commercial correspondence and accounting records of the late 1880's. Other public-spirited citizens have indicated their intentions of turning other items over whenever the anticipated museum at Fort Laramie National Monument becomes a reality. (The writer takes this opportunity to appeal to others who may possess authentic Fort Laramie relics or documents to donate them to the Government for permanent safekeeping in their original home. These things will be seen and remembered by countless Americans of future generations).

During the 1920's private owners made some rather drastic alterations to the old building, apparently with a museum as their object. The old bar did not fit into their plans and was moved out-doors.¹⁰³ Considerable money appears to have been spent on the project, which included uprooting the floors and replacing the west wall of the original adobe section with three concrete pillars. In the course of the excavations a quantity of old coins were reportedly found in the dirt under the ancient wide-board flooring of the original store.¹⁰⁴ An archeological project undertaken in 1940 under National Park Service supervision revealed evidence of an old cellar here which by scientific screening yielded an additional collection of sutler's tokens and U. S. coins dating back to 1829. An intriguing assortment of whiskey bottles, burned adobe brick, hardware, food labels, clay pipes, Indian trade beads, tooth-brushes, rings, keys, bottle caps, gun flints, cartridges, lead pencils, safety pins and sealing wax was likewise recovered.¹⁰⁵

The interior of the store today, in spite of the missing and altered parts, is still worth looking into. The architectural de-

tails of the adobe, stone and grout walls, the famous fire-place, the windows and doorways, are fascinating to the layman as well as the historian and the architect. Still in existence is the letter-drop in the post office, the officers' club, the ponderous safe imbedded in the wall of the sutler's office. The historic uses of the various rooms is a subject for some speculation, but valued data has been contributed by old-timers who once lived at or near Fort Laramie before 1890. One of these is Tom Powers, late resident of Torrington, whom we quote:

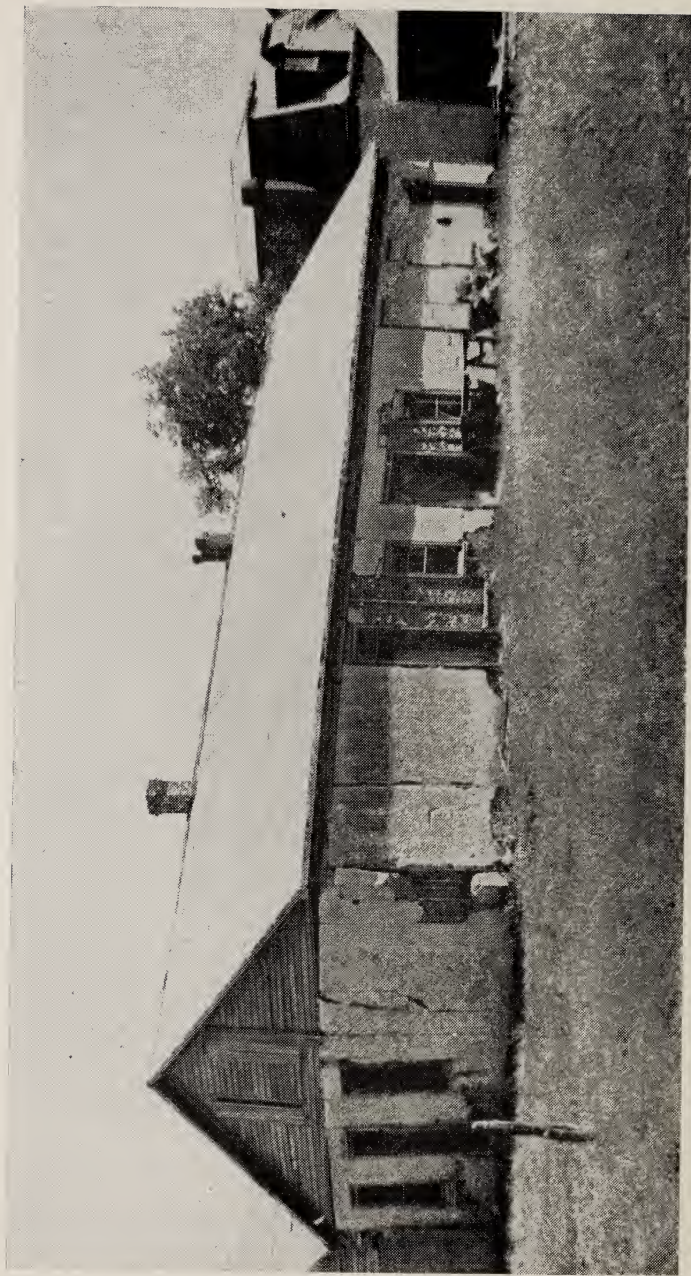
The canteen or sutler's store was in the building just south of the large Oregon Trail marker now at the fort. This building was about 80x60 feet in size and the sutler, or manager of the store, secured his appointment from the government. In the old days the northeast room of the building was the lobby of the post office. Then in the middle of the east portion of the building was the room partitioned off for the office proper with its boxes and fixtures. The safe was imbedded in the masonry which formed the large chimney for the building. In the south portion was the store proper, the principal stock of merchandise being liquor. The civilians called it a saloon. The northwest room was the club room proper for the general run of people at the fort. The southwest corner room was the club room given over to the use of officers at the fort, and the women who drank and consorted with the officers. Between this room and the sutler's store was a special window that had something of a mystery about it . . . Officers in their club room went to the blind window, laid down their money in a small opening in a small revolving keg, and gave their order. Nobody was in sight but the keg turned around and the purchaser found a bottle of liquor in front of him. It was beneath the dignity of the U. S. Army to buy liquor in the room where the common rabble drank, hence the blind key . . . Over the officers club rooms was an attic finished to provide sleeping quarters. Hart, the postmaster roomed there at one time, and Jack Hunton and Jim Bridger used that room for sleeping quarters one winter in the 70's just before Bridger moved west to establish Fort Bridger . . . Some of the loud and sensational wall pictures provided for the saloons 40 and 50 years ago have of recent years been taken from the building, and now adorn the room of historical societies.¹⁰⁶

Except for the anachronism relative to Bridger's sleeping quarters this seems like a fairly accurate description. The "blind window" referred to is still in evidence.

Mr. Mead Sandercock of Fort Laramie and Mrs. M. Robertson of Torrington, childhood residents of the fort, were interviewed in 1940 and they contributed their recollections of the floor plan of this building. Their conception does not differ in any important respect from that of Mr. Powers. According to them, the original adobe section was the main store. North of this was the sutler's office and post office. In the newer west section of the building, the two rooms to the south were the officers' bar and private club room. In the center was a large store-room and at the north end was the saloon, the "club room" for the enlisted men and the rank and file of civilians. Mr. Sandercock also contributed valued data on the location of missing doorways, the counter and shelves of the store, and the bars and billiard tables.¹⁰⁷

Patriotic and persistent citizens of Wyoming long urged that something be done to save old Fort Laramie and, after some abortive attempts, in 1937 the State of Wyoming acquired what was left of it from private owners for the adjudicated sum of \$15,000. (The whole fort, complete, brought less than one-tenth this amount at the auction in 1890).¹⁰⁸ In 1938 the property was deeded to the United States Government and the National Park Service assumed the custodianship. The sutler's store, along with the other surviving structures, was finally assured protection. The accumulated debris of decades was removed and weakened walls were buttressed. Measured drawings of all architectural features were made for the Historic American Buildings Survey. The work of essential stabilization, suspended by the war, will be resumed as plans and funds permit.

The sutler's store was the busiest place at Fort Laramie throughout its forty years of military history. It was a focal point of social intercourse for all classes of men in the melting pot of frontier society. It was a vital supply link for travelers on the great transcontinental wagon road to Oregon, California and Utah and a banking and trading center of Dakota, Nebraska and Wyoming Territories. As it approaches its one hundredth birthday it stands as one of the few surviving citadels of the Old West. In its span of life it has seen Indian travois caravans and ox-drawn Conestoga wagons creeping over the land, and it has heard the drone of airplanes overhead. The pioneer folk who entered here are gone, but their dauntless spirit of freedom and enterprise lives on today in those Americans who march confidently onward toward new horizons.



The west wing of the Sutler's Store, composed of lime-concrete or "grout," was built in the early 1880's. Both views of this historic building were taken in June, 1932 by George Grant, photographer for the Department of the Interior. The weakened walls have since been braced with timbers.

(FOOTNOTES TO "SUTLER'S STORE" MANUSCRIPT)

1. Prior to 1849 the name "Fort John" was replaced by the more popular "Fort Laramie" but the earlier official designation is here used to preserve the distinction between the original adobe fort and the buildings which were later erected outside its walls.

2. The parade ground and adjoining buildings are on an approximate axis of southwest to northeast. However, in describing the sutler's store in this paper, to eliminate confusion "east" will be understood to mean the front of the store facing the parade ground.

3. The chronology of the other surviving structures at Fort Laramie is the subject of a separate study by the writer.

4. John C. Thompson, "Wyoming's Most Distinguished Doorway," *Guernsey Gazette*, July 4, 1937.

5. Irene D. Paden, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*, New York, 1944, p. 167.

6. LeRoy R. Hafen and Frances Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890*, Glendale, 1938, pp. 69-70.

7. McKay to Jessup, July 31, 1849, *Fort Myer Archives*.

8. John Hunton, "Old Fort Laramie." *Manuscript*, Wyoming Historical Department. This is confirmed by Grace R. Hebard and E. A. Briminstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, Cleveland, 1922, Vol. I, p. 103. On p. 104 the authors make a contradictory reference to "the sutler's store building, built of adobe in 1852," probably confusing this with the stonework addition of that approximate date.

9. John Hunton Papers, Wyoming Historical Department.

10. Letter of August 13 from "a correspondent at Fort Laramie," *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XX, p. 256.

11. Van Vliet to Jessup, July 23, 1850, *Fort Myer Archives*.

12. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

13. "Letters and Journal of Henry Atkinson Stine," *Manuscript* copy, Missouri Historical Society.

14. James Abbey, "California. A Trip Across the Plains," *Magazine of History*, Vols. 46 and 47, New York, 1932-33, p. 26.

15. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

16. Milo M. Quaife, ed., *Kit Carson's Autobiography*, Chicago, 1935, p. 138.

17. Dougherty papers, Missouri Historical Society, quoted by Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 166. John Dougherty, prominent trader and Indian agent at St. Louis, is not to be confused with Tutt's partner, Lewis Dougherty.

18. Annual Report of the Chief Engineer, U. S. Army, in *Senate Documents*, I, 31st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 363.

19. "Fort Laramie, Indian Territory, 1851," *War Department Records*.

20. "Plot of Fort Laramie," *War Department Records*.

21. F. L. Paxson, ed., "Thomas Turnbull's Travels from the United States Across the Plains to California," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, for 1913, p. 170.

22. *Extracts from the Diary of William G. Lobenstine, 1851-1855*, privately printed, 1920, p. 30.

23. G. W. Kendall, "Letter from the Plains, Written on the Platte River, opposite Fort Laramie, June 9, 1852," *St. Louis Intelligencer*, July 14, 1852.

24. Gilbert L. Cole, *In the Early Days Along the Overland Trail in Nebraska Territory, in 1852*, Kansas City, 1905, pp. 53-55.

25. Jno. H. Clark. "A Trip Across the Plains in 1852," *typescript*, E. E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

26. Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, XX, p. 238.

27. L. D. S. *Journal History*, November 2, 1852, quoted by Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

28. Gwen Castle, ed., "Belshaw Journey, Oregon Trail, 1853," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, 3, p. 228. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 202, quoting from a copy of the journal in the Huntington Library, indicate the date as May 17.
29. Dr. Thomas Flint, *California to Maine and Return, 1851-1855*, Claremont, California, 1924, p. 32.
30. Quoted in *The Oregon Trail (American Guide Series)*, New York, 1939, p. 172.
31. "Autobiography," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 245.
32. James Linforth, *Route From Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake Valley*, Liverpool, 1855, p. 92.
33. Original sketch is in Linforth, *ibid.*, opposite p. 94; copy in Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 204.
34. L. D. S. *Journal History*, October 28, 1854, quoted in Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
35. William Chandlers, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, London, 1857, p. 94.
36. *Manuscript* copy, Scotts Bluff National Monument.
37. John Hunton Papers, *op. cit.* Ward paid Tutt and Dougherty \$3,000 for their interest. The bill of sale is reprinted in *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 5, No. 1.
38. Higgins to Jessup, June 30, 1857, *Fort Myer Archives*.
39. T. S. Kenderdive, *A California Tramp*, Newtown, Pa., 1888, p. 68.
40. Captain Irwin revisited Fort Laramie in 1939 and at that time was interviewed by Custodian Jess Lombard.
41. Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon*, Kansas City, 1906, p. 253.
42. Capt. Jesse A. Gove, *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858*, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928, p. 51.
43. Babbitt to Jessup, June 23, 1858, *Fort Myer Archives*.
44. Horace Greeley, *Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859*, New York, 1860, p. 182. Brigham Young, the patriarch of Salt Lake City, was another famous passenger of the overland stage, of which Fort Laramie was a major stop. See John Bratt, *Trails of Yesterday*, Chicago, 1921.
45. Mrs. Louise Nottingham, "Sgt. Leodegar Schnyder," *Manuscript*, Wyoming Historical Department.
46. Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express*, New York, 1932, p. 274. John Hunton reportedly came into possession of a leather letter pouch left in 1867 at the sutler's store by ex-Pony Express rider Bob Sanders, later killed in a quarrel with Ed Moss.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-197.
48. Richard Burton, *City of the Saints*, New York, 1862, p. 90.
49. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
50. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.
51. "Map of Fort Laramie, 1863," *Collins Collection*, Colorado Agricultural College, Fort Collins. Two good illustrations of Fort Laramie in the early sixties complement the Collins map. One sketch by Bugler C. Moellman is found opp. p. 112, Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1. Another by an unknown soldier of the 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, appears on the cover of *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January, 1945).
52. Agnes Wright Spring, "Caspar Collins Papers," *Caspar Collins*, New York, 1927, p. 147. This part is imperfectly described as follows: "East [north] of the first sutler's store was another sutler's store and shed 94x69." Comparison with the map shows that this has reference to the residence, not "another sutler's store." The residence itself was 18'x45' with a wing 20'x28'. The sutler's residence was demolished in 1890 or shortly thereafter.
53. Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, London, 1863, p. 80.
54. Col. Samuel Word, "Diary of a trip, 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, VIII, p. 50.

55. G. O. Houser in *Guernsey Gazette*, July 4, 1937, reports that John Hunton's translation of the Indian name was "Brings Water," but Ware says it was "Wheaten Flour," this being the Indian symbol for whiteness or purity. She was stricken with tuberculosis in 1866. Many romantic legends are woven around her.

56. Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864*, Topeka, 1911, pp. 273-347. Ware was with the 7th Iowa Cavalry and for a while was Post Adjutant.

57. Arthur J. Dickson, *Covered Wagon Days*, Cleveland, 1929, p. 82.

58. Myra E. Hull, ed., "Soldiering on the High Plains. The Diary of Lewis Byram Hull, 1864-1866," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, VII, 1.

59. Will H. Young, "Journals and Travels," *Annals of Wyoming*, VII, 2.

60. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-333; Robert B. David, *Finn Burnett, Frontiersman*, Glendale, 1937, pp. 29-43. The Indians were executed on the following day by Colonel Moonlight, it is said upon receipt of hastily wired instructions from General Connor. It is doubtful if they appreciated the fine distinction between a lynching and a formal hanging. In Burnett's version three chiefs were hung, and "Colonel Baumer" was their intercessor. George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, New York, 1915, p. 181, says the Indians came in voluntarily to prove their friendliness. Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150, quote Colonel Moonlight to the effect that the Indians were captured red-handed.

61. B. F. Rockafellow diary, *manuscript* notes at Colorado Historical Society.

62. J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War*, Indianapolis, 1929, p. 185.

63. *War Department Records*.

64. J. L. Campbelle, *Handbook and Guide for the Emigrant*, Chicago, 1866, p. 67.

65. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 8, No. 3.

66. Letter of September, 1926 to Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyoming State Historian.

67. Mrs. Henry B. Carrington, *AB-sa-ra-ka, Land of Massacre*, Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 76-77.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

69. Julius C. Birge, *The Awakening of the Desert*, Boston, 1912, pp. 178-179.

70. Maj. Alson B. Ostrander, *An Army Boy of the Sixties*, New York, 1924, pp. 102-104, 227.

71. *War Department Records*.

72. Hebard and Brininstool, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-103.

73. John Hunton, "Early Settlement of the Laramie River Valley," *Fort Laramie Scout*, August 18, 1927.

74. John Hunton, "History of the old Sutler Store Coins," *Fort Laramie Scout*, December 12, 1928.

75. J. W. Hendron, "Introduction to Fort Laramie Archeology," *Manuscript*, National Park Service files.

76. J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger*, Salt Lake City, 1925, pp. 469-471. Bridger was restored to duty in May, but discharged later in the year at Fort D. A. Russell. This ended his brilliant career on the Plains.

77. "Notes on Fort Laramie," *Torrington Telegram*, April 28, 1934.

78. Interview with Custodian Jess Lombard in 1941.

79. Wilson O. Clough, ed., "Fort Russell and Fort Laramie Peace Commission in 1867," *Sources of Northwest History* No. 14, University of Montana.

80. Red Cloud himself would not come until later in the year after the white man had ignominiously destroyed his hated forts on the Bozeman Trail.

81. *House Documents*, 40th Congress, 3d Session, Vol. 2, Book 1336, p. 488.

82. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 248, 321-330. The Indians were reluctant to leave the vicinity of Fort Laramie and did not actually do so until 1873, when the "Red Cloud Agency" on the Platte, near the present Nebraska-Wyoming line, was moved north.—George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, Norman, 1937, pp. 187-205. Indian outlaws plagued the neighborhood as late as 1877.

83. Spring, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 278.

84. Reproduced in Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 346. Most of the other known general views of the fort are not helpful. In this instance the soldiers' barracks which usually hides the store has been razed to make way for a new structure, and only the scaffolding intervenes.

85. Bullock foresaw the future when the peace treaty of 1868 was concluded. At that time he concluded a partnership with Benjamin B. Mills who went east that year to purchase the first herd to be grazed in that part of Wyoming.—John Hunton Papers.

86. John Hunton Papers; John S. Collins, *Across the Plains*, Omaha, 1904, pp. 65-67.

87. *The National Archives*.

88. A picture of this establishment appears in Bushnell's *Burials* (Bulletin No. 83 of the Bureau of American Ethnology). It is mentioned occasionally by travelers. It was a log and adobe affair dating about 1867 to 1871.

89. Report of Capt. F. L. Luhn, June 30, 1870, *Fort Myer Archives*.

90. *War Department Records*.

91. *National Archives*.

92. Report by W. P. Hall, March, 1882, *Fort Myer Archives*.

93. *War Department Records*.

94. One notable exception is the unpublished diary of John Hunton which begins in 1875. It is in the safe-keeping of Mr. L. G. (Pat) Flannery of Fort Laramie and Cheyenne.

95. G. O. Houser, ed., *Guernsey Gazette*, July 4, 1937; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186. "Nick Janis" is apparently a corruption of Nicholas Jeunesse. A brother Antoine was equally well-known around old Fort Laramie.

96. Interviewed by E. A. Hummel, August 21, 1941.

97. Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

98. Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-84.

99. "Some Incidents at old Fort Laramie, Year 1877," *Guernsey Gazette*, *op. cit.*

100. Interview by E. A. Hummel with Mr. Thomas Walters of Omaha. The deed that Mr. Walters obtained from Mr. Hunton for his property, sold about 1924, contained this information.

101. William Francis Hooker, "Back-trailing in Modern Wyoming," *Erie Railroad Magazine*, XVII, 9.

102. Grace R. Hebard, "Notes on Fort Laramie," *Torrington Telegram*, April 28, 1932.

103. O. U. Hinrichs, "Reveries—Fort Laramie," *The Goldenrod*, Cheyenne, 1931, saw the weather-beaten bar in a state of advanced disintegration.

104. G. O. Houser, "A Fiction Story of old Fort Laramie," *Guernsey Gazette*, July 5, 1935. Herein is an interesting account of the varied misfortunes which befell the proposed museum.

105. Hendron, *Ibid*.

106. Thomas G. Powers, "More History of old Fort Laramie," *Torrington Telegram*, March 22, 1934.

107. Interview with Custodian Jess Lombard of Fort Laramie National Monument, 1940.

108. Hafen and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-409.

**Letter of December 20, 1945 from G. O. Reid to
Merrill J. Mattes, giving reminiscences of old
Fort Laramie and vicinity**

Mr. M. J. Mattes
Gering
Nebraska

High River Alberta
Box 327
December 20'' 1945

Dear Mr. Mattes.

Am enclosing a rough map that I drew from memory, And did not scale it to the inch, But guess you can make out the main points on the map.

First I will begin with a little personal history, I was borned at Fort McPherson Nebraska, on the 28'' day of January 1872, my father at that time was coral boss there, and drove the Grand Duke of Alexis of Russia on his famous buffalo hunt, in an army ambulance with four cavalry horses for the team, My father worked as a stock tender on the poney expres during 1859. at Rockey Point station, then he drove stage when the stage coaches was put on, covering the stations from Indepence Rock to Salt Lake City, during the year of 1862 he was put in charge as Supt, from three crossings on the Sweetwater to Julesburg on the Platte River, during this year the Indians commence to burn the stage station and run of the stage horses, in a scrap near Devil Gap, he was badly wounded in the back, and finally went to Salt Lake City for threatment. during this period he traveled up and down thec line through Fort Laramie. Wyo.

At the age of two years my parents moved to North Platte City two miles east of the Fort, Where Buffalo Bill (Cody) and his wife and two children lived with us, while Cody was out on indian campaigns, during the fall of 1875 my father was transferred with his wagon trains to Fort Laramie, on account of the pending indian uprisings, Then he sent for mother and us children, we traveled by U. P. Rly, to Cheyene then to Fort Laramie by stage coach, Arriving at Fort Laramie we were taken by my father to the place marked on the map as Reid,s Ranch near the old adobe coral, where my father was in charge as train master of the mule and wagon trains,

He had bought this place from an ex-soldier named John O. Brine we lived there until the fall of 1880, when my father got in a scrap with a gambler, and after things blewx over we were orderd off the reservation by Col. Gibbon, we moved down the Platte River about six miles to an old wood camp in the river timber and then known as ol man Callahans place, we was there about two months when we moved to the old Pierre Baptise ranch then known as the B P. ranch and owned by Heck Reel a cattle man whose brand was HR. we lived there until the fall of 1882, then my brother Will took up a homestead on

the Platte River ten miles west of Fort Laramie, and now known as part of Reg Cliff, Our first house was built of the old sand stone rocks used in the Sand Point Pony Express Station, but moved back as the river bank kept caving off in the river during high water,

during 1883, we were drowned out by the high water, so we built a new house on the west end of our land on a bench about ten feet higher a than the previous high water, mark. during the spring of 1892 we sold our place to Chas A Gurnsey, for whom the town on the north side of the river was named. We then moved with our cattle and horse to western North Dakot to the town of Medora, near where Gen Custer and his command crossed the Little Missouri, River on his way west on the fatal expedition which cost him and most of his commands life, So much for our personal history.

we kept a bunch of cattle at our place near the Fort and supplied the Fort patrons with milk and cream for the officers, on pay days we used to gather mushrooms, and catch large green frogs for their legs for the officers then when they wanted to go fishing we kids used to make a dip net out of chees cloth, and catch live minnows out of the Laramie River for the officer to go fishing for pike in the Platte River. our best place to go catch frogs was in the slough S. W. of the Fort on the Deer Creek

1. You will note the two indian girls graves on the map, they were buried on scaffolds, one was Spotted Tails daughter Falling Leaf, and Red Clouds daughter White Fawn.

2. The old hospital in your picture was under the charge of Staff Sgt. John Tomamichel as hospital steward, over him was Capt Dr Brown, Jake Tomamichel the son of the hospital steward now lives at Medora North Dak, during the small pox epidemic during 1878 among the soldiers and indian scouts, dr Brown gave the soldiers a medicine they duded Dr Browns Milk punch, nine tenths of them died, in the Pawnee Indian Scout camp north of our house they also died like rats, us kids wore bags of aspedia around uor neck tied to a string, we used to go among the indians and their kids but we never got the disease,

3. The old sutler store and saloon was run by and owned by Snyder and J. S. Collins when we moved there, and in 1884 sold by Snyder and Collins to Morrison and Snyder, Morrison was a former clerk in the store and my brother Will worked there as a clerk, J. S. Collins after selling out the sutler store moved to Cheyenne and started a saddle shop, under the firm name of J. S. Collin & Co, Jack Hunton was running the stage station at Bordeaux the second stage station from the Fort, the first was at Eagle Nest and run by George Hawke, the first time I seen Jack Hunton in the old sutler store was in April 1890

when I worked at the Fort digging up the water mains and taking the plumbing out of the officers quarters to be shipped to Fort Robinson Neb,

4. The place called the old guard house was used as a magazine for storing ammunition ever since I can remember, it possibly might of been used as a guard room before my time.

5. The mule skimmers and artisans employed around the Fort was all civilians under the quartermasters department. Major Drew was in charge of the Q. M. Depmt, he was there for a long time under Col. W. Merritt, Col. J. Gibbon, and Col. H. C. Merriam, my father being employed as trainmaster and coral boss, with his assistant. Jim Hilton. in the spring of 1876 they started out from Fort Laramie under Gen. Crook to bring back the indians to their respective reservations, but with no results, But the battles of the War Bonnett, Creek, Battle of the Rosebud, and battle of the Lame Deer Creek, where the indians delayed Gen. Crook command while the Custer battle was going on, on arrivial of Crooks command at the battle ground next day, they helped to bury the dead and remove the wounded down the Little Bighorn river to the steamer Far West, about eight miles below the battle ground. Crooks command then had orders to chase the indians back to their reserves, the winter of 1876-77 they spent the winter at what became later as known now as Camp Crook ariving back at Fort Laramie in the late spring of 77, badly worn out after the hard winter at Camp Crook on the Little Missouri, and chaseing the stray indians back to the Pine Ridge Agency and enrout the battle of Slim Buttes where Buffalo Chips the scout, Jim Whie. was killed in this battle.

6 There was all kinds of tough characters who used to come into the Fort and get drunk then on pay days the soldiers and cowboys used to get in all kinds of fights, which we used to watch with glee, I remember on one occasion during 1881 a tough bunch of cowboys came to the Fort, got drunk then headed by a man called Red Jack Burnett they got on their horses and started galloping around the parade ground in front of the officer quarters the officer of the day ran out and tried to stop them but the cowboys ran over him and commenced to shoot things up, the adjutant called out the guard then the cowboys took to the road running north of the post towards the bridge over the Laramie River west of the Fort, the guards ran to the N. W. corner of the parade ground and started shooting with their springfield rifles at the cowboys, they sure raised a dust behing the fleeing cowboys, who kept hollering back shoot you B. B. S. B.

7. The buildings were mostly lumber. with the exception of the Calvary Barracks, Hospital, Old Magazine, i, e guard

house, Sutler Store, Coral adobe, and some of the officers quarters built of adobe plastered on the out and inside.

8. The Rustic Hotel. (and Stage Station) was run by Charley Charlton, and later by Newcomb and Hogle. Old Bedlam was usually the scene of loud parties after each payday with dances and general hurrah.

9. The guard house was usually full of drunks on pay days, with lots of desertions, I remember one offender who had to carry a fifty pound sack of sand back and forwards between the sentries at the guard house, all of a sudden he threw the sand bag and ran for the Laramie River which was very high, the guards kept shooting at him but he jumped into the river and they kept shooting at his head so he would dive, keeping down the river finally came out on the other side of the river opposite our place in Bull Park and escaped, On another occasion, we had a race horse, and the deserters allway tried to steal our horses, so we got a bull dog, one night about two o'clock in the morning after pay day we heard an awful yell, we rushed out and Tom the bulldog had a soldier by the leg, he had saddled the race horse, and as he had crawled through the small back window, before saddling the horse, the dog did not get a chance at him but when he opened the stable door the dog grabbed him all he could yell was tie up your dog he eating my leg off, We called the dog off and the deserter hobbled back to the Fort for medical aid.

10. The freighters who used to haul supplies for the Post Trader one I especially remember was Joe Wilde, a rough and tumble fighter, He was a bullwhacker and could lick several men at a time in a fight, then there was John Ryan know as Posey Ryan, because he called all the girls poseys, he owned a freight outfit, of mules and horses he had a brother named Dan Ryan who used to work for him they had a ranch on the Laramie River about seven miles west of the Fort, across the river from the B. P ranch Old portugese Phillips also had a freight outfit and later on ran the stage station at Lodge Pole Creek, north of Cheyene,

Then Cooney & Coffee were noted characters who ran a road ranch on the north side of the Laramie River four and a half miles west of the Fort, this place was built in a square just off the reservation line, there was also a joint on the south side of the river from the Cooney and Coffee joint, dont just remember the men who ran it.

11. I havent much recollection about the Scotts Bluff and Horse Creek, and Ribeaudeau. Pass, only I covered that ground three springs working as a cowboy for the diamond a ranch, Stevens & Misner and two years for the Heck Reel cattle outfit, on the round ups from the Sidney Bridge in Nebraska to the



Map of Fort Laramie, 1876-1890. Drawn from memory by G. O. Reid. Sent with letter of December 20, 1945 to Merrill J. Mattes.

Heck Reel ranch on the little Laramie River west of where the town of Wheatland now stands, Heck Reel was a freighter until he went into the cattle business with Vest Sherman as his foreman, Heck Reel sold his cattle to the Mitchell Bros, George and Sandy Mitchel later on of Glenrock Wyoming, The old place used as a blacksmith shop east of the Fort on the south side of the Platte River used by Ribedeaux was known as the old Rock Ranch, and owned by Pratt & Ferris cattlemen and my brother Will worked for this cattle outfit,

Yours Very Truly,

G. O. Reid

**Letter of January 25, 1946 from Merrill J. Mattes to
Mrs. Marie H. Erwin, explaining circumstances
of foregoing letter, and giving additional
biographical data on Mr. Reid.**

January 25, 1946.

Marie H. Erwin,
Wyoming Historical Department,
Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Dear Mrs. Erwin:

Attached herewith is the original of a letter of reminiscences dated December 20, 1945 and a photostatic copy of a map of old Fort Laramie sent to me by Mr. G. O. Reid of High River, Alberta, Canada. He has indicated his willingness to have this material published in *Annals of Wyoming*.

Mr. Reid wrote to me originally on November 12, 1945, having seen my letter on Fort Laramie history reprinted in the *Pony Express* for October, 1945. He briefly outlined his life as a youngster around Fort Laramie from 1875 to 1892, and asked about Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen's book on the subject. Realizing that I had struck "pay dirt" I asked Mr. Reid if he would be kind enough to give us more of his recollections, which might be of value in the research program at Fort Laramie National Monument. The result was this extremely interesting letter which takes us back 70 years ago when the old fort was a going concern, with illuminating sidelights on Fort Laramie buildings and incidents, and on events and personalities famous in Wyoming history. The map of Fort Laramie, drawn from memory, is remarkably accurate as to known features and their relative location, with certain new information added. The sincerity and enthusiasm with which Mr. Reid gives us this glimpse into the past provides an arresting and colorful document which I know will be welcomed by the readers of *Annals of Wyoming*. Possibly there are some who were acquainted with train master Reid and his family.

The letter of December 20 needs no elaboration, but I might round out Mr. Reid's story with facts supplied from his other letters. He writes: "After moving from Medora, N. D. the former stamping ground of our former President Theodore Roosevelt, I became sheriff of Billings County for a term of four years from 1902 to 1906, two terms all the law allowed at that time. After coming up to Canada I joined the Royal Northwest Police, serving as a Detective Staff Sergeant for twenty three years receiving two medals . . . I have been with the Royal Canadian Air Force for the last four and a half years . . . I came here to High River to be Chief Guard at the Air Port . . . just finished the 15th of November, and now have some leisure time to do some writing."

Mr. Reid revisited Fort Laramie in March, 1937, taking several pictures of the old buildings, many of which were constructed during his childhood. We hope that this grand gentleman who was so much a part of early Wyoming history can come again.

Sincerely yours,

Signed

Merrill J. Mattes,
Historian for Fort Laramie
National Monument.

INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION AND CITIZENS AT FORT LARAMIE IN 1868

The following are photographs of some of the people mentioned in the previous article "The Sutler's Store at Fort Laramie". While not a part of this article they are so apropos to the article, that we were pleased to receive them in time to use them here.

The four photographs on the following pages were acquired by the Wyoming Historical Department from the Bureau of American Ethnology, through the courtesy of Mr. M. W. Stirling, chief of the Bureau. These were all taken by government photographer Mr. Gardner, in 1868.

The citizens and Indian chiefs in photographs one and two were identified by Mr. W. M. Camp for the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri, about thirty or thirty-five years ago from the time of writing, 1945. The names were obtained by Mr. Stirling, from the Missouri Historical Society.

The names of those in photographs three and four were given by Mr. Stirling, as they are recorded at the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The group of citizens in photographs one and two were some of the settlers at and around Fort Laramie, in 1868. Some biographical data on these people follows.

William G. Bullock was employed by Seth Ward, sutler at Fort Laramie, as agent and general manager of Mr. Ward's large interests at Fort Laramie, from 1858 to 1871. He was present during the conferences of the Peace Commissioners of 1866 and 1868; was engaged in the cattle business, and reported by Sila Reed, surveyor general of Wyoming Territory, as having 4500 head of cattle on Horse Creek in 1871.

Benjamin B. Mills, in 1858, was commissioned by the Indian agent, Thomas S. Twiss, agent of the Upper Platte River (North Platte River) Nebraska Territory, as a trader and clerk in the sutler's store. He was the bookkeeper in 1867. W. G. Bullock and Mills became partners in a cattle enterprise, running the stock in the vicinity of the Laramie River, Chugwater, and Bordeaux. B. B. Mills died in 1867.

Isaac Bettelyoun was an early day cattleman, who ran his stock on the Chugwater, 1867. He was a brave Indian fighter, and a close friend of W. G. Bullock.

John Finn. We find the following in the Cheyenne Leader, October 10, 1867, p. 1:

“Col. John Finn, the contractor for furnishing beef to the military post at Cheyenne has lately built a large cattle yard at Omaha from which he loads fat beeves on to cars for transportation westward; some days he sends out one dozen cars.”

James Bordeaux, a French Canadian was an “old timer” around Fort Laramie in 1868. He had a road house and a small trading post about nine miles east of Fort Laramie, on the south side of the North Platte River in the 1850's. Upon the establishment of a government road between Fort Russell and Fort Laramie, Bordeaux established a small store and road ranch in 1867 on the government road intersecting the new Fort Russell-Fort Laramie road. The road ranch developed into the town of Bordeaux where in 1877 a post office was established. James Bordeaux also had large cattle and ranching interests.



Citizens and Indian chiefs in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, 1868. Left to right—unidentified; Packs-His-Drums, an Ogalala Sioux, sitting; John Finn; Amos Bettelyoun, standing; W. G. Bullock, sitting; Old-man-afraid-of-his-horses, chief of the Ogalala Sioux; Benjamin Mills; Red Bear; James Bordeaux.



Citizens and Indian chiefs in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, 1868. Left to right—Red Bear; Benjamin Mills; Packs-His-Drum, an Ogala Sioux; W. G. Bullock; Amos Bettelyoun, standing in doorway behind Bullock; Old-man-afraid-of-his-horses, chief of the Ogala Sioux; John Finn. There are two men in the doorway who can hardly be seen, who no doubt are James Bordeaux and the unidentified man in picture no. 2, as this is the same group.



The Peace Commission of 1868 at Fort Laramie. Left to right—Alfred H. Terry, Bvt. Major General; William S. Harney, Bvt. Major General; William T. Sherman, Lieut. General; Sioux squaw; N. G. Taylor, President of commission (Commissioner of Indian Affairs); S. F. Tappan; C. C. Augur, Bvt. Major General.



The Peace Commissioners and Indian chiefs in council at Fort Laramie in 1868. Left to right—S. F. Tappan; Gen. W. S. Harney; Gen. W. T. Sherman; unidentified; Gen. C. C. Augur; Gen. A. H. Terry; unidentified behind the bush; N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. J. B. Henderson and J. B. Sanborn, members of the commission are no doubt the unidentified men.



GOVERNOR THOMAS MOONLIGHT
1887-1889

The Administration of Thomas Moonlight

1887-1889

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON*

Wyoming's Time of Trouble

With the election of Cleveland as the first Democratic president since 1861, the members of his party in Wyoming anticipated a change in territorial administration. Their hopes were shattered by a swift political move of the Republicans, under the leadership of Congressional delegate Joseph M. Carey, who prevailed upon President Arthur to nominate Francis E. Warren for the governorship before Cleveland assumed the presidency. Warren's acceptance, wired to the Interior Department in Washington, arrived two days prior to the inauguration. As Cleveland and his party had endorsed the principle of "home rule" for the western territories in the campaign for the presidency, pressure was exerted upon him to fulfill the party's commitments by retaining Warren who was an old Wyoming resident and among the foremost cattlemen-politicians in the territory.

The Democratic administration was likewise pledged to terminate the illegal fencing of the national domain by lumber "kings" and cattle "barons". The practice of fencing the alternate sections of land belonging to the government between those purchased from the Union Pacific Railroad had for years been a recognized procedure in the "Cattle Kingdom", and Warren was not the least among the offenders. Small land owners repeatedly protested to the administration about his "Railroad Steals" and accused him and delegate Carey of land grabbing for the purpose of establishing a monopoly. When Cleveland requested Warren to submit an explanation, the political pressure became acute, and in November, 1886, he was suspended from the governorship by the President. In Wyoming, Cleveland had thus achieved his desire to eliminate from public office those men who had fenced the public domain; and in order to carry out his promise of "home rule", he named another Wyoming cattleman, George W. Baxter, as chief executive. This young West Pointer, recently arrived in the territory, served only a month because his commission had not been signed twenty-four hours when he also was accused of illegally fencing land. This charge was speedily substantiated in the Interior Department. Cleveland was now convinced that the majority

*For Mr. Jackson's biography, see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 15:2:143.

of Wyoming's cattlemen-politicians, who were the most potential gubernatorial candidates, were engaged in illegal fencing, and he resolved to violate his "home rule" principle by appointing a reliable Kansas Democrat, Thomas Moonlight, to the governorship. The Moonlight appointment was looked upon with misgivings by Republicans and Democrats alike, for another non-resident had been imposed upon them.¹

Moonlight, a soldier of fortune, had served in the Federal Army during the Civil War, and was introduced to Wyoming in 1865 while stationed at Fort Laramie. His Eleventh Kansas Cavalry had been assigned the duty of protecting the telegraph line and overland stage route in southeastern Wyoming. Colonel Moonlight returned to his Kansas farm at the close of the war and entered upon a political career. As a conservative Republican he supported the Johnson administration and was rewarded with an appointment as Collector of Internal Revenue for Kansas. The following year he was a successful Republican candidate for secretary of state. Moonlight switched party allegiance in the decade of the seventies, and, with the enthusiasm of a new convert, he presided over the state Democratic convention in 1880. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Kansas governorship in 1886, but Cleveland compensated him for making the race by the appointment as territorial governor of Wyoming.²

In Cleveland's letter of appointment he expressed his determination that the public lands were not to be fenced by the cattlemen and that the public domain should be held for actual settlers. Moonlight, a Granger in politics, was interested in the cause of the pioneer farmer; and when he arrived in Cheyenne on January 25, 1887, he was pledged to break the political power of the cattle interests. Within a month he wrote the Secretary of the Interior requesting the appointment of an associate justice of the supreme court who would in turn name as clerks and deputies in the various Wyoming counties the local

1. W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Governorship of Wyoming, 1885-1889, A Study in Territorial Politics", *The Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (March, 1944), 1-11. The attitude of the Cleveland administration relative to the status of the national domain is more clearly revealed in W. A. J. Sparks, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1885, 1886, and 1887". These reports were published as a part of the "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior" to Congress and may be located in the volumes of *Message and Documents*. Sparks' attitude was naturally reflected by Thomas Moonlight, the administration's agent in Wyoming. For those interested in the land question, a splendid account may also be found in John B. Rae, "Commissioner Sparks and the Railroad Land Grants", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV, 211-230.

2. Ichabod S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming* (Chicago, 1918), I, 181-182; Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming from Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago and New York, 1933), I, 391-394.

Democrats in harmony with the reform policy of the administration. He stated further

In view of the fact that many important questions connected with land entries and fencing upon which a large body of the wealthy of this territory hold different opinions from those entertained by the administration it is very important that all the branches of the government of the United States in this territory should be in harmony with the administration. That wealth is power we must all acknowledge; that the wealth of this territory, so far as developed, consists largely of cattle and horses, combined with land interests or ranches, is true. These interests are in the hands of the few, who succeeded by the power of wealth in interesting the many, but the fact remains.³

Plans for the Economic Development of Wyoming

The new governor sought to change the economic and political pattern of the territory and began immediately to encourage immigration and economic diversification. Writing to a Lusk resident shortly after his arrival, he said,

I shall do all that I can to encourage immigration into the territory, and believe that more people and less land per capita, will do more to develop and enrich Wyoming than anything else that can be done. We want the people and the people will find the wealth now hidden and in some instances ignored. "Land for the Landless" ought to be as good for Wyoming as any other locality. A quarter of a million of honest, hard-working citizens, ought to find homes in Wyoming before 1890 shall expire. Not only will they turn over the soil and in the way of food for man and beast make Wyoming more than self-sustaining, which is not the case now, but they will develop mineral interests and give Wyoming a boom . . . small ranches will give more people more production of the soil—more cattle;

3. Thomas Moonlight to L. Q. C. Lamar, February 24, 1887. This letter is in the Executive Proceedings of the Wyoming Territory, The National Archives. These proceedings include the official correspondence of the territorial executive office forwarded twice each year to the Secretary of the Interior. The source materials upon which this study is based are for the most part in manuscript form in The National Archives. The author has purposely quoted the previously unpublished letters of Moonlight at great length. The governor's personality and attitude toward local developments are more clearly revealed in these letters than in any other source, and Wyoming residents interested in the history of the territory will find them of outstanding value.

and ten times more wealth than the large ranches possibly can do.⁴

These large ranching interests, which had attempted to monopolize the land and cattle activities in the territory, had built their wealth by exploiting the public domain, and the governor's bitterness and resentment against them is shown in his remarks to a prospective settler.

Witnessing the settlement of Kansas from 1857 to 1886 and since that time in Wyoming, I have become deeply impressed that the domain is rapidly slipping away from actual settlers The 'Homestead' meant at one time, a home, an actual home for the homeless, now, I fear, it means in many instances, a speculation in the interest of those who have lands enough for hundreds of homes, and still conspiring against the people for more. You ask me how this can be possible? I answer, by getting Tom, Dick, Harry and Jane to make entries and proofs which have been accepted, perhaps according to the letter of the law but not in the spirit or interest. These speculators desiring to obtain the lands, advance the money for making a show of improvements and paying the land office fees. Then have Tom, Dick, Harry and Jane deed the land to them upon the receipt of a U. S. patent. You will say, 'Can men do such things and escape'? I answer, 'Yes, right along,' and many of them consider it 'quite the thing you know' I look upon the Public Domain as an outlet for the crowded portions of our country and the safety valve. . . . I am well aware that the rushing popular sentiment may consign me to the company of the 'old grannies' for daring to place one straw in the way of the onward march of the gobbling up process.⁵

As soon as the winter's snows melted sufficiently to make travel comfortable, Governor Moonlight planned a tour of the territory to become acquainted with Wyoming residents and to gather information for his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior. From June 22 to August 5, 1887, he was away from the territorial capital in Cheyenne. In Johnson County, near Buffalo, Moonlight discovered what he designated as satisfactory agricultural lands, and he favorably considered a petition of

4. Moonlight to J. K. Calkins, Lusk, Wyoming, February 28, 1887. The punctuation in all quoted materials is Moonlight's.

5. Moonlight to I. E. Hirsch, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, November 30, 1888.

the county commissioners and the mayor of Buffalo for the abandonment of the McKinney Military Reservation and the transfer of 360 acres of that land as a site for an agricultural college. Upon his return to Cheyenne he wrote the Commander at Fort McKinney

Johnson County is beyond any doubt the best agricultural county in the territory, and the most fitting place and location for an Agricultural College, such as must sooner or later be established. The 360 acres asked would abundantly satisfy the demands of an Agricultural College, for experimental and training purposes.⁶

Although the University of Wyoming, which had been established by the territorial legislature in 1886, had just opened its doors the preceding month and was struggling to get a good start, the governor resolved to insist upon a division of the higher educational system by pushing the agricultural college idea. He pressed the commandant for political support, and suggested

The legislative assembly meets in January, 1888, and were 360 acres set apart by the Government of the U. S. for the purpose of having a Territorial Agricultural College, there is no doubt but what the Legislative Assembly would approve of the same by passing necessary legislation. The government of the U. S. would be the gainer all through because the business of agriculture would receive such an impetus as to make the cost of forage and provisions for Fort McKinney much less than at the present time.⁷

In Laramie, the new governor was impressed by the Laramie Chemical Works, owned by the Union Pacific Railroad, for producing lye, soda, and salt cake. He also visited the Laramie Glass Factory and wrote the owner later, "I am very anxious to give in my report a short and concise history of your glass factory showing the *immense* importance of the manufacture to Laramie and to the Territory."⁸ When the annual report for 1887 was prepared, Moonlight called attention to the fact that the only window glass factory west of Rock Island, Illinois, was successfully operating in Laramie. Belgians, who were skilled glass workers, had been imported by the manage-

6. Moonlight to General James G. Brisbin, Commander at Fort McKinney, Wyoming, October 26, 1887.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Moonlight to Colonel J. W. Donnellan, Laramie, Wyoming, September 5, 1887.

ment and all the essential raw materials, soda, sand, and coal, were available in the vicinity.⁹ Detailed references in his report to the production of the coal mines at Carbon, Rock Springs, and Almy, to a copper and silver smelter established in Cheyenne, to a successful flour mill near Sheridan are evidence of the governor's resolve to attract attention to the manufacturing and mining resources of Wyoming. He included in his report the suggestion that in the absence of a territorial publicity and immigration bureau the advertising work should be done by private corporations like the colonizing corporation of Cheyenne.¹⁰

Just before the governor left Fort Bridger on his trip of inspection, a petition to President Cleveland for the opening up of the Old Fort Bridger Reservation was handed him with the request that he endorse it. He promised to consider the document upon his return to Cheyenne. The original reservation in southwestern Wyoming was some twenty-five miles square but was reduced by 1887 to four by six miles. Moonlight felt the bottom lands along the stream in this area could be used for agricultural production and hoped that the Homestead Law would be the basis for their disposition. In forwarding the petition of the settlers to Washington, he elaborated the point by saying

The valleys are capable of maintaining and supporting quite a population and I would earnestly recommend that the land be opened to "Homestead Settlement", exclusively, so that the rich valleys may provide homes for actual settlers, and the outlying lands, incapable of supporting settlement to remain open alike for all, for grazing purposes. Where any person may already [have] availed himself of a Homestead right, in some other part of the country, I would recommend that he be given the right of pre-emption instead.

I apprehend that the policy of the administration is not to make money for the government out of any portion of the public domain, but to sacredly preserve what is left for homes for the many, and to afford every facility for the many to secure homes at the lowest possible cost. There would follow many evil results from the policy of selling to the highest bidder in small or large tracts. The poor could not compete with the rich, and the land would pass into the hands of those seeking it for the purposes of speculation, and for the

9. Thomas Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *Message and Documents*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1009-1069.

10. *Ibid.*, 1013.

establishment of large ranches while the needy homesteader would be excluded. I believe that the true policy for the future of Wyoming is to have all the bottom and valley lands covered with settlers, on small ranches, cultivating the soil and allowing their cattle to run at large on the great public domain embraced in the high, rolling, and broken lands fit only for the grazing and the common heritage of all.

I could not recommend any other policy.¹¹

Moonlight sent a copy of his endorsement to Van A. Carter, whose family had pioneered in the Fort Bridger region and who was the spokesman for the community, with the notation, "I found it quite difficult to say what I desired . . . The recommendations I have made I believe for the best interests of all concerned and the true policy of the government. I shall be glad to hear from you on the subject."¹² By return mail, Carter accused the governor of wording his endorsement to make it appear that hay crops were produced without labor and irrigation and had only to be gathered. This he considered unfair and, furthermore, he thought the governor's recommendations would discriminate against those now occupying a portion of the land if they had a homestead elsewhere.¹³ Moonlight's lengthy reply opened with the statement, "It seems we clearly differ upon the point of the natural productiveness of the bottom lands without irrigation." He then restated and summarized his viewpoint relative to the disposition of the public domain.

An abandoned military reservation, according to Congressional action, is not classified with the ordinary public domain, but must be appraised and sold in small tracts to the highest bidder. We both agree that this course of action, if applied, would work injustice and you desire the general land laws applied to the Fort Bridger reservation the same as are now applied to other public lands.

This raises the whole question of public policy and I am not willing to give an unqualified endorsement of the 'Desert Act' or 'Timber Culture Act' as heretofore carried out in Wyoming. More frauds have been committed under these acts, and more injury has been done the territory by their application than from any and all causes.

11. Statement of Moonlight accompanying petition of Fort Bridger residents to Washington, D. C., October 27, 1887.

12. October 27, 1887.

13. November 4, 1887.

. . . The general land laws could not be applied without manifest partiality to those who, without any legal right, settled upon these reservations, and sought out the desirable spots for their own special purposes. . . . I know it will be argued that the settlers who have for years been occupying the land on the reservation ought to be entitled to the first consideration when the land comes into the market. I quite agree that every person living upon the land, should have, and would have, the first opportunity to secure it as a 'Homestead', but the person claiming ownership and authority over thousands of acres of the choicest land, and who for years had been holding it and utilizing it for his own purposes and profit, to the exclusion of others, and without having paid one cent for it or for the use of it should at any time claim a prior right to have and to hold the same forever, against all comers, seems to me to be against the spirit of our free institutions and in direct conflict with the tenor and scope of our land laws, ever liberally construed. I am quite sure you can not portake [sic.] of this spirit of monopoly which the national administration is earnestly striving to uproot; and I am also quite sure you would not advise the doing of anything that did not commend itself to your best judgment: hence, my deep regret that we cannot reconcile our views on this subject.

My real reason for advising that when any person had elsewhere used the homestead privilege he might be allowed the pre-emption right instead, was to insure to the persons now occupying the lands, the opportunity [sic.] to secure them finally, and was clearly in the interest of the settlers I can not see how my recommendation or advise would injure them. . . .

What Uinta County needs is population—settlers on the land, and they will produce wealth. What is true of Uinta County in which the reservation is located is true of Wyoming from one end to the other and to this end I will cheerfully give my best wishes.¹⁴

This extensive correspondence was sent to L. Q. C. Lamar, the Secretary of the Interior, with a typical Moonlight comment, "It will be noticed that the endorsement did not commend itself to the views and opinions of Dr. Carter." He further informed the Secretary that there were

14. November 8, 1887.

... several reservations in Wyoming and I know the general feeling is in favor of 'Homestead' settlement, and this sentiment is daily becoming more pronounced. Upon reflection, I became satisfied that the President would not likely take any action without the advise of the Secretary of the Interior, and hence I have sent a copy of the endorsement both to the department and to the President. I earnestly invite the attention of the Secretary to this correspondence.¹⁵

Because the large ranching interests of the territory advocated a public land policy diametrically opposed to his own views, the governor began the crusade against the cattlemen which lasted his entire administration. "In days past," he reported to the Interior Department, "the word has gone out rightfully or wrongly, I shall not constitute myself to judge, that farmers, tillers of the soil, were not wanted in Wyoming, that the country was only good for horses, cattle, and sheep, and that grazing was the one profitable business in the territory."¹⁶ At times his patience was strained to the breaking point, as when he wrote a prospective Iowa immigrant, "Wyoming is just beginning to develop and people are just beginning to talk about her. There is a future for this territory as soon as men begin to satisfy themselves that Cattle! Cattle!! Cattle!!! are not the only things."¹⁷

The winter of 1886-1887 was one of the most dismal the ranchers of the West had experienced. The preceding summer had been hot and dry all over the Plains, grazing was difficult, and prairie fires frequent. Early in the fall heavy snows came and soon long periods of cold formed ice over the snow. Cattle were denied food, and losses were disastrous with some outfits losing as much as 80 percent of the herd.¹⁸ The governor dismissed the plight of the cattlemen in his report to the Secretary of the Interior by saying, "owing to a very large profit coming from the cattle industry upon the ranges, the business was overdone and the supply of grass gave out before the last winter set in and the cattle were compelled to travel farther for food than their strength would permit."¹⁹ Moonlight looked upon the heavy shipments of cattle to market as a sign of the liquida-

15. November 9, 1887.

16. December 6, 1887.

17. Moonlight to James Holliday, Exira, Iowa, January 27, 1888.

18. Ernest Staples Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), 218-222; Louis Pelzer, *The Cattlemen's Frontier* (Glendale, California, 1936), 113-115; Harold E. Briggs, "The Development and Decline of Open Range Ranching in the Northwest", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX, 521-536.

19. Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *loc. cit.*, 1028.

tion of the large outfits. To him this was a favorable omen. He also recorded in his report that the sheep men were "happy, buoyant, and hopeful"²⁰ and remarked, "wherever the sheep range, the cattle have got to go, and so there is no love lost between the sheep men and the cattle men." When he was reminded that disaster in the ranching industry would widespread depression for the whole territory he responded, "I fully realize the possibilities of hard times in Wyoming from the transition period from cattle alone to the many industries, particularly farming and mining . . . My hope is in immigration during this period of depression, by reason of the breaking up of the large herd business."²¹ Moonlight was without doubt thoroughly convinced that Wyoming's greatest need was "farmers, practical everyday farmers, who will put their hands to the plow and not look back", and through them the territory would become a "blossoming landscape of farm productiveness."²² The economic development of Wyoming since Moonlight's time has proven how mistaken the governor's views were, but no colleague could convince him of the error of his opinion. The cattlemen of the territory felt the governor had forsaken them in their period of greatest need; as an economic interest they became his political opponents, a few ranchers became his personal enemies.

Attitude Toward the University of Wyoming

The main building of the University approached completion in the spring of 1887 and Governor Moonlight went to Laramie to confer with J. H. Finfrock, chairman of the board of trustees. Two members of the board who had been appointed in 1886, Samuel Aughey and former governor John W. Hoyt, were out of the territory at the time and the governor wrote them, "the members of the Board of Trustees of the University are very anxious for a series of meetings of the full board to make arrangements for a proper organization of the faculty. Much depends upon a good, fair, business like start or commencement . . . Will you soon return to reside in the territory, and will you be able to attend to your duties as Trustee of the University?"²³ Moonlight was particularly concerned over the fact

20. Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *loc. cit.*, 1030.

21. Moonlight to Lusk, January 21, 1888.

22. Moonlight, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming" in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887", *loc. cit.*, 1009-1010.

23. Moonlight to Aughey, Hot Springs, Arkansas, May 2, 1887; Moonlight to Hoyt, Los Angeles, California, May 2, 1887. Aughey wrote Moonlight on May 8, 1887, submitting his resignation, and Moonlight notified him on May 12 that Dr. Louis D. Ricketts had been named his successor. Hoyt returned to Wyoming as first president of the University.

that the law organizing the University had placed the institution under the control of the trustees and had failed to require a periodic report to the chief executive. In his legislative message of 1888 he remarked

The law places the entire management of the university in the hands of a Board of Trustees composed of seven members, three of whom shall always be residents of Laramie. Strange to say, the law requires no report from the Board of Trustees or accountability for their acts, and yet they are the custodians of all the property including buildings and grounds, and receive and disburse public monies [sic.] coming to their hands. . . . It would surely be more in the interest of good government were the Board of Trustees required to make a biennial report.²⁴

To one applicant for a faculty position, he wrote, "I regret to say the appointing power is not in my hands, but in that of the Board of Trustees."²⁵ This did not stop him, however, from making recommendations to the board relative to the selection of the first president. The governor's candidate was from his native state of Kansas. He notified Doctor Finfrock

I send you two letters received by me in reference to the presidency of the university. Prof. James H. Canfield of Lawrence of the State University of Kansas is the gentleman concerning whom I spoke to you . . . He will not seek the place, the place must seek him. He is not only a member of the National Education Association of the United States, but is its secretary. This gives you some idea of his standing among educational men of the country. He is a young man comparatively speaking and has before him a grand future, as he is a worker. If you can secure the services of such a man, the success of the university would be insured from the start. I shall do all I can to help to

24. Messages of the Governors of Wyoming to the Territorial Legislatures, 1873-1888. The messages of each governor, which were originally published in pamphlet form, are included in this bound volume in the University of Wyoming Library. The Moonlight message of fifty-three pages was printed by the Cheyenne Leader Book and Job Print, 1888.

25. Moonlight to George B. Morton, St. Louis, Missouri, May 23, 1887.

secure a live educator with business ability as head of the university.²⁶

A second candidate for the presidency who had written directly to the governor was Professor J. P. Blanton, President of the State Normal School at Kirksville, Missouri. In answer to his request for detailed information, Moonlight explained

Laramie is a city of about 4000 inhabitants, beautifully situated and located, with the very best and purest spring water running along the gutters and supplying all the houses as well as the natural pressure for the fire department. The University building is a very handsome, roomylike structure, not yet quite finished within. The University will be what the faculty make it. The government is in the hands of seven Trustees who will have the selection of the President and of course the faculty, but the President will be able to guide and mould the institution to his will. . . . The seventy-two sections of government land granted under an act of Congress, are now being selected for future use . . . There is no other endowment at the present. There is by law of the territory a levy of one fourth of one mill for University purposes which at present makes nearly eight thousand dollars, but of course this is just the beginning. In my judgment, Laramie city will grow, all things are in its favor. It is very healthy.²⁷

The governor forwarded his correspondence with Blanton to the chairman of the board of trustees and suggested that if Canfield was not acceptable, he was prepared to endorse this Missouri college president. He made the comment, "I have no doubt that President Blanton is a very able man, and would be admirably qualified for the position. The field is broadening for Wyoming."²⁸

Without consulting the governor, the board of trustees met during the second week in May and voted to request John W. Hoyt to return from California to assume the responsibility of

26. May 9, 1887. Moonlight was justified in his high regard for Canfield. The Kansas educator was chosen president of the National Education Association in 1890 and was called to the University of Nebraska as chancellor the following year. After a successful administration of four years, Canfield became president of the Ohio State University. Serving another four-year term as a university president, 1895-1899, he became Librarian at Columbia University. He represented that institution at educational conferences in France and England and was recognized as one of the outstanding educators of his time.

27. May 9, 1887.

28. Moonlight to Finrock, May 9, 1887.

the university presidency. Moonlight was not only incensed at the method by which the selection was made but had no confidence in the person chosen. He confided to a friend

I have seen through the papers that the Board has recommended or rather tended the appointment to the late Gov. Hoyt of this territory. . . . It is not for me to misjudge the board, but I think the result will bear me out in surmising the complete failure of the institution under such management. The President of a University, College, or Normal School, or other public or private institution of learning must have a very strong business turn of mind, so as to be a practical worker, and not a mere theorist.²⁹

At the close of the summer, the trustees began to make plans for the dedication and inauguration of the university on September 1. Both Finrock and Hoyt communicated with the governor requesting his presence at the ceremonies, but Moonlight, piqued because he felt he had not been properly consulted in university affairs, refused to attend. To Hoyt he wrote, "I am now quite sick, and so must deprive myself of the pleasure of being with you."³⁰ To Finrock, "I regret exceedingly that it will be impossible for me to be present on account of an accumulated pressure of business. . . . I wish the University prosperity in all departments of finance, members and education: for without the first two there will not be much of the latter."³¹ So the university was dedicated without the presence of the governor.

Although Moonlight did not approve of the university administration, he made every effort to secure good title to the university lands and to carefully administer their leasing to private individuals. When Franklin O. Sawin, university land commissioner, notified him of the location of the seventy-two sections allotted by Congress, he wrote Lamar in the Interior Department to have them certified. Moonlight noted that some of these sections of land were located between sections originally a part of the Union Pacific land grants, but which were now in the hands of cattlemen. Knowing the extent to which the practice prevailed of fencing the sections between those purchased

29. Moonlight to Morton, May 23, 1887. Hoyt had been widely recognized in educational circles for his interest in agricultural education. He had edited the *Wisconsin Farmer*, first agricultural journal in that state, and had served as secretary of the state agricultural society before coming to Wyoming as governor. Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1922) gives information on Hoyt's career in that state. See also Harry B. Henderson, "Wyoming Territorial Governors", *Wyoming Annals*, XI (October, 1939), 237-254.

30. August 31, 1887.

31. August 25, 1887.

from the railroads, he thought it might be the part of wisdom to check on the status of the land.³² To the close of his administration he insisted that these lands should be classified according to their highest value before any leasing was done in order that the university might not be deprived of the maximum income possible.³³ Relations with University President Hoyt presented another picture. The antipathy between the two men led to open hostility over the report of the first board of visitors which inspected the campus.³⁴ Defects in university administration, the lack of students, and inadequacy of equipment were mentioned directly by the visitor's report and the inference was left that a change in administrative personnel would not be amiss. This sentiment was included when the governor transmitted the report to the legislature. Hoyt wrote a stinging protest,³⁵ and Moonlight replied immediately

The visiting committee desired to be fair and just, and perform the duty required by law, without partiality. In preparing my message I was governed by the same principles . . . Of course, there will not be found perfection in any one man, but with reasonable ability, application, and experience, and integrity of purpose much can be accomplished in the direction of justice, and his mistakes will be forgiven. It would have been easier for me in every respect, to pass along, and present a message in every way pleasing and complimentary to everybody and everything but unfortunately I am troubled with a conscience which will give me no rest in matters of this kind, and so I prefer to settle with myself at the risk of being considered meddlesome.³⁶

The patronizing tone of the governor's letter did not ease the tense situation, and rumors of his criticism of the university administration, although sometimes false, came to Hoyt constantly. The president wrote a bitter note to Moonlight when he heard the governor had spoken of a performance in the gym-

32. November 18, 1887.

33. Moonlight to M. E. Hocker, Rawlins, Wyoming, September 7, 1888.

34. *The Revised Statutes of Wyoming* required "the governor to appoint biennially a board of visitors to consist of three persons whose duty it shall be to make a personal examination into the state and condition of the University and all its affairs, at least twice each year to report to the governor, suggesting such improvements as they deem proper, which report shall be submitted to the legislative assembly at its next session." R. E. Field and I. C. Whipple of Cheyenne and Professor Fred Shannon of Carbon composed the first visitor's committee.

35. Hoyt to Moonlight, January 12, 1888.

36. Moonlight to Hoyt, January 14, 1888.

nasium as improper, and the governor responded, "I have read your letter of yesterday with amazement for I can not concieve [*sic.*] what you have reference to. I never heard anything about the boy's and girl's gymnasium performance and so could have no feeling on the subject."³⁷

The board of trustees, representing an influential part of Wyoming's citizenry, supported the administration of Hoyt. When the legislative assembly convened, Moonlight attempted to reorganize the board by filling all vacancies with his henchmen. An antagonistic council rejected as many as three nominations for some places on the board, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the governor obtained confirmation of the required appointments.³⁸ After forwarding a commission to one of these third-choice trustees who had been confirmed, Moonlight wrote Finrock, the chairman, in disgust, "I first tried to appoint a man who was always present with you, but your delegation in the council saw that he was not confirmed. I sincerely trust that they were the true friends of the university."³⁹ The governor by this time had convinced the board that he was opposed to the University's best interests, and the friends of the institution joined the cattlemen in the ranks of those who wanted a change in the governorship.

Relations with the Tenth Legislative Assembly

Only one session of the Wyoming territorial legislature, the tenth, convened during the Moonlight administration. When the legislators assembled in Cheyenne, January 10, 1888, the chief executive shortly delivered a message which emphasized two themes, the absolute necessity for economy and the fact that the governor's power of appointment had been disregarded by earlier assemblies. He noted, for example, that the capitol and university building commissions, as set up, had the power to fill vacancies created by death or resignation, and he complained, "I have no information concerning the capitol building . . . The law authorizes a building commission with power to perpetuate themselves . . . and requiring no report to be made to any authority until the building is finished. . . . [This] policy is like 'locking the stable after the horse is gone.'"⁴⁰ He closed his message with a warning, "I desire

37. February 24, 1888.

38. Moonlight to John A. Riner, president of the council of the Tenth Legislative Assembly of Wyoming, March 9, 1888; Moonlight to J. F. Crawford, Saratoga, Wyoming, March 15, 1888; Moonlight to S. D. Shannon, Cheyenne, March 30, 1888; Moonlight to A. S. Peabody, Laramie, March 30, 1888.

39. March 26, 1888.

40. Messages of the Governors of Wyoming to the Territorial Legislatures, 1873-1888. Moonlight message to the Tenth Legislative Assembly, 42-43.

to impress upon you the necessity for strict economy in providing for all the public and needed wants of the territory, so that not one dollar may be appropriated where it can possibly be saved, without injury to the public service.”⁴¹

Although the house and council went on record as approving the governor's remarks, their debates soon revealed that his recommendations were to have little weight. Bills authorizing new appropriations for territorial buildings and the creation of more self-perpetuating commissions were introduced in the early days of the session.⁴² The governor, notoriously strong-willed and dogmatic, resolved to use his veto power to force the acceptance of his viewpoint. The first major altercation came on February 14 when he returned to the assembly with veto messages two bills that would have amended Wyoming statutes relative to corporations and the issuance of stock. He assumed somewhat of a lecturing tone when he stated

. . . at the last session of the legislative assembly the present code of civil procedure was adopted. It was prepared by a commission of able lawyers and presented to the assembly. The commission gave great care to the selection of a code and . . . if we should now attempt to make radical changes in the code as adopted it must inevitably result in litigation.⁴³

In 1888, the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, which had directed the affairs of the cattlemen in the territory for fifteen years, found its political influence declining because of increasing animosity against the cattle barons. Cattle losses during the two previous cold winters had bankrupted enough stockgrowers to reduce greatly the membership and resources of the association. However, only four years previously, the association had reached the height of its political power when through legislative enactment it became a quasi-official agent of the territorial government in supervising the annual roundup. The proceeds from the sale of mavericks were placed in the treasury of the association. Antipathy against the association was now directed against this so-called "Maverick Law"; and when a strong movement for repeal was inaugurated, the executive committee of the association endorsed a bill trans-

41. Messages of the Governors of Wyoming to the Territorial Legislatures, 1873-1888. Moonlight message to the Tenth Legislative Assembly, 52-53.

42. *Journal of the Council of the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming* (Cheyenne, 1888), 11-15. *Journal of the House of the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming* (Cheyenne, 1888), 14-16.

43. *Seven Vetoes by Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory, Tenth Legislative Assembly, 1888* (Cheyenne, 1888), 4. This pamphlet is available in the University of Wyoming Library.

ferring the responsibility for the round-up to a territorial board of livestock commissioners. The governor was foremost among the leaders in the crusade to allay the feeling existing against the Association. When the bill creating the new livestock commission was first passed by the assembly, to the amazement of all, Moonlight returned it with a veto because he discovered an encroachment upon his prerogative of appointment. The new commissioners were to be appointed for two years and to hold office until their successors had been nominated by the executive and confirmed by the council. The governor assumed that the legislative council might perpetuate the original commission by denying confirmation to his future nominees. This, he reasoned, would make the council supreme over the governor in the matter of appointments.

After they are once commissioned, [he wrote] they are absolutely free to do as they please. They are beyond the power of removal . . . and are subject to no authority. . . . [They] can snap their fingers in the face of the governor, can laugh at the House of Representatives, can defy all territorial officers but they must render allegiance to the Council.⁴⁴

After presenting a half dozen further objections to the legislation, the governor assured the assembly that he earnestly wished to cooperate in eliminating the obnoxious "Maverick Law" to satisfy the public demand, but a revision of the first draft must be made. The plight of the stockgrowers association was desperate and its friends in the assembly worked ceaselessly until a revised bill, acceptable to the governor, was enacted into law transferring the jurisdiction over the round-up to a territorial commission.

The legislature next antagonized the governor by passing a bill with generous appropriations for the erection, completion, or maintenance of public buildings throughout the territory in spite of recommendations for rigid economy. Moonlight was alarmed over the tax burden which he felt would retard settlement and he thought the legislators were extravagant, illogical, and also misinformed relative to the necessity of the construction. His attitude the legislators interpreted as a lack of confidence in Wyoming's economic potentialities and only the "wails of a pessimist". The assembly passed an omnibus measure authorizing \$125,000 for the addition of wings to the territorial capitol in Cheyenne, \$100,000 for the construction of a penitentiary at Rawlins, \$25,000 for improvements on the university building in Laramie, \$30,000 for an insane asylum

44. *Ibid.*, 8-11.

at Evanston, and \$25,000 for a poor asylum at or near Lander.⁴⁵ In his veto message, Moonlight first reprimanded the lawmakers again for attempting to restrict his appointing power by establishing a capitol building commission with power to fill vacancies. The capitol he felt was sufficient for the requirements of the territory for at least six years; furthermore, the improvements suggested could not be completed with the sum appropriated and more funds would be demanded later.⁴⁶ The appropriation meant increased taxes at a time when the cattle industry was depressed and poverty was staring many in the face. He warned the assembly that

. . . the selfish spirit of locality, combining together as now, will impose additional taxes until property, real and personal, will sink under the burden. The time to call a halt is now, this moment, before the evil is beyond remedy, and in this spirit I appeal to the hearts, consciences and good senses of the Tenth Legislative Assembly.⁴⁷

Nor did the governor accept the university appropriation. He considered one fifth of the amount allotted, or \$5000, sufficient to complete the original building. Enrollments did not justify further construction. Moonlight noted that the exact purpose of the other expenditures was not clearly presented, and the whole measure was basically unacceptable because

The Bill was rushed through both houses under a suspension of the rules without debate or amendment being allowed, was signed by the respective presiding officers of both houses and placed in the hands of the Governor inside of two hours. The bill was enrolled the night before its passage by four different clerks, not officers of either house, and in a private office away from the capitol and is not an exact copy of the enactment as it passed the House and Council. The bill was called up in the dusk of evening, when the members of both houses were unprepared to present objections, and when many of them had left. The whole surroundings of the bill are dark and mysterious. A great public measure appropriating a large sum of public money should not be afraid of public discussion.⁴⁸

45. Beard, *op. cit.*, 407-410.

46. *Seven Vetoes by Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory*, 13-14. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 182-183.

47. *Seven Vetoes by Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory*, 16.

48. *Ibid.*, 18. Earlier quoted by Beard, *op. cit.*, 410.

In the council and house the bill for building construction and improvements immediately received the two-thirds vote necessary to make it a law over the governor's veto. Although Moonlight's objections to this legislation were logical, the method whereby he stated them was certain to be both offensive and ineffective. History has justified the contentions of the chief executive because the completion of these public structures placed a heavy financial burden upon Wyoming, but at that time he only succeeded in gaining the ill will of several influential politicians in the territory.

Prior to the tenth session of the assembly, Wyoming had eight counties. When this session adjourned, she had eleven, all that were to be created prior to admission to statehood. The governor had recommended the creation of new counties in his message in order to reduce distances between county seats and to facilitate the transaction of business. Upon his suggestion, the legislators established Natrona, Converse, and Sheridan Counties.⁴⁹ The governor had no objection to dividing Johnson County to create Sheridan, nor did he object to the boundaries proposed for Natrona. The county of Converse, created by joining the northern portions of Laramie and Albany Counties, presented a problem. The board of commissioners for Laramie County had protested the creation of the new county on grounds that the former residents of Albany County would not want to pay taxes on the bonds issued by Laramie County to build the Cheyenne Northern Railway.⁵⁰ Furthermore, ninety percent of the population of the new county resided in northern Laramie, and they could maintain their own government without accepting the northern portion of Albany.⁵¹ This veto was received by the council during the last days of the session; and in an attempt to secure the approval of the executive, the majority in the assembly resorted to the obvious political maneuver by attaching the bill to the general appropriation measure. The governor considered this "the most wonderful piece of legislation ever presented to an executive for approval". He told the assembly

There is but one course left the Executive. He can not in honor or in justice give his approval to an enactment embracing the measure . . . which had been by him denied approval but a few hours before.

49. Natrona County, as established, had the same boundaries as today; Converse included the present Niobrara; Sheridan County extended west to the Big Horn River, now it extends to the Big Horn Mountains. Counties created since 1890 have caused a shift in the boundaries of Converse and Big Horn.

50. H. B. Kelly, chairman of the county commissioners of Laramie County, to Moonlight, March 8, 1888.

51. *Seven Vetoes of Thomas Moonlight, Governor of Wyoming Territory*, 20.

The same conscientious conviction of duty requires and commands the same action now. Were it possible to approve the appropriation part of the bill, I would gladly do so, but since this is impossible, without approving that portion of the bill already and heretofore vetoed, the responsibility for the failure of the appropriations, if they shall fail, will not attach to the Executive.⁵²

The assembly proceeded, as in other instances, to pass the bill over the objections of the governor. Moonlight complained bitterly to the Secretary of the Interior over his treatment by the Wyoming assembly and in forwarding a complete record of his relations with the legislators remarked

I wish to call your attention to the question of appointments and confirmations as viewed by the Council, composed of 9 Republicans and 3 Democrats . . . Some of these matters are run with a high hand . . . There is another thing. In nearly all the laws creating officers to be appointed by the governor, there is no provision for the governor to remove for cause, and were an act of Congress passed to authorize the governor to remove for cause it would stop much of the scheming now going on. I believe this suggestion worthy of consideration.⁵³

Organization of New Counties

Moonlight did not accept defeat by the legislature gracefully and became somewhat obnoxious in fulfilling his responsibilities of organizing the new county governments. The residents of Converse County petitioned the governor to appoint county commissioners who could set up the new administrative machinery, but their petition was returned on the grounds that it carried a date prior to the final passage of legislation creating the county and that the three hundred signees had not proved they were *bona fide* residents.⁵⁴ In April, 1888, the governor was convinced that the detailed provisions of the law had been observed and the three commissioners were named, one each from Douglas, Glenrock, and Lusk.⁵⁵ To an interested party

52. *Ibid.*, 22-23.

53. Moonlight to William M. Springer, February 27, 1888.

54. Moonlight to E. H. Kimball, Glenrock, Wyoming, March 12, 1888, and March 13, 1888.

55. Moonlight to C. E. Clay, Douglas, Wyoming, April 12, 1888; Moonlight to Frank R. Lusk, of Lusk, Wyoming, April 12, 1888. The commissioners appointed were J. M. Wilson of Douglas, E. J. Wills of Glenrock, and J. K. Calkins of Lusk.

he wrote, "the commissioners named will represent the various localities and various interests in the new county . . . That there is a strong feeling existing between the places looking for county seat honors, we all know full well and [I am] giving each of the three towns aspiring to such honors one commissioner to look after their respective interests in the organization of the county."⁵⁶ The *Budget* of Douglas, an influential paper in the territory, had bitterly criticized Moonlight for his veto of the bill creating Converse County and for his delay in establishing the county government after his publicly expressed desire to have new counties organized. Moonlight wrote a friend that he considered the feeling of the citizens of Douglas as "very unjust and very unfair".

My action has been public, candid, fair and above all petty feelings. At all times I have been guided by a high sense of justice, yielding to no scheme and influenced only for the good of all. My official conduct is in harmony with my utterances. The time will come when fair minded men will repudiate the malignity now exhibited. What I have done, I would do again under the same circumstances, so that I am at peace with myself. This is to me everything.⁵⁷

In regard to the organization of Sheridan County, Moonlight wrote the president of the Citizens' Business Club of Buffalo, Wyoming, "It becomes my duty to carry out the intentions of the law, although well convinced that it 'was born in sin, and brought forth in iniquity.'"⁵⁸ The first petitions for the organization of the new county were forwarded by the governor to Hugo Douzelmann, attorney general in Cheyenne, for examination to see if the provisions of the law had been fulfilled. The attorney general noted that the reference to the law creating the county was incorrectly stated, that the petition bearing the required three hundred signatures of residence was submitted in sixteen sections rather than as a unit, that some sections were not properly authenticated, and finally recommended that the governor could not legally take any action.⁵⁹ A month passed before the first commissioners were appointed and the county government organized.⁶⁰

56. Moonlight to Clay, April 12, 1888.

57. Moonlight to Daniel Prescott, Glenrock, Wyoming, May 22, 1888.

58. Moonlight to H. R. Mann, April 12, 1888.

59. Moonlight to Douzelmann, March 16, 1888; Douzelmann to Moonlight, March 19, 1888.

60. Moonlight to H. A. Coffeen, Sheridan, Wyoming, April 12, 1888. The commissioners named were Henry Baker of Dayton, Cornelius Boulware of Big Horn, and Marion C. Harris of Sheridan.

The county government of Natrona was not established until the following year. When citizens of the area first approached the governor on the subject he remarked, "I know full well from a personal examination of the county that there is not wealth or taxable property sufficient to sustain or support a county government. If the petition is in strict conformity with the law, I presume in the absence of sufficient protest the organization would have to go on."⁶¹ An extensive debate relative to the advisability of creating a government for Natrona County continued during January and February of 1889. The governor announced that all petitions, documents, and papers for and against the organization should be submitted at a public hearing on February 26.⁶² At the conclusion of the hearing he wrote a Casper resident who greatly desired the creation of the new county government that many of the three hundred people who signed the petition were known to him personally to be neither taxpayers nor electors. Furthermore, some forty men had requested that their names be withdrawn; twenty had been disqualified. He reminded the petitioner that the electoral records of Carbon County, which had included the new Natrona County, revealed that only two hundred and eight voters lived in the area. The tax assessors records revealed \$523,000 property evaluation in Natrona County. Those advocating the creation of the new government represented only \$40,000 of this property; their opponents the remaining \$487,000. The governor noted, "It should be remembered also that the owners of this large unrepresented sum are the men, if the county is organized, that it must lean upon for support morally and financially."⁶³ The Natrona County question was still in the controversial stages a month later when Moonlight terminated his term as governor.

Opposition to Statehood

During the Moonlight administration public opinion in Wyoming had slowly crystallized in favor of statehood. Old time residents and politicians had inaugurated a movement for admission into the Union, but Moonlight, disappointed that his optimistic plans for economic diversification and immigration into the territory had not been fulfilled, not only failed to cooperate but discouraged their activities. The issue largely hinged upon the population of the territory. Moonlight wrote the Interior Department that former Governor Warren had

61. Moonlight to V. C. Shickley, January 31, 1889.

62. Moonlight to Shickley, February 4, 1889; Moonlight to A. J. Bothwell, Sweetwater, Wyoming, February 4, 1889; Moonlight to Summer Beach, Glenrock, Wyoming, February 4, 1889.

63. Moonlight to Carl C. Wright, Casper, Wyoming, February 26, 1889.

overestimated the population in his reports of 1885 and 1886, and that as he had used Warren's figures as a basis, his own estimate of 85,000 for 1887 and 1888 was excessive. He was convinced toward the close of his administration that the population could not be more than 55,500.⁶⁴ Writing an old Kansas friend who encouraged him to work for statehood, the governor responded, "Wyoming is not ready for statehood. Patience!"⁶⁵ To many conservatively minded people who had admired the governor for his forthright viewpoints on controversial issues, this attitude regarding statehood was proof that he was not in sympathy with the progress of Wyoming.

The governor, moreover, never forgot the desires of his political party, and he revealed his partisan politics by participating in the election of Congressional delegate in 1888. Although he refused to address the territorial Democratic convention on the grounds that such action might be construed as an attempt to influence the choice of candidates and principles, he assured the members of his party that once they had chosen candidates, he was a Democrat and had "a right like any other citizen to render the nominees of my party such assistance as good citizenship has ever accorded," and that he would be found working until the polls closed.⁶⁶ Moonlight wrote the Secretary of the Interior that he had urged all officers appointed by the administration to remain away from nominating meetings and conventions of the Democrats for fear that charges of undue outside influence would be brought and perhaps split the party ranks. "There are many people in the party in Wyoming who have no love for us," he confided. The governor, in this same communication, asked and later received permission to campaign for his party's candidate for Congress, C. P. Organ, of Cheyenne, who had endorsed the Democratic administration in Washington.⁶⁷ Moonlight and his party were disappointed on election day for Organ was soundly defeated by Joseph M. Carey, influential member of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and Republican candidate. One intelligent observer expressed very forcefully the consensus of opinion about Moonlight when he wrote

The present administration's appointees are not so satisfactory as it was hoped they would be, especially the governor. [He] seems to mean well enough but is lacking in practical knowledge and experience and is

64. Moonlight to William F. Vilas, December 11, 1888. The governor's figures were not extremely conservative for the official population in 1890 was declared to be 60,705.

65. Moonlight to Z. Jackson, Ellsworth, Kansas, December 10, 1888.

66. Moonlight to the territorial Democratic convention, October 5, 1888.

67. Moonlight to Vilas, October 8, 1888.

too contracted and narrow minded to administer the laws for this section of the country. Gov. Moonlight is pig-headed and dogmatic and he thinks he knows more about the wants of the Territory than any man that was ever in it.⁶⁸

No territorial governor ever took the responsibilities of his office more seriously than Thomas Moonlight and few advocated the principles which he deemed right more vociferously. That his views were not in harmony with prevailing opinion in Wyoming was obvious from the beginning of his administration; that he possessed a lack of judgment and tact was continuously displayed during his term. Moonlight antagonized the stockgrowers, the friends of the university, the legislators chosen by the people, and the advocates of statehood. These groups, representing a powerful bloc, joined the Republican territorial organization in a veritable crusade to remove the governor and to obtain the nomination of a local resident. Former Governor Warren became their candidate, and with the aid of delegate Carey and the territorial newspapers, both Democratic and Republican, Warren's name was again associated with the "home rule" movement. The election of Benjamin Harrison as president in 1888 assured his appointment.⁶⁹ Warren was named Moonlight's successor on March 29, 1889, and the turbulent administration came to a close.⁷⁰

68. John Hunton to Bullock, May 24, 1887. Letter files of John Hunton, Fort Laramie, March 18, 1883, to August 27, 1888. These letter books are in the Historical Records Room of the University of Wyoming Library and the author is indebted to Lola M. Homsher, Archivist, for the location and use of this letter. Hunton, an early freighter, came to Fort Laramie in 1867. He was clerk to the post trader for four years, started ranching on the Chugwater in 1871, and in 1888 was appointed post trader at Fort Laramie. When the post was dismantled, he purchased buildings and engaged in merchandising. *Progressive Men of Wyoming*.

69. W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Governorship of Wyoming, 1885-1889, A Study in Territorial Politics", *loc. cit.*, 7-11.

70. During the second Cleveland administration, Moonlight was named minister to Bolivia, a post which he held from 1893 to 1897. He died in February, 1899. Beard, *op. cit.*, 392-393.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

October 16, 1945 to May 1, 1946

- Snow, Mrs. William C., Worland, Wyoming; donor of a silk flag and five letters, all with reference to woman suffrage. November 19, 1945.
- Hunt, Governor L. C., from the office of; governor's flag of Colorado, October 1945.
- Freund, Lieut. Colonel Archer F., P. O. Box 59, Cheyenne, Wyoming, c/o Mrs. E. R. Taylor; donor of one American flare gun; one Nazi flag from Eichen, Germany. January 1946.
- Marks, Miss Mary, Librarian, University of Wyoming; donor of one print 3"x6" of Dull Knife, Cheyenne Indian chief. November 1945.
- Morrison, W. W., 3922 Warren Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of twenty-one scenes along the Oregon Trail between the south Platte and the Sweetwater Rivers, (all in one frame). December 22, 1945.
- Williams, Major L. O., 2722 Warren Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a German sub-machine gun, Bergman Q.M.M. automatic. January 9, 1946.
- Gregory, Ronald W., 612 E. 5th Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a mammoth's tooth. January 15, 1946.
- Lanctot, Dr. Gustave, Dominion Archivist to Public Archives, 330 Sussex Street, Ottawa, Canada; donor of a 1737 map of the discoveries in the west of Canada, of oceans, rivers, lakes and Indian nations.
- Svetson, Mrs. L. W., 810 W. 26th Street, Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one long photograph of Carey Avenue and 16th Street, Cheyenne in about 1900. February 25, 1946.
- Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyo.; donor of one large lithograph, in color, of the House of Lords, London, 1880, and one print, key to the lithograph. February 19, 1946.

Books—Purchased

- Dakota Historical Collections, Volume XIII, Hipple Printing Co., Pierre, South Dakota, 1926. Cost, \$2.35.

Gifts

- Burtscher, William J., *The Romance of Walking Canes*, Dorrance & Co., Philadelphia, 1945.

Miscellaneous Purchases

- One print of 16th Street, Cheyenne in 1869, from Mr. Barnard. January, 1946. Cost, \$1.00.
- One print of Indian delegation at Washington, D. C., in 1877. Taken in the Coreoran Galleries, Washington, D. C., April, 1946. Cost, \$.40.
- One print and negative of the Tweed Ranch, Lander, Wyoming, from Mr. Barnard, April, 1946. Cost, \$1.50.

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January, 1947

No. 1

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



CHEYENNE CLUB.

The Cheyenne Club, built in 1881, was familiar to every notable figure of Wyoming's '80's and '90's. "Cattle Kings", remittance men and others associated with the territory's live stock business used the club as a central meeting place for sociability and conviviality. The cost of the structure was approximately \$25,000 but it is said that much more than that changed hands every night within its walls. Membership, limited to 200, entitled the member to the use of the lounging room, billiard room, card room, dining room and wine room.

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Railroad Relations of The Wyoming Stock Growers Association 1873-1890

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON*

During the formative period of the range cattle industry on the northern High Plains, the territory of Wyoming was the most prominent area within the "Cattle Kingdom." The ranchers in that frontier society of the 1870's created a powerful association known as the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association for the protection of their economic and political interests, and through its closely-knit organization this group became the official spokesman for the Wyoming cattle business. Moreover, to a large extent, the laws of the range and the social pattern of the area were formulated by the association, and as a result, territorial Wyoming has been commonly known as the "Cattleman's Commonwealth."¹

Without question the ranching industry was the primary economic activity within Wyoming Territory. The foremost objective of the Wyoming association was to preserve the prosperity of its members, and in order to achieve this end the organization used political pressure to secure the passage of specific territorial laws. The executive committee of the stock association assumed the responsibility for the drafting and sponsorship of bills which provided for the regulation of branding, the apprehension and arrest of cattle thieves, the protection of stock from contagious diseases, and the supervision of the annual round-up and the sale of mavericks. Governor John W. Hoyt, speaking before the 1882 legislature mentioned "the acknowledged supremacy of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association" which had a membership that

* For Mr. Jackson's biography, see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 15:2:143.

1. Ernest Staples Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929). Louis Pelzer, "A Cattleman's Commonwealth on the Western Range," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XIII (June, 1926), 30-49. This survey of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association was reprinted as a Chapter of Pelzer's *The Cattleman's Frontier* (Glendale, 1936), 87-115. Agnes Wright Spring, *Seventy Years, A Panoramic History of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association* (Cheyenne, 1942).

“for numbers, high character and amount of capital employed is believed to be without rival in this or any country.”²

In its enthusiasm for fostering the cattle business, the association at times discovered that its program was not in harmony with that of other economic interests in the territory. The territorial railroads were second only to the Wyoming cattlemen as a powerful economic bloc, and it is therefore of interest to study the relationship between these two influential businesses, to note the ways in which they cooperated and the extent to which the Wyoming association succeeded in obtaining recognition and concessions from the railroad magnates.

Railroad Legislation

As early as 1875 the Wyoming legislative assembly had made railroads liable for all stock killed by trains. If the owner of the animal was known, the railroad was to notify him within ten days after his cattle was killed; if he was unknown, the railroad corporation was to file with the recorder of the county wherein the accident occurred a full description of the animal killed including a brand diagram. Railroads failing to give such notification were liable to double indemnity. Any owner of livestock killed by the railroad was granted a six months' period in which he could notify the railroad claim agent of the value of his destroyed stock, and the railroad had to pay two-thirds of the value to be released under the act.³ The Union Pacific Railroad established a Stock and Claim Agents Office in Ogden, Utah, and instructed all section foremen in Wyoming to familiarize themselves with the ownership of brands on the ranches along the route of the railroad through the southern part of the territory. As soon as the Wyoming association began publishing a book of cattle brands,⁴ the claim agent wrote Thomas Sturgis, association secretary, requesting a handbook for each railroad foreman between Laramie and Evanston since it was

2. "Message of Governor Hoyt to the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming at Cheyenne, January 12, 1882." The University of Wyoming Library has a bound volume which includes the messages of the territorial governors (in pamphlet form) as they first were published.

3. *Compiled Laws of Wyoming, 1876* (Cheyenne, 1876), Chap. 105, 544.

4. *Cattle Brands Owned By Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association* (Chicago, 1882).

for "the best interest of all concerned" that they report all accidents correctly.⁵

In time, the handling of individual claims became a tremendous administrative task for the Union Pacific and that corporation approached the executive committee of the stock-growers' association with a proposition whereby an annual settlement could be made with the association for all cattle killed on the railroad, and the association, in turn, make a satisfactory adjustment with the individual stock owners. The proposal was accepted by the association at a meeting on May 17, 1886,⁶ and Thomas B. Adams, acting secretary, wrote Sturgis of the arrangement suggesting that, "The payment of proceeds to the members by the *Association* should be an influence for good, to say nothing of the margin that may remain in the treasury, for the cattle killed belonging to unknown parties."⁷ Sturgis replied that the proposal seemed a good one but added,

Each case however must be itemized and valued separately and not left to us to determine. Especially so in the case of animals whose owners are not members of the association and also in Nebraska where the penalty (or proportion paid) is less than in Wyoming. Our acceptance of money must be as an agent for the owner and not final. Owner must retain right to object and make further claim.⁸

Experience proved the arrangement unworkable. Non-members disliked the association's position in railroad negotiations as the agent for all ranchers; the railroad felt that the settlement with the Wyoming association should be final. By July, the executive committee decided to reconsider the action approving an annual settlement with the Union Pacific and voted to terminate the arrangement.⁹

In obtaining reports on cattle accidents, the Wyoming association did not rely entirely upon section foremen of the railroad, but appointed its own inspectors. Reports of the railroad officials and association inspectors were often in dis-

5. A. M. Fleming to Sturgis, March 27, 1885. The incoming correspondence of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association is filed alphabetically in letter boxes according to the name of the correspondent. There are from one to six letter boxes for each year. A record of the outgoing communications of the secretary were kept in letter press books and arranged alphabetically. All correspondence is available in the Historical Records Room of the University of Wyoming Library. Miss Lola M. Homsher, archivist, has assisted the author by making this material readily available.

6. *Executive Committee Minute Book, July 4, 1885 to April 5, 1911.* Hereafter cited as *Executive Committee Minute Book*.

7. May 17, 1886.

8. May 27, 1886.

9. *Executive Committee Minute Book, July 7, 1886.*

agreement, and the secretary of the stock organization was forced at times to assume the role of arbitrator. Adams wrote railroad officials in Omaha during January of 1886 that employees of the Union Pacific were skinning cattle killed on the road although the Wyoming law prohibited it. He requested that all section foremen be ordered to cease this practice which had been reported by association inspectors.¹⁰ The railroad officials assured the association that the law would be observed.

When the Fremont, Elkhorn, and Missouri Valley Railroad entered the territory in 1887, the association notified the road's general manager of the legal requirements relative to cattle killed by trains, and inquired if a record of such casualties was being kept by his headquarters in Missouri Valley, Iowa. The executive committee appointed Thomas Bell as inspector for northern Wyoming with the specific purpose of investigating accidents on this line. Adams asked that the section foreman of the road cooperate with Bell and report all cattle killed in Wyoming to the divisional superintendent in Chadron, Nebraska. The inspector would be at the scene of the accident at the earliest possible moment and report to the Cheyenne offices of the association.¹¹

At times the association became the plaintiff for an individual member who failed to receive the compensation from the railroads provided by the law. During April, 1887, Sturgis wrote the Union Pacific claim agent in Ogden:

Mr. James Ross, a member of this association, complains that three head of his steers branded "OK" were killed by the Union Pacific Railway at Sulphur Springs, Carbon County, Wyoming, August, 1886. He claims that the railroad company has refused to allow him any thing for these cattle on the ground that they were killed inside an enclosure made by the Railway company. My own construction of the law of this Territory relative to the responsibility of the railroads for cattle killed by trains, leads me to believe that Mr. Ross has a good claim against your company, but I write you for information on the subject and beg that you give this matter your earliest attention.¹²

10. Adams to O. H. Dorrance, January 12, 1886.

11. Adams to W. F. Fitch, Missouri Valley, Iowa, February 7, 1887. The first train over the tracks of the Fremont, Elkhorn, and Missouri Valley Railroad arrived in Casper, Wyoming on June 15, 1888. Between 1888 and 1905, Casper was the terminus of the road, but in the latter year work was commenced on an extension to Lander. In 1903, the Chicago and Northwestern assumed direct management of the road. Alfred James Mokler, *History of Natrona County, Wyoming, 1888-1922*, (Chicago, 1923), 47-49.

12. Sturgis to Fleming, April 7, 1887.

In an attempt to obviate such difficulties arising under the law, the stock interests obtained a more careful wording of this "Act to Provide Indemnity for Stock Killed by Railways" from the 1888 session of the Wyoming territorial legislature. The railroad companies were now required not only to notify the county recorder about accidents but also to post a notice in the station house or section house nearest the place of the accident listing the number, color, brands, and marks of cattle killed as well as the owner's name, if known. In order to permit an investigation, the carcasses of animals were not to be buried until three days after posting such a notice.¹³

As a phase of range protection, the ranching interests sought to eliminate the possibilities of an extensive range fire. The most likely source of fire came from the live coals dropped by the train engines traveling through the territory. At the annual meeting of the association in 1885, a resolution was passed providing for a committee of three members to arrange with the Union Pacific and the Burlington and Missouri¹⁴ for the construction of a fire guard along the route of their lines.¹⁵ The upshot of this committee's endeavors was a legislative act of the following year which made the railroads responsible for ploughing a six foot strip along their tracks to serve as a fire guard. By the law, the railroads were given a blanket exemption from this construction in the mountain areas and within the limit of towns. Elsewhere, the boards of county commissioners were to determine where it was essential to construct a fireguard and to notify the railroad by June 1 of each year. The work was to be completed by September 1. The railroads were liable for a \$100 fine for every mile or fraction thereof not properly ploughed; in case of fire caused by failure to comply with the law the railroads were liable for the entire damage caused. All railroad fines assessed by the territorial courts for violation of the law were to go to the school fund of the county wherein the cause for action accrued.¹⁶

13. *Session Laws*, Tenth Legislative Assembly, 1888.

14. The Burlington and Missouri built a line through southern Nebraska into Denver, Colorado, in 1882. Three years later a branch was constructed from Holdrege, Nebraska, to Sterling, Colorado. In 1887, the Cheyenne and Burlington was incorporated to connect Sterling with the Wyoming capital, and by December of that year the road was complete. Two other branches of the Burlington developed later; the "Broken Bow Branch" which was built from Broken Bow, Nebraska, along the North Platte River to Fort Laramie and a line constructed to the northwest from Alliance, Nebraska, which entered the territory at New Castle. Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present* (American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1933), I, 398-399.

15. "Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Stock Growers' Association, 1884-1889." Clipping book available in the University of Wyoming Library.

16. *Session Laws*, Ninth Legislative Assembly, 1886, Chap. 50, 106-107.

Rebates and Free Transportation

The stock interests not only were instrumental in placing legislative requirements upon railroading in Wyoming, but also secured special consideration for the ranchers directly from railroad officials. As early as 1877, when the organization of Wyoming stockmen was only four years old, the members attending the annual meeting requested the president to confer with neighboring stock associations with the view of getting reduced rates for cattle shipments over the Union Pacific.¹⁷ The western stock associations lacked the economic power essential to obtain rate concessions in this year but in the 1879 annual meeting another petition was prepared and addressed to the officers of the Union Pacific and "pool lines" of Iowa requesting a rebate to all members of the association.¹⁸ Railroad officials informed the association's committee presenting this petition that evidence was not available that the association could control the shipments of its members, and the Union Pacific saw no advantage in giving rate concessions since it had a virtual transportation monopoly in the plains area at this time. The stockgrowers for a second time failed to get special consideration.

Joseph M. Carey, executive committee member and Congressional delegate, often represented the association in railroad negotiations and in the 1883 annual meeting he sponsored the appointment of a committee to interview representatives of Iowa "pool lines" whose visit in Cheyenne coincided with the annual spring meeting of the association. This committee pointed out to the railroad men that the Union Pacific granted free transportation to the owners and shippers of cattle as far as Council Bluffs and yet the Iowa lines compelled them to pay for transportation when accompanying their cattle shipments from Council Bluffs to Chicago. The railroad men were reminded that it was a long established custom throughout the country to grant free transportation to cattlemen accompanying shipments. The Wyoming association demanded either free transportation for its members or a reduction in freight rates which were higher in 1883 than in the two previous years. The railroad representatives protested that they were unauthorized to make a specific agreement, but that it was the desire of the general managers of the Iowa lines to make an adjustment satisfactory to the association.¹⁹ After the report on these preliminary discussions with the railroad

17. *Laramie County Stock Association Minute Book*, Proceedings, November 29, 1873 to November 9, 1883.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Report of the transportation committee to the president of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, April 3, 1883, signed by Samuel Haas, D. Sheedy, and J. H. Pratt.

officials, the association appointed a new committee of five to pursue the negotiations further. This committee included some of the most influential cattlemen in Wyoming; besides Carey and Sturgis, there were A. H. Swan, of the Swan Land and Cattle Company, D. Sheedy, association trustee from Cheyenne County, Nebraska and G. W. Simpson, of The Bay State Live Stock Company. These men were charged with the responsibility of getting some type of recognition for the organized stockmen. When the annual meeting adjourned in 1883 it was with the understanding that a special session would be called on July 2, 1883, to receive a report of the committee on railroad affairs and, if feasible, to take united action in obtaining a lower freight rate on stock shipments.²⁰

At the July meeting the report of the transportation committee was presented and discussed in executive session,²¹ and a new committee of three appointed to "devise a form of agreement pledging the shipment (of specific numbers) of cattle during the current year by such lines as are practicable."²² This committee was to select the railroad upon which shipments were to go east of the Missouri River and if it proved plausible to make a choice, the lines which would be used west of the Missouri. All shipments pledged by the association members to the committee were to be guaranteed by cash deposits or satisfactory bonds on the basis of a dollar a head.²³ The association thus could control a sizable amount of the freight shipped from the Wyoming range to Chicago.

At the 1884 annual meeting Sturgis reported to the association that the efforts of the committee had been unsuccessful in getting a concession in rates, but in the course of negotiating they had issued a circular whereby the members were urged to consolidate their shipments. United action had been achieved and the transportation committee routed the majority of stock shipments to Chicago. Sturgis remarked, "It has been often charged against us that we could not combine our members but that individual preference would rule until the end. We have demonstrated that we will and can again, if necessary, and if we have gained nothing but to prove that fact we have gained a great deal." A. T. Babbitt, executive committeeman and future president of the association, pro-

20. "Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Stock Growers' Association, 1883."

21. No record was kept of these discussions. The resolution adopted at the close of the session reveals the general program of action which was approved.

22. This committee was composed of A. T. Babbitt, A. H. Swan, and G. W. Simpson.

23. Minutes of the Adjourned Meeting of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, July 2, 1883.

vided the details in his transportation committee report stating that the committee had gone to Omaha to talk with Union Pacific officials only to discover that they had gone to Chicago. A preliminary talk with representatives of the Iowa lines was unsuccessful because a quorum was not present. After a week's delay, the association's request for a reduction in rates was courteously denied without any reason being given. Babbitt called upon the members to bind themselves together again in a shippers agreement, and prior to adjournment secured the adoption of a resolution whereby the transportation committee was to bargain once more with the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific²⁴ for a lower rate. The plan adopted in 1883, whereby the members pledged the shipment of specified amounts of stock by a deposit of one dollar a head, was to be enforced again.²⁵

The success of the association in controlling shipments during the 1883 season and the transportation committee's authorization to renew the procedure for 1884 brought the railroads to terms. On August 1, 1884, the association's newly elected president, J. M. Carey, issued a formal statement to all members:

The committee on Railway Transportation appointed at the Annual Meeting of this Association in April submitted the following report.

The Union Pacific has agreed to make a reduction of five (5) percent on rates upon East-bound beef cattle shipped at any station from Ogden to North Platte. The percentage off to be figured on the rates for 1883.

They further agree to permit the shipper to sell his stock at Omaha or Council Bluffs if he wishes; if not sold to permit him to bill his stock from either of those points to Chicago over any line he may select without unfavorable discrimination on the part of the Union Pacific.

If the stock are sold the Union Pacific agrees to release them, and in this case, or in case a line of the road is selected over which they do not make a "through" rate, they agree to accept the proportion the Union Pacific would have received had the stock been billed through to Chicago.

This liberal arrangement, voluntarily made by the Union Pacific, represents a valuable concession to the stockmen of Wyoming and Nebraska, and especially to the members of the association, and should be cordially ap-

24. Montana and Dakota members of the Wyoming association were primarily concerned with a reduction of rates on the Northern Pacific.

25. "Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Stock Growers' Association, 1884-1889."

preciated by them. It indicates in the strongest manner the intentions of the Union Pacific Railway to meet the wishes and needs of our members, and expresses their sense of the value and importance of the vast consolidated interests we represent.

The Committee recommend and request that all members who are so located that they can do so without manifest injury will bring their beeves to the Union Pacific Railway.²⁶

Within two weeks, J. M. Hunnaford, the Northern Pacific's general freight agent in St. Paul, protested the association's request that its members ship over the Union Pacific. The northern line had granted a similar reduction immediately following the announcement of the Union Pacific's decision to grant rebates to the Wyoming stockgrowers, and Hunnaford now complained, "I cannot think justice is being done us in this circular. We have extended to your assn. many favors and it hardly seems to me that this is a fair return."²⁷ In Sturgis' answer to the Northern Pacific, he reminded the railroad traffic agent that the association's membership numbered over four hundred cattlemen handling two million head and that the "transportation committee is selected from this body and I should be unwilling to be felt responsible for the wisdom or fairness of their decision."²⁸ Hunnaford terminated the correspondence still disgruntled over the decision and remarked:

My only endeavor is to ascertain whether this is the action of the Wyoming Association or is simply a scheme which the Union Pacific are able to work with the Association. You must recognize the fact that either the Association has no weight or else this company is badly damaged by circulars of this nature; and if I believed the former to be the case, I should not take the time to write you on this subject. But I am confident that the members of the Association do not realize the harm which is done our road by such circulars.²⁹

When the stockmen assembled for the annual spring meeting of 1885, the secretary reported that the saving in transportation costs to association members during the year averaged \$6.00 a car on about 12,000 cars, or \$72,000. The amount

26. The original copy of the circular letter is in the correspondence files of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

27. Hunnaford to Sturgis, August 13, 1884. Among the favors to which he refers were free passes granted to inspectors of the association.

28. Sturgis to Hunnaford, August 14, 1884.

29. August 18, 1884.

thus saved was larger by 50% than the entire outlay for the support of the association's work during the year. Every man who shipped a single train of sixteen cars personally was saved approximately \$100 by the accomplishment of the association's transportation committee. The money saved by reduced shipping costs plus the value of strays recovered by the association's inspectors amounted to \$180,000 while the association's annual budget was less than \$50,000. The association had produced a net saving of \$130,000 for its membership.³⁰

Between 1885 and 1887, the transportation committee's activities were continued under the guidance of G. W. Simpson. In mid-summer of 1885, Simpson notified Sturgis that he felt certain free transportation would be furnished the leading cattlemen of the West who would be accompanying shipments to market later in the summer. The entire transportation committee had twice met with the officials of the Union Pacific and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy³¹ and nothing had been left undone to secure concessions. The major western lines were attempting to work out a uniform policy relative to live stock shippers and no one road was willing to make the initial concession.³² Apparently, the Northern Pacific was pressuring the Union Pacific for cooperation in blocking further special concessions to the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association. At the annual meeting of the cattlemen in Cheyenne in April, 1886 a letter from Simpson was read to the members admitting that the committee had been unable to accomplish what it desired or to gain the recognition of the previous year.³³

Efforts were renewed in 1887 by Simpson who held a series of conferences with Thomas Kimball, general traffic manager of the Union Pacific. Kimball referred the question of free transportation for cattle shippers to the vice-president of the railroad who decided that the granting of mileage tickets, providing a specified and limited amount of travel for the season to each association member shipping over the Union Pacific, was the greatest concession the railroad could grant. The newly created Interstate Commerce Commission did not favor free transportation. Simpson, admitting that negotiations were difficult, reported:

Never in the history of railroading has there been such an unsettled state of affairs, as since the passage of the In-

30. "Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Stock Growers' Association, 1884-1889."

31. The Burlington and Missouri Railroad of Nebraska and Wyoming was a subsidiary of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy System.

32. Letter written from Boston, Massachusetts, July 7, 1885.

33. Simpson to Sturgis, April 5, 1886, from North Platte, Nebraska.

terstate bill, and while many railroads would be very glad to extend favors to their patrons, there are others who are very desirous of shielding themselves, and throw the responsibility on the Inter-state commissioners. . . . I only regret that our present committee, or any other, is powerless to secure favors which have generally been extended to live stock shippers.³⁴

During the 1880's the association not only sought rebates on cattle shipments and free transportation for members accompanying cattle to market but also obtained free transportation for detectives and inspectors of the association while on duty. It was necessary for the association to maintain inspectors at loading points in the territory and at each of the large markets in order to check the brands in each shipment. In most consignments of cattle there inadvertently were included animals bearing brands other than those of the shipper and at the market a careful check was made for these strays. The commission agent paid the inspector for the strays and he in turn forwarded it to the association's secretary who notified the owners of the stray brands and sent them the funds the association had received.³⁵ Furthermore, the association's detective bureau, started in 1876, in order to detect and punish cattle stealing, brand alteration, and "mavericking," became such an extensive activity that within ten years the annual appropriation for the bureau was \$15,000.³⁶ Both inspectors and detectives spent a large portion of their time traveling. In 1884, the Union Pacific issued a blanket order that no more passes requested by telegraph could be granted, but the general traffic manager wrote the Wyoming association that blanket passes were being forwarded in order that the executive committee might have them "in convenient reach for emergency calls on detectives." He stated further, "I agree with you fully as to the importance of suppressing outlaws in live stock territory and believe it to be the duty of our company to cooperate to the fullest extent in that end." The manager inclosed sixty day passes for four special inspectors between Cheyenne and Rawlins, but mentioned that the directors of the Union Pacific were exercised over the amount of free mileage upon the system and had issued orders to reduce it. He called upon the Wyoming stockgrowers for cooperation.³⁷

Until 1887, the year of the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Union Pacific continuously granted

34. Simpson to Sturgis, August 15, 1887.

35. Osgood, *op., cit.*, 151-153.

36. Pelzer, *op., cit.*, 89-90.

37. Kimball to Sturgis, September 12, 1884.

passes to all association inspectors and detectives. In March of this year all passes were called in. This action caused the association great concern and Sturgis explained to the railroad men that the nature of the employment of inspectors was such that they were constantly on the road and the stock organization was not in a position to meet the tremendous traveling expense. He proposed an arrangement between the Union Pacific and Wyoming Stock Growers' Association whereby the inspectors and detectives could be characterized as employees of both organizations and report not only on illegal branding and strays but also on cattle accidents. Since the railroad was required by territorial law to report detailed information about cattle killed by trains, the commission certainly could not object to free transportation passes for men who inspected and obtained this data for the railroad.³⁸ Sturgis wrote Kimball in Omaha:

I think that you and other officials of the road are well aware that our inspectors from the Chief of Detectives down have always been willing to do whatever they could in your behalf, and the inspectors who have charge of looking after cattle killed by trains, are certainly of great service to your section foremen in determining the brands and ownership of animals.³⁹

At the time of the annual spring meeting in 1887 the executive committee accepted an agreement with the Union Pacific on the basis of the Sturgis-Kimball correspondence and by the shipping season in August inspectors and detectives were riding on the railroad without cost.⁴⁰

When the railroads found it difficult to obtain cooperation from a rancher who belonged to the association, the officials did not hesitate to approach the executive committee to plead the justice of their case and request disciplinary action to bring the recalcitrant stockman into line. The railroad usually had granted a recent favor to the association and was in a position to force action. The attitude in which they approached the executive committee is revealed in the following letter taken from the correspondence files of the association:

On October 3d a train of cattle belonging to Evans, Haas, & Healy was wrecked near Ogallala. Some of the cattle were killed outright, some bruised and some escaped. Of those that escaped all but 26 head have been recovered and these 26 head are undoubtedly on the range of the

38. Sturgis to C. E. Wurtelle, March 30, 1887.

39. March 31, 1887.

40. Sturgis to Kimball, April 15, 1887; Sturgis to Frank Brainard, August 2, 1887; Thomas B. Adams to T. J. Potter, September 19, 1887.

Ogallala Land and Cattle Company. I understand that nine of the twenty-six head had been gathered and shipped by said company in trains of cattle bearing their own brand, leaving seventeen head yet to be accounted for assuming that the O. L. and C. Co. will settle for the nine head already gathered and shipped. Evans, Haas, and Healy are paid for all the missing cattle and consequently such cattle belong to this company. This fact is of course conceded by Evans, Haas, and Healy. I am advised by Mr. Donnelly of the O. L. and C. Co. to confer with you as to the means of recovering these cattle before they get beyond our reach or before the annual "Round-Up." The O. L. and C. Co. are willing to credit us with the cattle as fast as they recover them but as they are not obliged to make any special effort to push such recovery we are anxious that some better and more speedy means be adopted and if you can suggest or recommend anything that will aid us in accomplishing this you will greatly oblige.⁴¹

Quarantine Regulations

In the 1880's the ranchers on the northern High Plains were greatly agitated by the fear of an outbreak of contagious cattle diseases on the range. Occasionally a disease known as "Texas fever" had been brought north by cattle driven from the Gulf of Mexico area. The cause and exact nature of the Texas fever were unknown and this tended to increase the concern.⁴² The Wyoming association at its annual meeting of 1881 demanded territorial legislation to prevent the dissemination of stock diseases, and the legislative session of 1882 enacted a law providing for a quarantine of infected areas and the appointment of a territorial veterinarian to inspect all incoming shipments of cattle. At this same time Texas ranchers were giving up the "long drive" and shipping their cattle by railroad as far as Ogallala, Nebraska. The Wyoming territorial veterinarian, James D. Hopkins, informed the association that in his opinion the three or four months which Texas cattle spent on the "long drive" lessened the possibility of

41. D. D. Davis to Sturgis, November 13, 1884.

42. The fever was transmitted by ticks which the southern cattle carried on their bodies to the northern range. Ticks, often left on the grass or in the brush along the trail, were picked up by northern cattle. For detailed discussion of the cattle disease problem see Joseph Nimmo, "The Range and Ranch Cattle Business in the United States," *Report of Internal Commerce of the United States*, 1885 (Washington, 1885), 120.

43. Nimmo, "Opinion of Dr. James D. Hopkins, territorial veterinarian of Wyoming, in regard to the relative liability to disease resulting from the movement of cattle from Texas by rail and by trail," *loc. cit.*, 232.

Wyoming cattle becoming infected and that the elimination of this time factor by rapid rail transportation would produce a real menace.⁴³ Sturgis in his 1884 secretarial report pointed out that a considerable portion of the one hundred thousand head of cattle coming into Nebraska and Wyoming from Texas that season would be shipped by rail, and insisted that some adequate protective regulation should be made. The first shipments arrived in May and within a few weeks fever appeared among cattle near the unloading point. Trails leading to the north and northeast of Ogallala became infected and many cattle died of disease. The Wyoming Quarantine Law was revised to require that all shipments of cattle into the territory be accompanied with a certificate guaranteeing the residence of cattle in a non-infected area for ninety days previous to shipment. A veterinarian's certificate testifying the health of cattle was declared to be of no value, because the presence of the disease was not discernable in its early stages. The governor soon issued a series of proclamations specifically enumerating the infected areas to the South and East where diseases such as pleuro-pneumonia or Texas fever were reported and from which shipments of cattle could not be received in Wyoming.⁴⁴

The western railroads were greatly concerned over these Wyoming regulations because they interfered with shipments from the southern to the northern range and from the northern plains to the markets in the middle west. J. S. Leeds, general freight agent of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, wrote Sturgis:

While I do not expect to convince you that the position you have taken is wrong, I desire to say: that we have had considerable experience in handling cattle and are fully of the opinion that there is no more to be feared from shipments of cattle by rail, if made prior to June 1st, than from cattle driven over the trail. . . . I am certain that last season (1884) was an unfortunate season for rail shipments. As the fever was much more virulent than upon any former season during my experience, I think it would have been so if none had been carried by rail. I arrive at this conclusion from the fact that the trails of driven cattle gave out more infection than formerly although unusual care was used in handling cattle.⁴⁵

The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe agreed to refrain from quoting rates for Southern cattle shipments ultimately bound for the Wyoming range unless ranchers of the South were

44. W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wyoming Cattle Quarantine, 1885," *Annals of Wyoming*, XVI (July, 1944), 151-156.

45. February 28, 1885.

willing to accept the restrictions imposed by the stockgrowers' association. The general freight agent stated, however, that shippers who wished to bring cattle part of the way to the northern range would be permitted to do so "under regulations governing the business along our line." Leeds was convinced that shipments could be taken during April and May without endangering native cattle and if the Wyoming association would agree to these early shipments he would advance his rates high enough during the summer months to make shipments prohibitive.⁴⁶ This confidential proposal made to the Wyoming association was not acceptable to the organization's executive committee because some now considered Texas cattle as potential carriers of fever throughout the spring and summer. The risk was too great.

When notified of the expanded quarantine regulations made by the territorial legislature in 1885, the assistant superintendent of the Union Pacific located in Cheyenne wrote the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association that his company was "not particularly concerned as to the manner in which the regulations were enforced." He added a statement of railroad policy:

We recognize the need of the law as affecting our own interest as well as those of the stock growers. What we desire is that when notice is given of the expected arrival of stock from the East or South, such prompt action may be taken, as will involve the least amount of delay or inconvenience to all parties concerned.

The superintendent requested that an individual who had legal authority to act should meet all cattle as they arrived in Wyoming.⁴⁷

Since the Wyoming legislature of 1885 had adjourned without making an appropriation for the construction of yards wherein cattle suspected of disease could be quarantined, the divisional superintendent of the Union Pacific authorized the temporary use of the railroad's stock yard in Cheyenne. These yards were unsuitable because all shippers had to unload their stock where they might be exposed to the heads in quarantine. Upon the request of the veterinarian, the stockgrowers' association granted an appropriation for adequate quarantine yards. Located near the railroad a mile east of Cheyenne, the new yards included twenty-nine acres inclosed by a barbed wire fence.⁴⁸ The Union Pacific bore the expense of building a switch from the main line to the new quarantine yards and

46. *Ibid.*

47. W. A. Deuel to Sturgis, April 16, 1885.

48. Pelzer, *op. cit.*, 104-105.

local railroad men cooperated in disinfecting the Cheyenne railroad stock yards and the cars in which the diseased cattle had been previously transported.⁴⁹

In spite of the assistance of the Union Pacific's local officials, the officers in Salt Lake and Omaha felt that cattle shipments were being delayed unnecessarily long when passing through the territory to the far western ranges or to the Chicago or Omaha market. Protests were sent to Francis E. Warren, Wyoming governor, accusing him of blocking shipments of stock and trying to divert business from the Union Pacific. To all critics he explained that his proclamations listing quarantined areas were issued as a routine task imposed upon him by the territorial law. He acted upon the recommendation of the veterinarian and the executive committee of the stockgrowers' association whose only motive was to insure the safety of the Wyoming herds. Although everything was stopped at Cheyenne for inspection, the governor reported that nine-tenths of the cattle shipped had passed through without quarantine.⁵⁰

While the Wyoming stockmen and Union Pacific officials bickered over the methods used to enforce the quarantine statute, the newer lines such as the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad, were making a bid for the freight shipments controlled by the association in Nebraska and Wyoming. "Our interests are becoming identified with the stockgrowers of Wyoming, Montana, and western Nebraska more and more every year," wrote an executive of the line from Missouri Valley, Iowa, and "we shall do all in our power to prevent the shipment of diseased animals into your country."⁵¹ The Sioux City and Pacific, building toward the west in 1885, notified the association that good cattle pens would be constructed at its western terminus and facilities increased at feeding points in the hope that the road might get a fair share of shipments from the cattle country during the 1885 season.⁵² When the Missouri Pacific wrote the Sioux City and Pacific inquiring whether or not that road would quote rates to Valentine, Nebraska, for shipments of Texas cattle, the superintendent wrote the association for its views on the matter. He assured the executive committee, "We do not wish to do anything which will jeopardize the stock interests of the West and have up to this time refused to make any contracts for shipments of Texas cattle

49. Hopkins, James D., Report of the Territorial Veterinarian in the "Annual Report of the Governor of Wyoming, 1885," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1885* (Washington, 1885), II, 1209-1210.

50. Jackson, "Wyoming Cattle Quarantine, 1885," *loc. cit.*, 153-155.

51. K. C. Morehouse to Sturgis, October 3, 1884.

52. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1885.

to Valentine.”⁵³ The Wyoming association did not want Texas cattle shipped and so no rates were given. It was later reported to the secretary of the association that the Sioux City and Pacific had not shipped a single animal from the South. It was also reported that the Union Pacific had not been so cautious. The superintendent of the new line assured the stockmen that “Cattle being driven to our line will certainly not be obliged to run in danger of disease on account of shipments which may have been made into the country via our line.”⁵⁴ The Sioux City road was making a desperate bid to obtain a portion of the association’s shipping business that the Union Pacific had dominated in the 1884 season.

Improved Shipping Facilities

A final important phase of the relations between the Wyoming stockgrowers and the railroads involved the improvement of railroad facilities for shipping cattle to market. The discussions at the annual spring meeting of 1884 centered around the transportation problem, one aspect of which was the necessity for introducing railroad equipment which would lessen the physical damage to stock transported by rail. Samuel H. Hardin, president of the Johnson County stock organization, had been indirectly responsible for the introduction of stock cars with improved running gear on the Northern Pacific and he addressed the association on this matter:

It is a well known fact that for a great many years there has not been the slightest improvement in the running gear of stock cars. . . . The present running gear is calculated to jolt and knock the cattle about so as to reduce their value. I contend that there is room for decided improvement. . . . The mechanical problem is one which the transportation companies are able to solve, but I think it becomes all stock shippers to recognize the fact that they are suffering materially and at least should file a respectful protest. . . .

Hardin was further convinced that the railroads would not make the additional expense for improved equipment unless the stockmen organized a pressure group to demand it. He proposed that a committee be appointed to draft a resolution on the subject.⁵⁵

The Suspension Car Truck Company⁵⁶ that sold its cars

53. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1885.

54. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1885.

55. “Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Stock Growers’ Association, 1884-1889.”

56. The main office of this company was on Broad Street, New York, the western office on Clark Street, Chicago.

to the Northern Pacific had an active agent, J. H. Hapgood, at this session of the association. He explained the construction plan of his car to the stockmen assembled in Cheyenne, contending that the lateral, perpendicular, and longitudinal motions of the train were counterbalanced by the mechanical construction of his cattle car. He joined Hardin's plea for action by the association which would strengthen his position in negotiations with the Union Pacific for the adoption of his trucks. Hapgood had distributed an attractive pamphlet to all members illustrating the company's patents on running gear, stock and refrigerator car designs as well as dozens of testimonial letters from railroad officials and shippers who had successfully introduced these cars.⁵⁷ A printed circular letter, also much in evidence, stated:

Shippers of live stock lose millions of dollars annually, by shrinkage during transportation and additional millions by the deteriorated quality of the meat from bruises, sores, and fevered and disordered condition of cattle on arrival at their destination, consequent on the rigid and unyielding character of the running gear in use under stock cars.⁵⁸

The Live Stock Fast Express Company of Chicago, western distributor of Suspension Car Trucks, reported in this letter that it had the answer to the problem which included the introduction of suspension trucks similar to those used on the Northern Pacific, the Boston and Albany Railroad, the Missouri Pacific and other lines. The shippers' loss in value of his cattle in transit would be reduced 50%. The company also recommended the introduction of improved elliptic springs, new couplers which would have no slack to take up when the car was started or stopped, and improved automatic air brakes which would allow increased speed.⁵⁹

While the association's committee was wording a resolution, Hapgood was obtaining signatures to the following agreement:

We the undersigned hereby agree with the said "Live Stock Fast Express Company" in consideration that the said company will put cars on the railroads which will give us improved means for easy transportation of cattle, without increased cost to the shipper, will equip their cars for said service with Suspension Trucks, with improved springs, improved couplers, and "automatic" or "air

57. This advertizing pamphlet is filed, with similar documents, in the records of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, Laramie.

58. Original copy of circular letter in Wyoming Stock Growers' Association records.

59. *Ibid.*

brakes," that we will give our shipments of cattle to the said "Live Stock Fast Express Company," as they provide cars for said service; will require that the cars of said company be supplied by the railroad companies for our shipments, in preference to any others; that we will give preference to those railroads in which the cars of said "Live Stock Fast Express Company" will run; and that we will endeavor to further the interests of said Express Company in the transportation of cattle by every means in our power.⁶⁰

The resolution committee's report merely invited the attention of the transportation companies to the necessity of improving rolling stock on cattle trains, and pointed out that the evils to be overcome were the vertical or jolting motion, the lateral or side motion, and the longitudinal or lengthwise motion of cars. The association was pledged to "encourage and foster" those transportation companies which would furnish shippers with improved stock cars insuring a saving in shrinkage. The matter was referred to the standing committee on transportation for further action and a copy of the resolution forwarded to neighboring stock associations.⁶¹

Immediately following this report, one member of the resolution's committee called for a reading of the agreement circulated by the Live Stock Fast Express Company. A motion was made that the petition be left on the table for signatures following adjournment. A. T. Babbitt spoke for the group which felt the statement of the resolution committee did not call for specific enough action and who wanted a new resolution endorsing the agreement proposed by the manufacturing concern. Others objected to the Babbitt motion on the ground that the association should not endorse any patent scheme. A vote was taken on the Babbitt motion, the majority voting against it. The motion was then brought up for reconsideration and Babbitt moved a substitute proposal to the effect that the association give preference to the improved cars available and require all railroads to furnish them. This motion was approved by the membership.⁶² Some association members were agitated by the aggressive action of the Live Stock Fast Express company in attempting to secure an endorsement of its patented cars, and after this sharp division of opinion in the annual meeting of 1884, it was agreed that no business agent should be permitted again to seek an endorse-

60. *Ibid.*

61. "Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Stock Growers' Association, 1884-1889."

62. *Ibid.*

ment from the association for a patent monopoly. The secretary's correspondence for the next five years contains dozens of refusals for such requests.

The association's standing committee on transportation presented the resolutions adopted at the annual meeting to officials of the Union Pacific, and secured the introduction of some cattle cars with mechanical improvements. This concession was made primarily to equal the mechanical advances introduced by the Northern Pacific rather than a concern over the association's plan to give preference to railroads using suspension cars. As soon as word was released that the association was interested in the introduction of improved cattle cars, numerous manufacturing companies forwarded requests for the endorsement of their equipment. The New York Live Stock Express Company wrote to Carey and Sturgis, transportation committee members, inclosing a copy of its patent which "explains itself to practical men and needs no comment." The patent incorporated the same suspension car plan with elliptical springs and automatic brakes. It was reported that a train equipped with the stock cars of this company had made the record run of forty-six hours between New York and Chicago.⁶³ Even more active was A. C. Mather who sponsored the Mather Improved Car which he claimed, "excels all others in durability and simplicity of construction, ease and quickness of operation and affords perfect facilities for feeding, watering, and separating cattle in transit without unloading the cattle."⁶⁴ In correspondence with the association he emphasized the fact that the owners of cattle could load sufficient hay at their loading station, or wherever it was cheapest, for the entire journey, and that periodically, it could be placed in reach of the stock by automatic devices. This patent car would free the western range cattle industry from the tribute paid to the stock yard hay monopolists. If Mather could get the support of the Wyoming association in forcing the Union Pacific and other Wyoming railroads to put his cars on their lines, his car company would furnish them to shippers for one-half of the shrinkage saved in transporting the cattle.⁶⁵ The association expressed some interest in this proposal⁶⁶ and Mather urged the stockmen to test these cars thoroughly to determine the financial saving.⁶⁷

63. S. P. Tallman to Carey and Sturgis, August 7, 1884.

64. Printed circular of the Mather Humane Stock Transportation Company, 122 Market Street, Chicago, which is filed with the records of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association.

65. Mather to Sturgis, May 1, 1884.

66. Sturgis to Mather, May 8, 1884.

67. Mather to Sturgis, June 4, 1884.

The association's transportation committee made extensive surveys of the comparative advantages of the various cattle cars and were continuously discussing the nature of patent improvements with the Union Pacific and other railroads. Advances were made in the method of cattle shipments in the late 1880's by the acceptance of various transportation inventions, but no completely satisfactory way of moving cattle on the railroad was devised. In 1889, the Wyoming cattlemen were still discussing in their association meetings the most feasible methods of sending cattle to market with the least loss due to injury. The railroads, however, had attempted to cooperate in working out a solution.

In this survey of relations between the two most powerful economic interests in territorial Wyoming, there is evidence of the evolution of a constructive working relationship based on cooperation and mutual respect. The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association was forced to approach the railroad companies in a spirit of humility seldom demonstrated in dealing with others. Railroad officials gave the association's transportation committee extensive hearings which were reserved only for the most powerful economic blocs. Their agreements were born of necessity. The cattleman was dependent on the railroad to get his product to market; cattle shipments, on the other hand, comprised a large portion of the railroad's freight business which could not be lost. As a result, the railroads carefully abided by the territorial laws to protect the range from fire and disease and the association received rebates on cattle shipments, free transportation for detectives, inspectors, and stockmen accompanying shipments to market, as well as improved facilities for shipping their cattle.

Wyoming's first dramatic performers, the Julesberg Theatrical Troupe, reached Cheyenne in a stage coach in September, 1867, preceding the advent of the Union Pacific by approximately 60 days. The town itself was then only three months old. Two men from Julesburg named King and Metcalf, offered Cheyenne its first entertainment in the histrionic art. King theatre, a building some 30 by 26 feet, was thrown together inside of a week with "parquet, dress circle, private boxes, and all modern improvements". Here a variety of entertainment, consisting of dramatic, minstrel, acrobatic and vocal numbers, was launched. In rapid succession there followed the establishment of the Variety Theatre, Melodeon Hall, Beevaise Hall, the Theatre Comique and various other entertainment halls.

Carbon, the Black Diamond Camp.



1. Beckwith, Can. Co's. Store.
2. Carbon House.
3. C. F. Johnson's Store.
4. Scranton House.
5. G. Gobleman.
6. Butcher Shop.
- 7 & 8. Co-operative Store.
10. Dr. Clark.
11. Dr. Ricketts and Barber Shop.
12. F. P. Shannon's Drug Store.
13. General store owned by F. P. Shannon.
14. Wyoming House.
15. Finnish Church.
16. Saloon.
17. No. 6 Coal Mine.
18. No. 2 Coal Mine.

Carbon, A Victim of Progress

Carbon, today stands as a true ghost town, deserted by its population and by-passed by both the Union Pacific Railroad and Highway No. 30. In 1899 the Union Pacific constructed the "Hanna Cut-Off," placing Hanna on the main line and leaving Carbon on a spur. In 1902 even the spur was removed and the mines were completely shut down. A large number of the population moved from the town, taking only their personal possessions and leaving their homes and business establishments to fall into ruin. Prior to this exodus disaster hit the town in the form of fire, which in 1890 destroyed all of the town north of the Union Pacific tracks.

That in its beginnings Carbon showed promise of a prosperous future will be seen in the following article printed in the newspaper *Wyoming and its Future*.*

"A COAL CAMP

"THE RESOURCES AND BUSINESS INTERESTS OF
"CARBON WHERE THE BLACK DIAMOND IS USHERED
"TO LIGHT
"AND

"DISTRIBUTED THRU THE WEST

"Carbon is situated in Carbon County on the Union Pacific R. R., about eighty five miles west of Laramie City and is the second mining camp, in importance, in the Territory.

"The history of Carbon, as a town, dates from the construction of the railroad. Thos. Wardell entered into contract to furnish the Union Pacific R. R. with coal, in 1868. This contract continued until 1872, when the U. P. Coal Department took possession of the mines. Previous to 1868, private parties had opened up claims and mined coal on a small scale, but there was no market for their coal, and their efforts were unsuccessful. In 1881 the station, coal office, and agency's residence, were moved about half mile east of the town, to their present location, to facilitate the coal shipments.

"The mining of coal is the most important industry of Carbon. There are two mines in active operation, known as No. Six and No. Two. About five hundred men are employed, in and around the mines, nearly all of whom are foreigners. The average daily output of the mines is about one hundred fifty cars. In 1886, according to the report of Mine Inspector

* *Wyoming and Its Future*. Vol. IV, No. 8. Laramie City, Wyoming Territory, Holiday, 1887.

P. J. Quealy, 234,288 tons were mined. The coal is pure lignite and is excellent for steam and general purposes. The coal measures crop out and dip at an average angle of 5 or 6 degrees till the lowest basin is reached at a vertical depth of two hundred and eighty feet. The coal then crops out towards the Saddle-back mountains west of town. Mr. L. R. Meyer is the Superintendent of the mines. He is a native of Germany but has spent a great portion of his life in America. He is thoroughly conversant in the English language and admirably qualified for the office of Superintendent. Mr. L. G. Smith, the gentlemanly bookkeeper of the mines, is considered one of the finest accountants in the employ of the coal department. Jos. Cox is the Pit Boss at Mine No. Two, and Geo. Haywood at Mine No. Six. Both these men have recently been examined by the Territorial Inspector of Mines and pronounced well qualified for their respective positions.

"The Master Mechanic's office is filled by Mr. D. A. Griffiths, who is considered to be an expert in his line. In 1880 U.P.C.D. opened Mine No. Five, two miles north of Carbon. This mine was in operation until 1885 when it was abandoned because of the inferior quality of the coal, when the company moved all their buildings and machinery to Carbon.

"The loss of life is very small in proportion to the number of men employed in the mines. The miners are supplied with the timber they require for timbering rooms and working places, and the company insists on it being used. Before the passage of the Mining Act, three mines were ventilated by natural ventilation. A large twenty foot Guibal fan supplies Mine No. Six with air and a similar fan has recently been erected in Mine No. Two.

"The town has a population of about twelve hundred, and the inhabitants are mostly of foreign birth representing various nationalities, the Finnlayers numbering about three hundred. Most of these men are sailors in their country, and came to America to avoid being forced into the Russian Navy. Nearly all the English speaking miners worked in the mines of England and Wales before coming to this country. They are honest, hardworking, peaceable, and law abiding, and it is safe to say that Carbon is the most quiet camp in the United States, and though there are eight saloons in town, drinking is not indulged in to an immoderate extent. The company owns some sixty houses which are rented to the employees and the only drawback to the town is the lack of water for domestic use which at present is hauled here in cars from Aurora but the company is figuring on laying pipes from No. Five spring to supply the town and railroad engines with water. It is very probable that the roundhouse at Medi-

cine Bow, will be moved to Carbon if a sufficient supply of water can be procured.

“Carbon has several small stores dealing in general merchandise, the largest of which is the Beckwith Commercial Company’s, formerly known as Beckwith, Quinn and Co. This firm was organized in 1875 with headquarters at Evanston and branch stores at all coal mining towns along the U.P.R.R. Their Carbon store was opened in 1877 with Lewis Dibble as manager. Mr. Dibble resigned in 1885 and Thos. O. Minta succeeded him. At the commencement of the present year, the firm’s name was changed to the Beckwith Commercial Company, and it now does an immense business, carrying a large stock of merchandise and miners supplies. The paid in capital amounts to \$300,000.00, and the men employed in and about the mines are paid through this firm and all private coal is sold by them.

“Mr. T. O. Minta, the general manager was born in Manchester, England, in 1846; has been engaged in merchandise since the age of fourteen. He came to this country in 1869, and resided in Boston for two years; from thence he removed to California; then to Wadsworth, Nevada, where he forwarded goods by sixteen mule prairie schooners to the silver mines at Belleville, one hundred and fifty miles distant. Then he engaged in the general merchandise business on his own account, and was postmaster of the town of Belleville. From this place he entered the service of Beckwith & Lauder, Echo City, Utah; then assumed the management of the same firm’s store at Grass Creek. He then paid a visit to his home in England; returning he entered the employ of Beckwith, Quinn & Company, at Evanston, until August 1885, when he came to Carbon where he resides at present. Mr. Minta is a practical business man and a shrewd financier. His long experience and business training eminently fit him for the position he fills. In his hands any business would flourish and the Beckwith Commercial Company are to be congratulated upon possessing a man of his business calibre to manage their store in this town. Mr. C. H. Lane, the cashier and bookkeeper is a native of Natick, Massachusetts; came to Wyoming in 1880 to engage in the sheep business; accepted a position with Beckwith, Quinn & Company, in February 1886, and remained with the other firm after the change. Roger T. Williams is the head clerk and wears the honors modestly. He is ably seconded by Messrs. Hunter, Anderson, Doane and Remes.

“The U. P. Station is under the management of G. C. Randall, better known to the public as Tom Moon. He has been located here about seven years. This station is one of the most important ones on the road owing to the shipments of coal, and the force of clerks is kept very busily employed.

The corps of assistants includes J. J. Buck, S. B. Runyon, and H. Dibble.

“J. W. Johnson, who since 1881 has been one of Carbon’s leading business men, has recently sold his interest here to the Co-Operative Association. Mr. Johnson has always had the entire confidence of the people, and his departure causes general regret. Among Carbon’s most enterprising young business men, is Mr. F. P. Shannon, proprietor of the Carbon Drug Store, and Postmaster. In addition to the duties of the above office he is County Supt. of Schools, and one of the Territorial Pharmacy Commissioners. Mr. Shannon came to Wyoming in 1881. He was connected with Beckwith, Quinn and Company, for three and a half years as cashier, which position he resigned in order to visit South America. After a year absence from Carbon, he returned and opened his present store and is succeeding finely. Mr. Shannon is a very progressive young man, and is bound to succeed in whatever he undertakes. He is finely educated and deservedly popular wherever he is known. During the several months in which he has served as County Supt. he has won high praise for the able manner in which he has fulfilled the duties of his office. He is doing much for the cause of good literature by offering the citizens of Carbon the best works of ancient and modern writers at extremely reasonable prices. J. A. Shannon acts as Post office clerk and is very popular with the general public on account of his pleasing address and strict attention to business.

“One of the busiest places in town is Baker’s Photograph Gallery situated on an eminence in the northern part of this place. The proprietor, F. M. Baker, ranks among the leading photographers of the territory. Within the past year he has erected a commodious gallery, fitted up with all the modern improvements, and admirably adapted for his business. Mr. Baker has in the past always turned out fine work but his present pictures surpass anything ever seen in this county, and it is doubtful if they can be beaten by any artist in Wyoming. Mr. Baker is a young man of thirty and a graduate of Middlebury College, Vermont. He has been a resident of Wyoming for the past five years and considers himself a permanent fixture. In addition to making photographs and views, he carries a large stock of frames and albums, which he offers at very reasonable prices. He makes a specialty of enlarging pictures and also takes orders for crayon portraits. He is widely known throughout the Territory and his many friends watch his artistic progress with great pleasure.

“Ben. Jose has a little store next to C. F. Johnson’s and carries on a snug little business, selling fruits, nuts, confectionery, and toys. Ben has the misfortune to be deprived of

his eyesight, but notwithstanding his affliction he manages to make a success of his life and has an excellent trade.

"Carbon has very few professional men but her contingent compares favorably with that of larger cities. Dr. T. J. Ricketts is the U. P. surgeon and has a lucrative practice throughout the country. He is a graduate of Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania, and is acknowledged to be one of the leading doctors in Wyoming. Dr. S. G. Clark owns a recently completed drug store and also practices medicine. He is well advanced in years but his mental powers are unimpaired, with his health very vigorous. Michael Henry is the only lawyer in Carbon, and consequently has a monopoly of all the legal business in town, which is transacted to the entire satisfaction of his clients and the general public.

"Carbon supports several hotels, and among them may be mentioned the Scranton House, Wyoming House, Carbon House, and Nixon's Boarding House. They are all comfortable and well kept, and furnish excellent board. The Scranton House, under the management of John O'Connor is the leading hotel in town. It has recently been renovated and refurnished and is a thoroughly first class house. John is a model landlord and personally looks after the comfort of his guests, leaving nothing undone that will in any way add to their material welfare.

"There are two first class markets in town. One is owned and run by Jens Hansen, and the other by Messrs. Young & Jackson. Both firms do an excellent business and aim to supply their customers with all the delicacies of the season, and the finest kinds of meat, fish, and vegetables. These three young men are well liked by all, and being energetic, enterprising and strictly honorable in all their dealings are bound to succeed in a business they are well qualified to carry on.

"C. F. Johnson is a native of Sweden, but has resided in America for 20 years. He came to Carbon in 1872 and after a stay of six years went away. He returned during 1883 and opened a general merchandise store in a building erected by himself, where he has a thriving trade. Mr. Johnson is an enthusiastic numismatist and has one of the finest collections of coins and medals in Wyoming, which he is always very willing to show to anyone interested in such matters. Mr. Johnson's success illustrates what pluck and perseverance can accomplish when united with business ability and good sense. The Carbon Co-Operative Association has a store here which is ably managed by Jas. Ryder with Frank Rodas and C. A. Pollay as assistants. This is now the second store in importance and is in every respect a first class one. They have

recently moved into the premises lately occupied by J. W. Johnson, after having first greatly improved the interior.

"Carbon now has a Protestant Church, and one of which she is justly proud, viz: The ME Church, lately erected here. It was built by contributions from the people, and although not yet fully completed, adds greatly to the interest of the town. The directors are giving a series of concerts, suppers, etc., to procure funds with which to improve from time to time, the church. The Carbon Lutheran Church, of which Rev. William Williamson is pastor, has recently taken possession of a new edifice and is in a flourishing condition. A Good Templar Society has lately been organized and is doing good temperance work. The Carbon Union Sunday school, of which Mrs. Dr. S. G. Clark is superintendent, has a large attendance and is being carried on very successfully. The Roman Catholics have no building but hope at no distant day, to erect a church of their own. They have some six hundred and fifty dollars already in the bank, as a nucleus of their building fund. Rev. Dr. Commisky of Laramie visits the society several times a year and holds religious services in the school house.

"P. J. Quealy, the Territorial Inspector of Mines resides in Carbon. He came to Wyoming in 1875, but has been absent considerable time in Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington Territory and Utah. Mr. Quealy has for years been interested in coal mining, and is considered an authority on all matters pertaining to this industry. He has practical education and for a young man of thirty-one has been wonderfully successful. He has been interested in the cattle business since 1882, and own a fine ranch thirty five miles north of Carbon. He is also interested in the Quealy & Hoffman Coal Company, at Bozeman, Montana, and the C. W. Hoffman & Company, mercantile company, but these business interests are tributary to his more permanent interests in Wyoming. Mr. Quealy was appointed Territorial Inspector of Mines by Gov. Warren in October 1886. His many qualifications for this important position rendered his appointment particularly acceptable throughout the Territory.

"Since the above was put in type, Mr. Quealy has become interested in mines near Rock Springs and has resigned his position as Territorial Inspector of Mines, and removed to that place; but his office is still conducted here by H. Stanley, late of Rawlins. Mr. Quealy's successor is C. T. Epperson of Evanston.

"Carbon has a public school which ranks with any in the Territory. There are nearly two hundred pupils enrolled and before long there will be need of more room and another teacher. Mr. A. J. Matthews is principal, while Mrs. L. W. Smith has charge of the intermediate department, and Miss Anna Parker

of the primary. The school building is a credit to the town and is equipped with all the apparatus of a modern school in the way of furniture, maps, charts and globes. During the winter months a night school is maintained for the benefit of those employed in the mines.

"The secret societies of Carbon are The Odd Fellows, Knights of Labor and Knights of Pythias, all being in a flourishing condition. Each society meets on its particular night in the Odd Fellows Hall, over the school house.

"Carbon is the headquarters for numerous stock and ranch men, and among the more prominent, we may mention Ross & Massingale, Quealy Bros., F. A. Hadsell, Fred Hee, John Connor, Hiram Allen, John Milliken, Johnson Bros., Robert Jack, John Bennett, Thos. Jones and numerous others. Carbon is the home of County Commissioner John Parker, Co. Physician T. G. Ricketts, Co. Assessor Fred Hee, S. Supt. F. P. Shannon and Dept. Sheriff John Ellis."

During the summer of 1946 Mrs. T. J. Kastle of Cheyenne visited the site of Carbon. As she was walking along the north side of the old railroad bed her attention was caught by two small white objects visible in the rubble at her feet. She brushed aside the sand, burned wood and disintegrating adobe of a ruined fireplace to find a small doll buried beneath. This doll is a white porcelain figurine fashioned in a sitting position. Through all her years of hiding in the sand she managed, womanlike, to preserve her face and the erosion processes affected only her feet which protruded through the sand. It is interesting to wonder if she belonged to a little girl who played by the fireplace of a home in this ghost town or if perhaps she graced the mantle place of a grown lady as is the fashion of today.

The first public school at South Pass City was started by the teacher, James Stilman, in the early part of 1870, following the organization of the Territory of Wyoming. There was as yet no school tax money available to pay him but Mr. Stilman took the chance of receiving his pay after the collection of levies.

The first school laws of Wyoming go back to the Dakota Territory Statutes, 1862, which vested many school duties in the Board of County Commissioners such as appointing county superintendents of public instruction; the 1864 Dakota Territorial Assembly gave more power to county superintendents.

A Unique Campaign

By FENIMORE CHATTERTON*

The Republican State Convention and the Judicial District Conventions in 1898 met in Douglas, Converse County, Wyoming.

At the request of the Republican Central Committee of Carbon County, I appeared at the Judicial Convention for the Third Judicial District, composed of Carbon, Sweetwater and Uinta Counties, with the solid Carbon County delegation for my nomination as the Republican candidate for District Judge. But we found the Warren machine, by irregular methods, had secured every delegate from Sweetwater and Uinta Counties for the then appointed incumbent, who was also a Carbon County resident. Therefore, as a protest against such unfair machine work, the Carbon delegation did not attend the convention.

The State Convention devoted the first day to organization and committee work. That night, as I was preparing to retire, Charles W. Burdick, Secretary of State, entered my room and said, "Chat, if you will accept the nomination for Secretary of State, the nomination will be made unanimously; DeForest Richards desires you for the position." In Wyoming the Secretary of State is also Lieutenant Governor. I was dumbfounded. I was thus placed at the crossroads, and in that night's dream, there came to me the "Musing of the Elephant," that says: "Many bones are found at the forks of the road, all forsooth and because it required big men, strong men and courageous men to arrive at a decision when sniffing the ambient air for a water hole."

The next morning Mr. Richards sent word that he desired to see me. After much argument and urging, I consented to accept the nomination. That was my great mistake. While I did not leave my "bones at the forks of the road," I lost the "water hole" I had been "sniffing the ambient air for"—the Judicial Bench.

That afternoon DeForest Richards and I were respectively unanimously nominated as the Republican candidates for Governor and for Secretary of State.

In 1898, the only railroads were the Union Pacific, near the south boundary of the state, through the counties of Laramie, Albany, Carbon, Sweetwater and Uinta; the Chicago and Northwestern near the southern border of Converse and

* For Mr. Chatterton's biography, see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 12, pp. 123-124.

into Natrona about twelve miles to Casper; the Burlington entering the state at the southeast corner of Weston County, thence north to New Castle, about seven miles west of South Dakota, thence westerly through the southwest corner of Crook County and into Sheridan County to the City of Sheridan, fifteen miles south of Montana. Therefore, we had a sparsely settled, virgin territory of 44,000 square miles north of the Union Pacific Railroad tier of counties, a territory larger than the combined area of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware and Rhode Island, to campaign in, entirely over rough, rutty wagon roads, often through gumbo flats and over mountain ranges ten thousand feet in elevation.

Mr. Richards sent a fine team of mares to a ranch near Hyattville, Big Horn County, bringing back a small team of mules to Casper, hitched them to a ball bearing buck board and wired me to join him at Rongis on the Sweetwater River in Fremont County on the tenth day of September, 1898. I boarded the Lander bound Concord Stage Coach at Rawlins and after a day and night ride arrived at Rongis. Here I became a mule driver as well as a candidate, and we started our fifteen hundred mile campaign trek. We had a grub box containing canned goods and other food, water bag, a sack of oats, lantern, fur coats, buffalo robe and a bed roll for two—thus we were prepared to camp out.

From Rongis, we drove over the abandoned old Oregon or Mormon and Pony Express trail through the South Pass, (where the first white women, Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding, in 1836 looked on the Pacific Slope) and on to South Pass City, a gold mining camp established in 1868. Here we made our first bid for votes. We met many old time gold miners and heard many hopeful prognostications for the future of the camp; these all totaled to the old saying—"The next shot will hit the pay."

The next morning we started the climb on the steep, rough road up the south slope of the Rocky Mountains. It was a tough up-grade on the way to Lander, via Atlantic City and Miners Delight, old mining camps, where we had a late lunch with Senator Kime, who had been in the Senate Session of 1893 with Mr. Richards and me. From here we took the down grade of the North slope and stayed over night at a ranch in the Red Canon. While the mountain climbing was a tough tack for the mules, we enjoyed the soul inspiring scenery; the deer and elk gave us a once over scrutiny and fled into the forest. The next evening we arrived in Lander, population 737, where we spoke and then danced well past midnight. In all the early day campaigns, there was a dance after the candidates had orated. As Mr. Richards was not able to dance, I had to do the

honors for the next forty-five rallies; this was quite a task, but it would be discourteous not to at least honor every lady with a request for the "pleasure of a dance." Fortunately some did not dance so I sat out that dance with the lady in animated conversation.

In the morning we were taken on a tour of the business district, being introduced to all the business men and in the afternoon visited two outlying districts.

The next two days we were traversing the Shoshone Indian Reservation—no voters. The first day we drove via Fort Washakie—The Shoshone Indian Agency—to J. B. Keanear's ranch on Big Wind River, thirty miles above where Riverton is now located. From Lander to Fort Washakie the eighteen mile military road was good, but from there to the Keanear Ranch, twenty-five miles, the road was rocky and rutty and in some places indistinct, so we had an Indian guide to pilot us from the main road to a point where we could ford the Big Wind River to the ranch. At this point the Indian gave several loud calls; finally Mr. Keanear came from the house to the bank of the river and directed the way of the angling ford; however, we shipped considerable water while fording. We stopped here over night with our bed roll on the floor of a bunk house. Mrs. Keanear was the daughter of the old Scout, Jim Baker and a Shoshone squaw, who, with her children, had several allotments of fine river bottom land, which constituted the ranch. She gave us a fine supper of elk meat. Mr. Keanear gave us some valuable history and pointers regarding the potentialities of the reservation north of the river, which were very helpful to us later in securing the opening of that section—some million acres—for settlement. It is now one of the richest sections of the state with 300,000 acres under irrigation, and with oil and natural gas and coal production.

The next morning Mr. Keanear accompanied us to the top of the high hill, and after calling our attention to a distant mountain as a guiding land mark, pointed out an unmarked course to where we would find a road, ten miles from the hill. We were to follow it over the Owl Creek mountains via the Mexican Pass—6,300 foot elevation—to Thermopolis, a town one year old. This fifty mile course was over gumbo and salt sage flats, sandstone ridges, the mountains and twenty miles of powdery red earth in the Red Canon on the north side of the mountains.

In making this journey, we passed through what is now known as the "Riverton Irrigation Project." The road over the Owl Creek Mountains was so steep and rocky that the mules could not pull the buckboard with us riding. Mr. Richards walked behind the buckboard, steadying himself by holding on the tail gate, and I led the mules for a distance of five

miles up the mountain. On the north side the country had a gentle slope over powdery red earth. When we arrived at Thermopolis, only a few minutes before we were scheduled to speak in the school house, we were unrecognizably painted red. Hurriedly washing, changing clothes and swallowing a cup of coffee, we began our speaking stunt and a night of dancing.

As the old makeshift bridge over the Big Horn River to the Mammoth Hot Springs had been washed out by the spring flood, we were urged to inspect the site and to enlist our influence for a state appropriation for an adequate bridge. We spent the day inspecting the site. In 1902 the steel bridge was built.

The next day we started on a two-day drive north to Basin in the Big Horn Country, on the Big Horn River. This drive was over a desert country—dobe and greasewood flats and gypsum beds where the mules scuffed up great clouds of white dust rising to a height of twenty feet. Looking backward we could see our dust line still marked in the sky for a distance of a mile or more.

The road was near the west bank of the river; on the west loomed the Rocky Mountains and on the east the Big Horn Mountains. As we jogged along we were entertained by varying scenes of grandeur, of mud holes, of prairie dogs, sage chickens and of wide expanses of plains. Several times herds of antelope—100 or more—having been to the river for a drink, crossed the road at a speed of fifty miles an hour and disappeared over a hill or into a depression a mile or more to the west. There was not a house between the two towns so, when the sunset came, we camped on a sand bar near the river, fed oats to the mules, tied them to cottonwood trees, cooked supper, spread our bed roll on the sand—fortunately it was too late in the fall for rattle snakes—and said good night; but it was not a good night. The coyotes howled and a big owl hooted from the opposite bank of the river, our weight gradually sank us in the “soft” sand and in the morning we were sore and stiff.

At the peep of day we made coffee, ate frying pan breakfast, hitched up the mules and arrived in Basin about four o'clock and went to bed for a nap to prepare for the night's speaking and dancing.

The next day, as the mules were very weary and the “roads” bad, we hired a man, team and lumber wagon to convey us to Cody, a town recently founded by Buffalo Bill, on the Shoshone River, then known by the Indian name of “Stinking Water,” at the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains. That was surely a lumber wagon ride. Here I boarded the mail carrier's buckboard for Meeteetse, thirty miles south of Cody,

where I was billed for a speech that evening. I did not arrive until ten o'clock, but the audience was still waiting, having entertained themselves by dancing. I returned to Cody and Mr. Richards and I spent a day hobnobbing with the citizens.

Next morning we started for a small Mormon community, called Burlington, on the Greybull River, forty miles from Cody—more lumber wagon jolts. Our driver tried to persuade us not to go to Burlington as the Mormon Bishop was hostile to our party and our driver friend feared there might be trouble. However, we talked the Bishop and his flock into a tolerant frame of mind and spent a pleasant evening and drove on to Basin after eleven o'clock that night. Early the next morning, we hitched up our rested mules and that evening arrived at the ranch near Hyattville, where we exchanged the mules for Mr. Richard's fine team of mares, and the next morning we started for Sheridan.

The road from Hyattville to the Big Horn Mountains was largely through bad lands, gumbo and disintegrated volcanic refuse, and the mountain road over the summit pass, 10,000 feet elevation near Cloud Peak, was a hard pull. I doubt that the mules could have negotiated the climb. Just at dusk we arrived at the halfway Road House Station consisting of one large room, a barn and a stack of hay. The room furniture consisted of a cook stove, two chairs, a small table and a narrow bunk. The attendant said he was "about out of grub, only had cold boiled potatoes and sowbelly," not an inviting prospect, so we brought in our grub box and treated him and ourselves to supper; then arranged our bedroll on the lee side of the hay stack. Shortly thereafter, there arrived a contingent of Democratic candidates consisting of Horace C. Alger, candidate for Governor; Charles E. Blydenburg, candidate for Supreme Judge; David Miller, candidate for Secretary of State, and several others on their way to Basin. We were all acquainted so indulged in jollyng each other, especially as to how to share the two chairs for the night's rest—these gentlemen had no bedrolls. Finally Mr. Richards and I arose from the two chairs, wished our opponents a good night's sleep, and retired to our bedroll at the haystack.

Early the next morning, after breakfast from our grub box, we proceeded down the eastern slope of the mountains on our way to Sheridan. At a point about four miles from the station a large brown bear crossed the road about two hundred feet ahead of us; the mares did not like his appearance, and I had trouble in preventing them from bolting into the timber. Near the foot of the mountains, near the East Fork of Goose Creek, we met a four horse freight outfit bound for Basin. The next day word came to Sheridan that a heavy blizzard,

the night of the day we came down the mountains, had stalled the freight team we met, and that the driver had perished. Had we been a day later that might have been our fate, too. October mountain storms, often coming without warning, are severe and sometimes disastrous.

We remained in Sheridan, the home of Mr. Richards' opponent, a few days as headquarters for driving to several outlying districts in the county, where we preached the gospel of Republicanism.

One point of interest was the site of the Battle of Tongue River. Then we drove to Buffalo in Johnson County. The road passes through a very picturesque territory and by several historic points. The site of the historic Fort Fetterman Massacre in 1866; site of old Fort Phil Kearney, 1866; the "Wagon Box" fight; Lake DeSmet, discovered by Father DeSmet, about 1840, and Fort McKinney, 1876.

At Buffalo we were met with a friendly gesture by only one person, the Chairman of the Republican County Committee. Here we were politically ostracized because of the still smoldering anger of the people as a result of the Cattlemen's Raid on the Cowboy Rustlers in 1892. We were billed to speak that evening in the court house at eight o'clock. At that hour, in company with the County Chairman, we went to the empty court room, sat there reminiscing until ten o'clock—not a person had appeared. This was our first knockdown, but we survived the count. After we had been in office, 1899-1901, Governor Richards and I were invited by the "City Dads" of Buffalo to a banquet to be given in our honor. Our train to Clearmont was late, from there to Buffalo was a thirty mile drive up Clear Creek, so we did not arrive until one o'clock A. M. But to our surprise, the banquet was waiting and we had a gay time until sun up when we retired for a few hours nap. We had won the respect of the Johnson County people.

The next town to visit was Sundance in Crook County, about fifteen miles from the South Dakota boundary line, a distance of 145 miles east of Buffalo. This necessitated a two and one half days monotonous drive through a desert terrain, fording Crazy Woman Creek, Powder River and Belle Fourche River, via the hamlets of Gillette and Moorcroft and the Devil's Tower. On arriving at Sundance, we were advised that the people at Beulah, twenty miles north east of Sundance, would be offended if we did not pay them a visit. As our time was growing short for the buckboard trip, we decided that Mr. Richards should carry on the rally at Sundance and I to go at once to Beulah. I hired a saddle horse and made the ride in quick time, spent the time from five o'clock until nine interviewing the people; then under the starlit night, rode back to Sundance.

The next day we drove through the picturesque Black Hills territory to New Castle where we arrived about noon. As we entered the hotel we were met by a bevy of ladies, evidently an arranged affair, who very urgently solicited us for contributions to some church or charity enterprise. Well, we were on a spot; this was the first time we had been touched and it was a ticklish situation; we would be open to criticism whether we complied or did not, contribute; we could not conjecture whether or not it was a political trick, possibly to subject us to a charge of bribery for votes. We were strangers in a strange place. Our one evening stand in New Castle cost us plenty.

The next day we drove to Cambria Coal Mines where we found Frank W. Mendell in charge. We met many of the miners as we walked one mile into the coal mine drift, had lunch in the dining room and started on the last day's drive to Lusk on the C. & N. W. R. R., in the then Converse County. The next day we started the campaign on the railroads. First we went to Pocatello, Idaho, where we hired a team and wagon to take us into the Star Valley where there was a large Mormon settlement—five towns—this involved a five day trip of 300 miles, twice crossing the Caribou Mountains. After this we spent twenty days and nights seesawing up and down the railroad in order to cover engagements in the towns on the Union Pacific line; this involved night travel.

The 1,550 mile buckboard trip had revealed to us great opportunities for agricultural development of one million acres of fertile land by the diversion through large canals of the waters of Big Wind River in Fremont County, The Big Horn, Greybull and Shoshone rivers in the then Big Horn County—a territory embracing 12,096 square miles, which in 1920 was divided into Hot Springs, Washakie, Park and Big Horn Counties. Mr. Richards and I resolved that, if we were elected, we would devote our efforts to the opening of that portion of the Shoshone Indian Reservation north of Big Wind River, about 1,300,000 acres, to settlement and furthering the reclamation of 300,000 acres thereof, and of securing construction of irrigation canals for the settlement and reclamation of about 800,000 acres in what was then Big Horn County. We were elected in 1898 and again in 1902, and as a result of our efforts more than 1,000,000 acres have been settled and reclaimed for agricultural purposes; resulting in the building of the towns of Riverton, Shoshoni and Pavillion in Fremont County; Worland, Byron, Cowley, Lovell, Garland and Powell in what was then Big Horn County; and many hamlets in-between. Governor DeForest Richards' administration accomplished more for the agricultural settlement and for the livestock interests of Wyoming than any other administration up to date—largely the result of the 1,500 mile buckboard trip. Wyoming suffered a great loss when he passed away in 1903.

History of First Frontier Days Celebrations

* By WARREN RICHARDSON

I have been requested to recapitulate some of the interesting events of the early Frontier Days Celebrations.

The idea of the Frontier Days Celebration originated in the brain of Col. E. A. Slack, owner and editor of the *Cheyenne Sun-Leader*, now the *Wyoming Tribune*.

The towns in northern Colorado were celebrating every fall with a fair, calling attention to their particular farm products, such as "Potato Day" in one town, "Pickle Day," "Pumpkin Pie Day," etc., etc. On the occasion of a visit to Greeley with my mother and Col. Slack and his wife, we were discussing the idea of some kind of a fall festival in Cheyenne. Cheyenne and vicinity did not produce much in an agricultural way at that time, so Col. Slack suggested an old time display of riding bucking horses, roping cattle, branding cattle, stage holdups, and anything else that suggested the early days. "We will call it Frontier Days," said the Colonel. The next day he had a long article in the *Cheyenne Sun-Leader*, developing the idea and calling for a public meeting at the City Hall, which meeting was held and attended by the Mayor, W. R. Schmitger, the city councilmen and citizens. At that meeting the Mayor appointed the following committee to plan the first Celebration of Frontier Days: Warren Richardson, Jr., Chairman, J. L. Murray, John A. Martin, Granville Palmer, J. D. Freeborn, Henry Arp and Edward W. Stone. A subcommittee consisted of D. A. Holliday, Henry Arp, Clarence B. Richardson and Col. E. A. Slack, was also appointed.

These committees worked diligently, and in twenty days developed a programme for the first show, which was held on September 23, 1897. We advertised the show all over the United States, and had people from the East, West, North and South. Special trains with sleeping cars were used to take care of visitors who could not get accommodations.

The Union Pacific sent a special man, Mr. F. W. Angiers, General Traveling Passenger Agent, to assist us in every way, and Mr. Angiers was a very enthusiastic booster at many of the

* Warren Richardson was born October 30, 1864 in Indianapolis, Indiana, the son of Warren and Mary A. (Kabis) Richardson. He came to Wyoming in 1869 and received his education in the public schools of Cheyenne. He engaged in extensive livestock operations and has been interested and active in Wyoming's politics and history. He was chairman of the first Frontier Days Committee in 1897 and a member of the first Historical Landmark Commission in 1927. Mr. Richardson resides in Cheyenne.



THE FIRST FRONTIER COMMITTEE—1897

Left to right in carriages: Warren Richardson, chairman; J. A. Martin, Granville R. Palmer, J. L. Murray, D. H. Holliday, E. W. Stone, Clarence B. Richardson, and E. A. Slack.

early shows. The attendance at this first show was estimated at 15,000. No admission to the grounds was charged, the bleacher seats were fifteen cents and grandstand seats were thirty-five cents. The entire space around the half-mile race track was packed five to ten deep with people.

In 1897, there were many wild horses in the vicinity of Cheyenne. Twenty or thirty miles east and northeast was open country, with very few fences. Stallions, closely herding their bunches of mares, sometimes met at watering places, and fights frequently resulted which were really vicious biting affairs, the stallions rearing up on their hind legs and striking with their front feet like tigers. The horses used at these first shows had never been roped, or even herded, and the cowboys who brought a bunch of about fifty to the corral at the park had a real job.

Of course, everything about the first show was unique, but I think the wild horse race and the bucking contest were the most outstanding features.

The horses were roped in the corral and snaked to the track in front of the grandstand—the judges' stand being opposite. When ten had been so snaked in for the wild horse race, the bridling and saddling began. This first wild horse race has never been excelled. Pictures were taken that are still being sold today; and no pictures of any rodeo performance have had as large a sale as the postal card showing this first event of that kind, with the caption "Wild Horse Race at Cheyenne Frontier Days Celebration."

The bucking contest, where the horses were all bridled and saddled on the track, each man having a helper, was an event to be remembered for a life time by all who witnessed it.

The stage coach holdup was one of the thrilling events. One event was the hanging, by vigilantes, of a horse thief. Bill Root of Laramie, a humorist and newspaper associate of Bill Nye, and a close friend of mine, was in the grandstand, and I persuaded him to let himself be taken out of the grandstand by masked vigilantes to be apparently hanged on a cross arm erected for that purpose. Bill was game up to the point where the hangman's noose was dangling over his head, when he said: "This is carrying a joke too far, boys;" so they substituted a dummy, which was conveniently near, and hanged it instead of Bill.

One alarming incident happened during the afternoon of this first show. The wild horses had been milling around, having become nervous and excited when some of them had been roped by the cowboys, and finally they broke out of the corral and all stampeded up the race track. When opposite the middle of the bleachers, they suddenly turned and drove straight through them. People yelled and screamed and

scrambled madly about, trying to get out of the way. The bleachers, six tiers high, and made of 2 x 12 planks, were knocked down and an opening made for the horses to get through. I wonder to this day how every one escaped. They did, and no one was seriously hurt.

As a result of our advertising our programme in the Denver papers, some neurotic members of the Colorado Humane Society thought the show was going to be too rough—and even cruel. Denver has always been a little jealous of Cheyenne—and more so fifty years ago than now. They sent a fellow up to Cheyenne to see just how rough the show was. The first steer that was thrown resulted in his getting a small group together and giving a free lecture to the effect that the performance should not be permitted to go on. After he had kept this up for a short time, two cowboys gently slipped a rope over him and took him to the buffalo corral, where they tied him up with the buffalo for the afternoon, releasing him just in time to take the excursion train back to Denver.

There is still in existence a picture taken of our committee in a barouche, and the sub-committee—Clarence Richardson and Col. Slack—driving a donkey, which was taken in the old City Park, as we were on our way to Fort Russell (now Fort Warren), with a set of embossed resolutions, thanking Captain Petcher, who was Commandant at the Post, for the part he and his Command had taken in the show.

The bulls which were driven at the show were oldtimers taken out of a good bull train, and they were certainly wise to “gee”, “whoa”, “haw”, “buck”, and could be driven to within an inch of any opening.

In one of the early shows, the committee ran into a bitter cold spell in September and the result was \$6,000.00 in the red.

At the following show, which was advertised as “bigger and better”, etc., the stands were all filled and a large crowd was waiting for the show to start when suddenly the heavens opened and the rain came down in torrents. The storm lasted an hour, and water was running six inches deep down the race track in front of the grandstand. Some of the boys thought it was too dangerous to ride in the mud, and that the show should be postponed until the next day. This, of course, was impossible, as an attempt to refund money to a crowd, many of whom were in free, would have resulted in complete failure. There was a girl, Miss Bertha Kaepernick, who had entered the bucking contest, also the wild horse race; and my brother Clarence, who was in charge of the programme, conceived the brilliant idea of getting this girl to ride a wild horse in front of the grandstand. This she did—one of the worst buckers I have ever seen—and she stayed on him all the time. Part of the time he was up in the air on his hind

feet; once he fell backward, and the girl deftly slid to one side only to mount him again as he got up. She rode him in the mud to a finish, and the crowd went wild with enthusiasm. Result—the cowboys thought if a girl can ride in the mud, we can too, and the show was pulled off. The real active idea of Woman Suffrage was thus demonstrated in Wyoming at a Frontier Days show—the idea that has gone around the world. Hurrah for the Wyoming gals! They lead in everything!

The following is a list of some of the people who took an active part in the various events of the first show, September 23, 1897: W. M. Craver, Hugh McPhee, C. W. Hirsig, J. Hardy, L. Bath, Neil Clark, Joe Robins, L. A. Wilcox, O. Hendricks, F. M. Mathews, Jim Glove, O. Dunn, Dan Clark, S. Holliday, H. G. Porter, Cass Thompson, John O'Keefe, F. G. Hirsig, Tom Murphy, E. Festner, — Fisher, E. G. Rhove, E. Badfish, Dave Creath, Bill Root, Nelson Perry, — Craner, — Jones, A. C. McDonald, Duncan Clark, and many others whose names are forgotten. A full financial report of every dollar received and paid out at this first show was made and published. This report showed a small cash balance which was carried over to the next year.

These early shows lasted six or seven hours, starting at one o'clock in the afternoon; but the enthusiasm of the crowds waned not a whit. They lustily cheered every single event and stayed until the very end. Dr. Jeremiah Mieger of Toledo, Ohio, after seeing the first Frontier Days Celebration said: "I am a surgeon in a State Insane Asylum, and I am used to excitement, but Cheyenne takes the cake." George Eastman, of Kodak fame, enthusiastically remarked: "If we only had a moving picture of that show!"

There have been many people who have contributed to the success of Frontier Days, and to attempt to name them all would be impossible; but I will mention one who took part in all of the early shows up to the time of his passing away a few years ago. That man, whose voice would be heard all over the grounds before the megaphone was invented, was Charlie Irwin. Charlie, with his three charming daughters and his son, who was fatally injured at one of the shows, was almost a "must" on all occasions. Charlie Hirsig was another old reliable assistant at the early shows. And there were many others too numerous to mention.

I was the youngest member of the first committee, and am the only survivor of that committee. I am proud to have been on the committee which originated and carried out the idea of Frontier Days. The show has now developed to a point which makes it the greatest outdoor exhibition given anywhere in the entertainment world. It bids fair to be as perm-

anent as Shakespeare's plays. I attended the 50th anniversary of the show on the 25th of July, 1946. If everything goes well, I hope to attend the 100th anniversary of the greatest show on earth.

One suggestion I would like to make is that the enterprising committees appointed each year develop a reserve fund of at least \$25,000.00. It would be an easy matter for the show to run into a cold, windy week, resulting in a big deficit, which would be difficult to raise, and which might even jeopardize the future of the show. I know it has been the policy of the government to discourage the accumulation of surpluses by corporations, but the Frontier Days Organization, being on a non-profit basis, needs a surplus, and I believe they could get by without governmental interference???

The business men of Cheyenne should appreciate the ability and energy of the able men who make up Frontier Days management. Few people know the detail and work necessary to pull off this show.

The first public school house at South Pass City (1870) was a log building about 18 feet long, 15 feet wide, with one window and a dirt floor. The furniture was rough with home made benches and desks.

The first free public school building in Wyoming was dedicated on January 5, 1868 in Cheyenne. The location of the school is now marked by a bronze plaque erected by the school children of Cheyenne in 1933.

The first session of the Wyoming Territorial Assembly provided at its first meeting in 1869 for the regulation and maintenance of education.

By Territorial enactment the University of Wyoming was established in 1886. A building was authorized to be constructed at Laramie, not to cost more than \$50,000.00 and bonds were to be issued to finance its construction.

The first school in Sheridan and Johnson counties was a log cabin at the ranch home of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Jackson, adjoining Big Horn in Sheridan County.

One of Goshen County's first schools was held in a little one room log cabin on the ranch of State Senator and Mrs. Thomas G. Powers, near Torrington.

Wyoming Pioneer Association

**Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting Held at the Mesa Theater in Douglas, Wyoming, at 10:00 A. M.,
September 5, 1946**

The meeting was called to order at 10:00 A.M., by President C. W. Horr.

Reverend Gale was first called upon and recited a prayer of benediction.

President Horr then addressed the meeting.

Mr. Bishop, Acting Secretary, called attention to the necessity of providing a fire-proof building for housing the collection of relics of the Association. He read communications from Governor L. C. Hunt, Senator R. J. Rymill, Mary A. McGrath, Tom Cooper, John Charles Thompson and Warren Richardson endorsing the construction of a State museum for housing Wyoming historical records and relics. The following Summary Report was read by Mr. Bishop:

The idea of organizing the Wyoming Pioneers was first conceived by the late Charlie Maurer. Just before the State Fair in 1925, he called a meeting at the City Hall in Douglas for the purpose of effecting an organization.

Those who responded to the call, in addition to Mr. Maurer, were: W. B. Hardenbrook, W. F. Mecum, Charlie Horr, A. R. Merritt and L. C. Bishop.

At this meeting a temporary organization was formed with Charlie Maurer as temporary Chairman and L. C. Bishop temporary Secretary. A date was set for a permanent organization meeting during the 1925 State Fair.

At this permanent organization meeting it was decided to build a log cabin on the State Fair grounds and officers were elected as follows: John Hunton, President; C. F. Maurer, Vice President; C. W. Horr, Treasurer; and L. C. Bishop, Secretary.

My assignment was to draw plans for a cabin which would afford a place for the annual meetings as well as a lounging place for the old timers, and a desirable place for displaying pioneer relics. Shortly thereafter my plans were submitted to the committee, of which Charlie Maurer was Chairman, and with a few alterations approved, I was authorized to contract for hauling the logs and construction of the building.



The Pleasant Valley School or the Ed Smith School, the first frame school house in Wyoming, is now located at the Wyoming State Fair Grounds at Douglas, where it was moved by the Wyoming Pioneer Association in 1931. The building was first located on the Ed Smith Ranch, La Prele Creek, Converse County.

The contract for delivery of the logs was awarded to Andy Johnson and they were delivered during the Summer and Fall of 1926.

The building was built by Eli Peterson and Carl Engdahl and was finished, except chinking between the logs, prior to the 1927 meeting. The total cost was about \$1,400.00.

The annual meetings were held in the cabin for 1927, 1928 and 1929 when the membership had increased to 720 and was no longer large enough for the crowd and also it was quite well filled with relics by that time.

The last meeting of which I find evidence in the file is 1939 and the card files as of that date show slightly over 1,000 members. After taking out the cards of those I know to have passed on there were about 960. I sent the circular letter calling this meeting, in envelopes with my own return address and with 3c stamps in order that we may take the cards from the file where the letters are returned and bring our membership up to date. After 7 years with no meetings I am sure there will be many of our members who have moved away or passed to their reward.

I do not find a record of when we purchased the LaPrele School House and moved it to the State Fair Grounds, but, according to my memory, it was about 1932, and the cost of moving, painting and the care for it was about \$500.00.

For the purpose of the record, I will recite the history of this building. It was built during the Fall of 1884 by S. A. Bishop and Calvin Smith on the Ed Smith Ranch, in the creek bottom, about a half mile north of the Ed Smith Ranch building. In the early nineties it was moved about a half mile north and a half mile west to the mesa near the north line of the Ed Smith Ranch where it remained until moved to the State Fair Grounds about 1932. Old residents that served on the School Board during those years were: Ed Smith, Al Ayres, George Powell, Jack O'Brien, Robert Fryer, Bert Elder and S. A. Bishop. We believe it to be the oldest frame school house in the State.

At one of the last meetings of the Association it was decided to call the school house the "Malcolm Campbell School House" and a fund was started to purchase a bronze plaque for an inscription.

This was never carried out for the principal reason that Mr. Campbell was not a resident of this district, and I believe that this action should be rescinded and it should be called the "Ed Smith or Pleasant Valley School House" as was the case in the early days.

The cost of the Log Cabin and the School House and the cases and all was approximately \$2,500.00 which was raised from the sale of life memberships and annual dues.

On April 1, 1946, the Association had funds on hand as follows:

On Deposit in Converse County Bank.....	\$106.77
Special School House Fund.....	6.78
Cash in Vault at Converse County Bank....	1.00
43 Oregon Trail Half Dollars.....	21.50
TOTAL	\$136.05

On Deposit September 5, 1946.....\$168.71

It was my thought in offering the 43 Oregon Trail Memorial coins to the first 43 members paying their dues for five years that money could be raised for painting and repairing the buildings and that the collection for annual dues would take us over for a few years while we are promoting the construction of a fire proof building for our relics.

The State Museum in Cheyenne is not large enough to properly display all the old relics they have, and it seems to me that the sensible thing for us to do is to get behind a movement to ask the State Legislature for funds to construct a State Historical Museum either at Casper, Douglas or Cheyenne, of sufficient size to display the collection they now have and our collection.

It would seem that we should decide on what we want and all get our shoulders to the wheel and put it over.

Respectfully submitted,

(signed) L. C. Bishop

L. C. BISHOP

Acting Secretary

LCB:JC

Wyoming Pioneer Association

A medley of songs by Ted Daniels, et al.

Pioneer address by Mrs. Willson of Lusk.

President Horr then appointed as Nominating Committee: Tom Cooper, Bob Irvine and Mr. McDougall.

Address by Judge C. O. Brown.

A note was received from Honorable George H. Cross expressing his regrets in not being able to attend the meeting. His check in the amount of \$25.00 was enclosed as a donation.

Other donations announced were: Painting of the old school house by Mrs. S. E. Morton \$200.00; Painting of the roof of the Pioneer Log Cabin by H. M. Peters \$100.00.

Nominating Committee offered the names of Russell Thorp for President and L. C. Bishop for Vice President and Mrs. Bennie Baker for Secretary Treasurer.

There being no further nominations these three were declared elected for the ensuing year.

Upon motion duly seconded and carried Eli Peterson was authorized to make the necessary repairs on the Pioneer Log Cabin.

Judge C. L. Brown reported as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and offered the following Resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

WHEREAS, Divine Providence has taken from our midst Addison A. Spaugh, one of our Pioneer citizens and the President of this Association at the time of his death on December 23, 1943;

Ad, as he was familiarly known, was born in Indiana in April, 1857. He accompanied his father's family to Kansas in 1864, during which year his mother died. In 1871, when he was 14 years of age he went to Texas and in the spring of 1875 decked out in full cowboy regalia he started his career as a cow man;

Following several trips over the Chisholm Trail from Texas to Wyoming, he became foreman of the Durbin Bros. Stock Ranch near Cheyenne. He finally settled at Manville and married a daughter of the owner of the Silver Cliff Mine near Lusk and started in the cattle business. At one time he had more land enclosed by fence and owned more cattle than any other stockman in Wyoming. For a period of 66 years he was one of the colorful stockmen of the State;

From September 1941 until his death he was President of this Association;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Wyoming Pioneer Association in convention assembled express its sincere regrets at the passing of our esteemed Pioneer citizen and President of our Organization, and that this Resolution be made a part of the records of the Association, and a copy be sent to each of his known relatives.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

WHEREAS, on November 27, 1944, Divine Providence removed from our midst Alvy Dixon, one of our outstanding Pioneer citizens, who, at the time of his death was the President of this Association;

Alvy Dixon was born at Bloomington, Illinois in 1863. In 1882 he came to Wyoming with his parents and for six years

hailed freight with ox teams from Cheyenne and other towns along the Union Pacific to Forts in the east and central part of Wyoming. In 1888 he settled on a homestead on Rock Creek just above the present town of McFadden where he spent the remainder of his life;

Alvy Dixon was a man of sterling character and a fine type of citizen and was loved and respected by all who knew him;

For many years he served as Water Commissioner on Rock Creek and the Medicine Bow River, and during his life built up one of the most successful ranch and livestock units in the State;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Wyoming Pioneer Association in convention assembled express its sincere regret at the passing of our esteemed President and Pioneer citizen Alvy Dixon and that this Resolution be made a part of the records of the Association and a copy be sent to each of his known relatives.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

WHEREAS, in the natural course of human events death took from our midst, on November 28th, 1945, one of our outstanding pioneer citizens, and at the time of his demise, the Secretary Treasurer of this Association, Edgar B. Shaffner;

Ed, as he was known by his many friends, was a kindly person who spent his life helping others. For many years he spent his entire time during the State Fair at the Pioneer Cabin on the State Fair Grounds working for the good of this Association;

He will be missed by all who knew him, but, mostly by those of us who have worked with him during these past years;

Edgar B. Shaffner was born near Washington, Iowa, July 2, 1864. He attended local schools and later Iowa University at Iowa City. He came to Nebraska and located at Chadron in 1885. For several years he was a mail clerk on the C. & N. W. Railroad between Chadron, Nebraska and Casper, Wyoming;

He came to Wyoming in the late 80's and for several years ran a butcher shop in Casper. From 1905 to 1907 he served as County Clerk of Natrona County and later as County Treasurer for two years. For many years he owned and operated a telephone exchange, first in Casper then at Glenrock and later at Douglas;

In 1893 he married Winifred Yanoway. To this union two children were born: Harter Shaffner of West Lake, Louisiana and Wilma Horsch of Grant Street, Casper, Wyoming. His wife and children survive him. He is also survived by two sisters: Ada Carley of Cheyenne and Etta Hubbard of Casper;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Wyoming Pioneer Association express its sincere regret at the passing from this earthly sphere of our esteemed pioneer citizen Edgar B. Shaffner who served our Association so well for so long; and that this Resolution be made a part of the records of this Association and a copy each be sent to the following relatives: Mrs. Ada Carley, 2517 Capitol Avenue, Cheyenne; Mrs. Etta Hubbard, Box 1, Casper; Mr. Harter Shaffner, West Lake, Louisiana; Wilma Horsch, Grant St., Casper.

RESOLUTION NO. 4

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED THAT, WHEREAS members of the Wyoming Pioneer Association own many valuable and irreplaceable relics of historical importance to the State, an adequate museum building should be constructed for their exhibition and safekeeping. These articles from old trail days and before are now stored insecurely in various localities throughout the State, with a constant danger of irreparable loss through fire or theft.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this association go on record as requesting the Wyoming Legislature to appropriate sufficient funds to erect a suitable fireproof building for protecting and displaying these priceless historic articles.

The following letters received by L. C. Bishop from Taylor Pennock of Saratoga and Bonie Earnest of Alcova in September 1930 contain historical information that should be preserved and they are included herein.

Saratoga, Wyo.
Sept. 6, 1930.

Mr. L. C. Bishop:

In June or July 1870, a number of miners congregated at Independence Mountain located near where Big Creek Ranch is now situated and near the extreme southern border of the Upper Platte Valley. They were there while the snow water lasted for the purpose of mining some placer gold ground near that mountain.

In a few days Old Callacaw, who was a chronic agitator and trouble breeder among the Indians, appeared and ordered them to leave the country within a number of days. He wanted to cover up for the time being what he knew they would discover in a few minutes, for when they reached the River they found bodies of two of the miners named Shipman and Van-Dyke and the body of the third man whose name has been forgotten.

No doubt, the old wily savage and his bunch of bucks came filing along the Cherokee Trail to the west where they

soon ran across three trappers named Frank Morran, Joe Brun and Jack Scott near Indian Creek between Beaver Creek and Encampment River. These men were buried by J. H. Mullison and Tom Casteel of Cheyenne.

Cordially yours,

(signed) Taylor Pennock
Saratoga, Wyo.

Alcova, Wyoming
Sept. 5, 1930

L. C. Bishop

Douglas, Wyo.

My dear Mr. Bishop:

Your letter of September 1st, 1930 duly received. In answer would say—Doc Collerton of Encampment referred you to me for information concerning the names of the three men killed by Indians in that vicinity about 1870—also the exact date if known. Am sorry to say that I don't know the exact date that they were killed, and I don't think that anyone else now living knows that, as the bodies were found several days after they were killed by Bill Cadwell and some miners coming over from Hahn's Peak to the U.P.R.R. by way of Independence Mountain.

The men were killed on Indian Creek between Big Creek in the North Park and Grand Encampment. As to the dates, I am not certain, but as near as I can remember they were killed some time between 1871 and '75. I don't know now of a man living who was in the Country at that time.

The men that were killed were Frank Marrion, Joe Brun and Old Man Scott.

I was well acquainted with Frank Marrion, as I crossed the Plains with him in 1865. The others I only knew by sight. Scott was the mining recorder at Independence at one time about 1870, or perhaps earlier than that.

I stated above that I didn't know a man living that was in the Country at that time, but I am mistaken about that, as Jim Bury was in the North Park about the time of the killing. I guess you know Jim. He is now living in Casper and if you drop him a line he will no doubt give you the details as he knew the three men that were killed.

Personally, in regard to my knowledge of any old graves, I don't know of any. Forty years ago I knew of graves all along the Old California Stage road from Fort Casper to Oregon Buttes and South Pass, but they have all disappeared. Most of them were soldiers' graves and removed by Col. Wilbur who was Government Quartermaster at Rawlins years ago. Col. Wilbur had all of the soldiers dug up and shipped to some Government Graveyard in the East.

I came to Wyoming or Dakota Territory in 1864. Crossed the Plains with a Bull train from Atchison, Kansas to Salt Lake City; returned the same Fall to Atchison and crossed again in 1865 with the Butterfield Overland Stage Company of the Smokey Hill River to Denver. I was with that Company for 3 years. In 1868 I again came west to Denver, and from there to South Pass. Drifted from there over 3 years all over the west and located in Carbon County 1872; and have lived here in Wyoming ever since.

If what I have written entitles me to an honorary life membership in the Wyoming Pioneer Association it would be highly appreciated.

By yours sincerely,
(signed) Boney Earnest

If at any time I can give you any information briefly, I will be glad to do so.

Information requested from Messrs. Earnest and Pennock was at the suggestion of Doc Cullerton of Encampment who had previously taken me to the place where Morran, Brum and Scott were buried. It is located a few feet south of the Old Cherokee Trail between Indian Creek and the Grand Encampment River a mile or more south of the present highway.

The only evidence of the burial place was a piece of the old headboard, placed at the time of burial, which was loose on the ground. To confirm the location we dug about 18" and encountered the bones—all three were buried in the same grave. Here we placed a mound of earth and covered it with rocks and I inscribed on a hard black stone the following "THREE MEN KILLED BY INDIANS ABOUT 1870". I intend to go there some day and inscribe the three names on a good sized stone.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 o'clock Noon.

C. W. Horr
President

ATTEST;
L. C. Bishop
Acting Secretary

The town of Buffalo was named by drawing names from a hat. The name "Buffalo" was put into the hat by William Hart, in honor of Buffalo, New York.

The first major operatic group to visit Wyoming, The Richings-Bernard Opera company, gave four performances in 1877.

ANNALS OF WYOMING



Wyoming State Museum

Wyoming State Historical Department

A Sketch of the Development

The institution at present known as the Wyoming Historical Department has had a varied existence. Created by an act of the Third Wyoming State Legislature in 1895, it was designated as the Wyoming Historical Society. The Act provided for a Board of Trustees composed of six citizens of the state, appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate, together with the Secretary of State and State Librarian as ex officio members. The State Librarian was charged with full custody of all property belonging to the Society which was to be preserved within the State Library.

The minutes of the first meeting of the Society, held July 30th, 1895, indicate that the members of the Board of Trustees present included William A. Richards, Governor, John Slaughter, Librarian, Hon. B. B. Brooks and Robert C. Morris. The following action was taken:

“It being brought to the attention of the Trustees that numerous parties had signified a willingness to donate valuable documents and papers to the Society, Robert C. Morris, as Secretary of the Society, was authorized to secure from the Capitol Commissioners a suitable room or rooms to be set apart in the State Capitol for the preservation of such gifts and for the holding of meetings of the Society. The Secretary was also authorized to procure suitable furniture for such apartments, including carpets, desk, cabinets, books, stationery and including incidental expenses such as postage, express; to collect historical data with a view of preparing a suitable book or volume for publication for said Society as provided by Law, said publication to be paid out of the appropriations made for that purpose.”

Mr. Morris accomplished the duties set forth in the report and the first volume of Wyoming Historical Collections was published in 1897.

The Cheyenne-Sun Leader in 1899 described the housing of the collections in the following words:

“The spacious apartments set aside for the Wyoming Historical Society on the top floor of the capitol will be found one of the most attractive places to visit in Cheyenne. The fine mineral and agricultural exhibit made at the Columbian Exhibition in 1893 has been brought to-

gether and form the nucleus of one of the finest exhibits of natural resources in the west. Three large rooms have been beautifully frescoed and in connection with the Hall with its marble floor furnishes a place for an exhibit of which any state might be proud. The exhibits of gold, silver and copper bearing ores, together with building stone and agricultural products, are specially fine. It is hoped that all these departments will be largely increased within the next few years. It will be the aim of the society to make this one of the notable resorts of the capital, where citizens from all parts of the state will find the most complete exhibit of its great resources. No one who has examined this exhibit can fail to have a much higher appreciation of the possibilities of Wyoming and the great wealth that awaits the development of the State. The collection of photographs of public men and pioneers will call up many pleasant reminiscences. These, together with many pictures of the public buildings and natural scenery have been handsomely framed and add greatly to the attractions of the rooms at the capitol. The beautiful silk flag presented by the women of Wyoming on its admission to Statehood and the regimental flags of Torrey's Rough Riders, are displayed in suitable glass cases. The battle scarred flags brought back from the Philippines attract much attention.

The diplomas of Chicago and Omaha Expositions have been handsomely framed and tell an interesting story of the state's great resources. It must not be forgotten that among the most valuable treasures of the society are the files of the Daily Leader and Sun, covering a period of over thirty years."

The Second Biennial Report of the Society indicates that the newspaper files were proving a valuable part of the historical collection. for Mr. Morris says: "They have been of great value to those who have claims against the federal government for Indian depredations committed in the early days of the territory. The most valuable files are those of the Cheyenne Daily Leader, covering a period of over thirty years. Newspapers are an important and fertile source of historical information, and this feature of the society is to be regarded as of the utmost importance. The contributions of old newspaper files on the part of editors of the state will be greatly appreciated."

The Third Biennial Report is a plea for additional funds from the legislature for the establishment of libraries but contains a number of excellent photographs of the museum as it was then housed on the third floor of the capitol.

From the time of its creation in 1895 until 1919 the Wyoming Historical Society functioned under the State Librarian as an ex officio duty of the State Librarian and operated on an annual budget of \$250.00. In the Biennial Report of 1918 the Librarian discloses the loss of numerous parts of the collections because of lack of proper storage facilities and trained personnel. She states in part: "The State Librarian is merely Custodian of the Society, with not even a place in which to display the collection which we have, with the exception of a few cases in the halls. The Society has been crowded out of existence. About twenty years ago the Society had permanent rooms on the third floor of the Capitol and the collections were arranged in an attractive manner. On account of the steady growth of other departments of the Capitol, the Historical Society has been moved from place to place until much of the material was boxed and stored in closets or in any space that could be found. At present a number of large photographs, a box of old biographies, several relics and all stray material which could be found in the Capitol building are stored in the vault of the State Library."

The Fifteenth State Legislature, 1919, repealed the law of 1895 creating the Wyoming Historical Society and established the State Historical Board, who appointed a State Historian, his term of office being subject to the board. The Governor, Secretary of State and State Librarian constituted the State Historical Board, the governor being president, the State Librarian, secretary, whose duty it was to keep a record of its transactions. In 1920 the State Historical Board was located on the top floor of the capitol building, using the corridors there for display purposes. The report of the first Historian is a plea for additional room and equipment with which to preserve the treasures in her custody and with which to begin a historical library and archives division. She asks in her budget for the construction of a building to house the Supreme Court, Library and Historical department—a dream not realized for seventeen years.

The Sixteenth State Legislature, 1921, repealed the 1919 law establishing a State Historical Board; created a State Historical Board composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, and the State Librarian; provided for a State Historian to be appointed by the State Historical Board for a term of four years and until his successor was appointed and qualified; an advisory board appointed by the State Historian with the approval of the Historical Board to consist of not more than one member from each judicial district of the State; and a State Historical Society whose constitution was to be drawn up by the State Historian under the direction of the State

Historical Board. By this law the State Historical Department became an independent and separate department.

However even under the separate department organization the same cry is found in each report of the historian—the cry for more room, more equipment and more trained help. The 1924 report of the Historian states: “As there is absolutely no available display space in the State House, and as such space as is now utilized has suffered from thievery, it is thought to be unadvisable to stress the museum part of the work by soliciting collections for the Museum. What is offered is accepted and given the best possible care.”

With the coming of the depression the State Historical Department was again placed under the supervision of the State Librarian as *ex officio* historian by an act of the Twenty-Second Legislature. The department has remained under the Library since that time. The Twenty-Fourth Legislature in 1937 amended the law of 1921 making the five elective officers of the State the State Historical Board.

In 1938 the State Historical Department was moved to quarters on the lower floor of the new Supreme Court building and at the time it appeared that sufficient room had been provided to allow expansion for a number of years. This has not proven true as a glance at the pictures currently taken in the department will show. Immediately upon removal to the Supreme Court building pioneers and people interested in the preservation of the history of the state resumed the practice of donating their valuable collections to the Department and the space available was soon filled.

The records and reports of the past historians show an appalling loss in the collection caused by the inability of the historian to obtain sufficient and suitable display room and cases. The First Legislature of the State of Wyoming in 1891 passed an appropriation bill of \$30,000.00 for the purpose of collecting and displaying an amassment of natural resources of the state at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. This entire collection of minerals, rocks, ores and agricultural produce was given to the Historical Society as a permanent collection. It was attractively arranged and shown on the upper gallery of the state capitol building but because it was shown without the proper cases proved too great a temptation for visitors and at the present time there are only a few pieces of the original collection remaining in the department. The greater portion of the original documents, letters, journals and personal biographies so painstakingly gathered by Robert C. Morris have also vanished. A number of large, valuable collections have been lost to the state because of the lack of suitable display room. These include the William R. Coe collection, the cost of which was over \$800,000.00, and which was

offered to the state with the proviso that a suitable building be provided.

At the present time the department is in possession of several large and very valuable collections including the Lusk, Penniwell, The Thorpe-Stock Growers' Association, and the Anda. Every effort is being made to maintain these collections intact but no suitable cases are available for most of the Stock Growers display and the Lusk collection of valuable Indian work is crowded into locked cases so that it does not show to advantage.

The rapid growth of the newspaper section also raises the problem of space. In order to be easily available for the numerous research workers who call upon the department, proper and sufficient shelving is necessary. One hundred and twenty bound volumes of newspapers are added to the collection each year and at present they are arranged in stacks on top of the newspaper shelving where the shelf space has given out.

One of the most valuable contributions to the preservation of the history of Wyoming is the publication of the *Annals of Wyoming*. The publication of this volume has been spasmodic throughout the existence of the Department. The first volume was the *Wyoming Historical Collections* of Robert C. Morris published in 1897. In 1919 the Society published *Wyoming Miscellanies* and in 1920 and 1922 the *Wyoming Historical Collections* again make their appearance. The *Quarterly Bulletin* was published in 1923, 1924 and 1925. In 1926 the *Annals of Wyoming* were introduced. The *Annals* has been published quarterly or semi-annually since then with the exception of a break from 1933-1938. At present the *Annals* is a bi-annual publication containing in most part original material gathered by the Department from various outside sources.

Much gratitude is due the past Historians of the State who have labored so faithfully under terrific handicaps for all the people of Wyoming in their efforts to preserve for posterity the truth and romance of the early West.

ACCESSIONS
to the
WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
May 1, 1946 to December 1, 1946

- Warren, Joe, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one mineral specimen of Beryl, ore of beryllium, wt. 22 lbs. March 12, 1946.
- Hilton, Mrs. D. B., Sundance, Wyoming; donor of three prints, one of the Methodist Church at Sundance and two of the pulpit in the Church. March 9, 1946.
- Stanley, Mrs. Samatha J., 2713 Ames Court, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one old Thomas Edison phonograph with seven discs, tin horn and four metal attachments. March, 1946.
- Ohnhaus, Mrs. A. P., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of four old programs: 1869 invitation to a ball at Laramie; 1873 invitation to a complimentary hop for members of the Third Legislative Assembly; 1875 invitation to a ball for the opening of the Inter Ocean Hotel; 1890 Statehood celebration, presentation of the state flag. March, 1946.
- Chaffin, Mrs. Lorah B., 457 W. Loueks, Sheridan, Wyoming; donor of one 1890 model engine with coal car and track, one cabinet, one small "Westclox" clock. May, 1946.
- Pollard, Harry P., Douglas, Wyoming; donor of a woman's side saddle made by Collins & Morrison, saddle makers, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
- Bernfeld, Seymour S., Casper, Wyoming; donor of one original Mendenhall "Railway and Township Map of Missouri", 1858, in original cover. July, 1946.
- O'Marr, Mrs. Louis, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a booklet "History of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Wyoming, 1894-1946." June, 1946.
- Hibbard, James H., 656 North Arthur, Pocatello, Idaho; donor of one map of the D. R. Tisdale Ranch, 1906. June, 1946.
- Bernfeld, Seymour S., Casper, Wyoming; donor of one U. S. Marine corps green uniform—enlisted man's—with staff sergeant chevrons, Third Marine Airwing patch, honorable discharge emblem and original brass Marine Corps lapel emblems. July, 1946.
- McCullough, A. S., Clifton, Ohio; donor of one Gallatin stock saddle, one original painting on bed ticking of Fort Laramie, about 1863, seven original letters and accounts by Martin D. Swafford, Fort Laramie, 1865, one Wyoming Territorial seal button, \$165.00 towards the construction of a new case made to house the collection. August, 1946.

- Hartman, Mrs. Myrtle, P. O. Box 857, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of J. B. Lutz's collection of six walking canes. August, 1946.
- Barz, Mrs. Blanche McKay, Glenwood Springs, Colorado; donor of a hair wreath made from the hair of relatives. August, 1946.
- Rhoades, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert A., Lander, Wyoming; donor of 16 pieces of Wyoming jade. August, 1946.
- Pfeiffenberger, John M., 102 W. 3rd St., Alton, Illinois; donor of a folder of maps and panoramas, Twelfth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, 1878. August, 1946.
- Rieck, Otto J., Encampment, Wyoming; donor of a bronz medal given at Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904 to Rieck Bros. of Encampment, for wheat display. November, 1946.

Books—Purchased

- Thorpe, Francis N., *American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws, 1492-1908*. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Office, 1909. 7 vol. Price \$10.00.
- Adams, James Truslow, *Album of American History, vol. 2*. New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1945. Price \$5.73.
- Monaghan, Jay, *Legend of Tom Horn, Last of the Bad Men*. Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1946. Price \$2.34.
- Frederick, J. V., *Ben Holladay, the Stage Coach King*. Clark, Glendale, 1940. Price \$5.50.

Gifts

- Salter, J. L., *Public Men In and Out of Office*. Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1946. Donated by Julian Snow, Washington, D. C.
- Annals of Wyoming*. Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne. 11 issues. Donated by Mabel Peck, Cheyenne, Wyo.
- The Cotton Tail, an amateur monthly*. March, 1923. Donated by E. P. Smith.
- Wister, Owen, *The Virginian*. MacMillan, New York, 1902. Donated by Arthur Calverley.

Miscellaneous Purchases

- One tabular view of the Aboriginal Nations of North America. Book and Print Shop, Hanover, N. H. Cost \$1.50.
- One copy of *Old Yellowstone* by Owen Wister from Harper's Monthly magazine. Book and Print Shop, Hanover, N. H. Price \$.25.
- One copy of *The Black Hills Gold Region* with map of the gold region from Harper's Weekly, 1874. Book and Print Shop, Hanover N. H. Price \$.45.
- One copy of *Wyoming on Bronco-Back* by Edwin H. Traxon from a magazine, n. d. Book and Print Shop, Hanover, N. H. Price \$.75.

Annals of Wyoming

Vol. 19

July, 1947

No. 2

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Sunday Morning Service in a Mining Camp

(Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Vol. 61, Oct. 3, 1885)

Published Bi-Annually by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Cheyenne, Wyoming

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Cheyenne, Wyoming



An Early Branding Scene

Brands of the Eighties and Nineties Used In Big Horn Basin, Wyoming Territory


By JOHN K. ROLLINSON*

There were no cattle or horse brands used in Wyoming Territory that were as old in origin as many of the Texas Mother Cow State so well known today. It was not until two years following the Custer Massacre on the Little Horn in June, 1876 that cattlemen were able to move herds into that much coveted range north of the Powder River and west of the Bozeman Trail. Most folks refer to the Custer Massacre as having been on the Little Big Horn River, however, the old timers of that country as well as the Crow Indian Nation, always speak of that country as the Little Horn River.

It was in the summer of 1877 that the valiant Chief Joseph led his Nez Perce Nation in a defensive retreat from their life long range in western Idaho through to the western edge of the Big Horn Basin, and after repeated battles with superior Government forces surrendered at the battle of Bear Paw Mountain in northern Montana, when within two days pony ride of the Canadian boundary line, which was his objective. This capture was made by General Nelson A. Miles. It could scarcely be said that great credit was due General Miles, as Major General O. O. Howard, with the needed assistance of General Gibbon, had pursued Chief Joseph and his Nation from Idaho through the rough country to Big Horn Basin where General Miles picked up the chase. Mind you, cowmen, that these Indians had moved four hundred non-combatant Nez Perces, together with a pony herd of over sixteen hundred ponies, and had, in the beginning, a herd of over four hundred head of cattle to move. These of necessity had to be abandoned, for the Village or Nation moved faster than cattle could be moved. The defeat of this tired lot of women and children with their few remaining warriors occurred at Bear Paw Mountain, as said before, about two "sleeps" from the Canadian boundary.

However, the year of the Bannock Indian War, John Chapman brought into Big Horn Basin and located his trail

*For the biographical sketch, see Vol. 12, p. 221, *Annals of Wyoming*.

herd of twelve hundred Oregon horses, trailed from eastern Oregon and branded with the Roman Cross  on the left shoulder. The sounds of gunfire were distinctly audible to his men driving a herd of cattle up the valley of the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone in 1878. So the John Chapman brand on horses came to northwestern Wyoming in 1877, and the cattle, also branded with the Roman Cross came onto the Pat O'Hara Creek Range in 1878.

For the following six or seven years John Chapman made yearly trips to his old home in Riddle, Oregon, in the fall, put up a herd and trailed over the Monida Pass into the Beaverhead country of Montana and down the Yellowstone into the Big Horn Basin. He was the pioneer of northern Wyoming cattlemen. John Chapman was not a member of the newly formed Wyoming Stockgrowers Association for many years to come, so his brand does not appear on their records.



Next in line of early day brands to come into Big Horn Basin was the Carter Cattle Company in 1879, using two Roman Crosses; the upper one was high on the left hip of the cattle and the second cross was down low on the thigh.

Horses were branded on the left jaw  at this time.

William A. Carter had been a post trader at Fort Bridger, having come there with Albert Sidney Johnston's army in 1857, and was appointed as sutler at Fort Bridger. In due time he accumulated a considerable number of cattle by trading worn out work cattle for fresh ones that could continue on the journey to Oregon and the Northwest. California gold had made Fort Bridger a frequent stopping place. His herds of cattle, mostly Oregon stock, had increased but in 1878 there happened to be one of those "off years" when grass did not grow well in Wyoming Territory. The range then used by Judge Carter, while sufficient for most years, was so poor that year, that even the buffalo were scarce.


Chief Washakie of the Shoshone Indians, a friend of both J. K. Moore and William A. Carter, made the trip from his Reservation to call on and trade with his friend, and to advise him that the Range was fine up on the South Fork of the Stinkingwater. Washakie told of big buffalo herds that always wintered on or in the Big Horn Basin and that not one head of cattle was in that virgin country. William A. Carter, upon the advice of Chief Washakie and respecting his good judgment, at once trimmed his herd and sent the first Oregon cattle into the cut made for his northern herd. He put Peter McCollough in charge of this north bound herd and provided a good trail outfit for his foreman, who was a good cow man with years of learning the game. It is

estimated that thirty-eight hundred head of Oregon cattle were taken up to the western edge of Big Horn Basin by Peter McCollough and his able crew and they were the first cattle ever to be located in that part of Big Horn Basin. That was in 1879.

The older son of William A. Carter, bearing the same name, became general manager of the Carter Cattle Company. He adopted and registered in Wyoming the well-known Bug Brand, made like this,  laying on a straight line from left shoulder to flank, branded on ribs and the horses were branded with a small bug brand  on the left thigh.


Peter McCollough established a ranch on Carter Creek about 17 miles south of the present town of Cody, Wyoming, at the northerly end of Carter Mountain. This fine ranch later became the property of John L. Burns, who, in turn, in the nineties sold the ranch to Col. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Mr. Carter, Sr., died in 1881. His son now lives at La Jolla, California, and a younger brother, Edgar N. Carter, now lives at 1713 Lyndon Street in South Pasadena, California.

Though the Dilworth Cattle Company did not function primarily as a Wyoming outfit, they were in part, and for the most part, a Wyoming outfit for they ranged their Oregon


Shorthorn cattle, branded with the Bent Bar  mostly in Wyoming Territory. The home ranch of the John Dilworth Cattle Company was located on Ruby Creek, a short distance into Montana north of the Wyoming Territorial line. John Dilworth had a freighting contract along the Bozeman Trail and he owned several hundred head of work cattle, all branded on left ribs with the Bent Bar. George Dilworth and a sister are now residing in Red Lodge. They, of course, have a distinct recollection of the early days of their father's cattle efforts.

One other cattle organization which came into being in the early eighties was that of Col. Pickett, who was a secretary under Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy. At the end of the war of 1861-64, Col. Pickett, who had been Secretary of War under the Confederacy, moved to Wyoming where he employed such wonderful hunters, as did Otto Franc a year before, namely, the two Corry brothers, who conducted a big-game hunt for Col. Pickett and enabled him to secure buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, mountain sheep and grizzly bear. In fact, while making a camp where they thought a ranch site was advantageous, four big grizzly bear came down out of the nearby foothills and were dispatched by Col. Pickett.

The new location was immediately named "Four Bear," and I believe today that the Postoffice is named Four Bear.

Col. Pickett adopted the  called the Ram's Horn Brand. It was also known as Double Reverse J. It was never a recorded brand with the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association and it is a fact that few of the old brands were registered with the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association. To-day they could realize the value of their membership in the Association, as guided by Russell Thorp, secretary-chief inspector.

The sixth of the early Big Horn brands was that of Otto Franc, who in his native Austria was Count Otto Von Lichtenstein, but who preferred to drop his title (and some money) in the wholesale banana business in New York, where he landed in 1866. Having heard of the bright side of the free grass cattle business, he went to the Greybull River country in 1879 and hunted with Lee and Len Corry, famous hunters of their day, and as the Greybull country was abounding in buffalo, elk, deer, antelope and mountain sheep, as well as the large native silver tip bear, Otto Franc was immediately sold on the country and its possibilities. In 1880 he purchased at Bozeman about 1200 head of Oregon and Utah Durham cows, mostly with calf, and adopted the brand Pitchfork

 . He drifted these good cattle through knee-high bluestem and tall gama grass to his new ranch which had been started on Wood River, a tributary of the Greybull.

Otto Franc was an outstanding success with his cattle, even though he had no previous knowledge of the business. He was thrifty and businesslike. The men called him "The Little Fellow" or "The Little Man with the Big Head." When round-ups became so frequent, before the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association had legal district round-ups, Otto Franc had made a close friend with Chief Plenty Coupes or Plenty Coos of the Crow Indian Nation, who was his close neighbor about 120 miles to the north. Otto told his able foreman, John Cleaver, to cut out all beef in the early summer and move them to the Crow Reservation, where they were held until shipping time in October or November and were very fat. Other men's cattle, that had been through a summer and fall of almost a continual round-up, looked mighty shabby as compared to those fine big Oregon Pitchfork steers and dry cows of Otto Franc's.



A postoffice (the first between Fort Washakie and the new settlement at Billings, formerly known as Coulter's Landing) was established at Otto Franc's ranch in 1882 and was named Franc. Two years later this was moved to the

new settlement of Meeteetse on the Greybull. The late Roe Avant was one of the early wagon bosses of the Pitchfork and the last foreman there of my personal acquaintance. He passed to his last round-up in 1944, then a resident of Burlington, Wyoming.


One of the old time riders employed by Otto Franc now lives at 121 North Avenue 50, Los Angeles. His name is Walter Palmer and he went to work for the Pitchfork in 1885. Another man who was then riding for the outfit was Josh Dean, who was a cook for their wagon first and later got to be ramrod for the same wagon. George Humphries was another one of the crew of seventeen that made up the Pitchfork round-up crew. Otto Franc managed to stay out of the Johnson County War of 1892, but he perhaps made some enemies. He purchased several herds of Oregon Shorthorn cattle almost every year through the '80's and, about 1890, he introduced some of the earliest of the Hereford bulls into Big Horn Basin. He was killed while hunting rabbits one evening on his ranch, in the fall of 1903.


The Pitchfork then became the property of L. G. Phelps whose heirs continue to operate this fine ranch. L. G. Phelps organized the Rocky Mountain Cattle Company and took over


the Pitchfork  , the Double Mill Iron 

the Pig Pen  , and the Z Bar T  outfits.

He retained George Merrill, the Pitchfork foreman, as general manager of the new outfit and George Penoyer to run one wagon. Later, when a division was made of the holdings, Mr. Merrill obtained the old Double Mill Iron

 which is still the property of his estate.

At the same time and in the same year that Otto Franc started the Pitchfork and later the Z Bar T  , the Quarter

Circle Y  Ranch was started by Angus J. McDonald and was located about twenty miles south of Meeteetse on Gooseberry Creek. McDonald, a native of Scotland, made two trips to Oregon and purchased his stock cattle and trailed them by way of the Monida Pass on to Montana. At one time he was assessed, by the county records, on ownership of 20,000 head of cattle.

Now, with the Indian wars seemingly over, the cowman was looking for more grass, and the northern ranges of Montana and those east of the Big Horn Mountains were being rapidly populated by herds from Texas. However, because of the geographical location of the Big Horn Basin, it was "round about" for them to trail through the Basin en route

to the north, and with several bad rivers to cross, the Basin itself received relatively few Southern or Texas cattle.

Now began an invasion of several herds, during the year 1880. The principal one being that of Henry C. Lovell, who located a ranch on the Stinkingwater, near where it empties into the Big Horn River. He purchased five or more herds from eastern Oregon and the eastern portion of the then Territory of Washington, and one herd even came from Whatcom County, Washington Territory, which borders the Pacific Ocean. Henry Lovell was an officer with that Southern raider, Quantrell, who raided through Arkansas and Missouri during the war of 1861 to '64. He was a man of powerful frame and was a tough man to work with, for the absence of food or sleep did not appear to bother him, and he could not figure out why any of his dozen and a half cowboys should require food or sleep. He was an outstanding character and a good cowman. He was the largest owner of cattle in Big Horn Basin at any time and was reported to have 25,000 head of Oregon cattle in 1883. Later he established his upper ranch at what is now Lovell and a third place on No Wood, and it is estimated that he handled upward of 42,000 head of cattle. His foreman, Riley Kane, was an outstanding top cowhand, and the town at the head of the Big Horn Canyon now bears his name. I

have no record of this brand **M** being in use and all of their range is now in farms and populated by prosperous Mormon farmers. The firm later became Mason and Lovell.


Another of the old time cowmen in the Big Horn Basin was "Dad Frost," who settled on Sage Creek, a little south of the Meeteetse Rim where the old stage coach road crossed Sage Creek. Dad Frost had considerable fine Oregon cattle and many good horses. He branded his cattle with an inverted F


F on ribs; his horses bore the shoulder brand 76, and later his Wyoming raised horses were branded

-6- on left shoulder. Ned Frost, the only surviving son, is a prosperous ranchman on the North Fork, 28 miles from Cody. He is nationally recognized as the foremost Big Game hunter and guide in the State.

In 1881 a young Englishman came to the Big Horn Basin to seek his fortune in the cow business. The cow business was being advertised extensively in England and it attracted millions of capital from the titled gentry to the stable boy, who spent their savings on stock or shares in the new "Free Grass Country." Dick Ashworth, as he was glad to be called, was a good mixer with this raw land and was well liked. He brought British money and spent well at the only three spots in which to spend, one being Arland, a new town that

was getting started that year and now is a ghost town. Then there was the new town of Meeteetse, a few miles closer to his ranch on the Greybull. He adopted the Double Mill Iron


brand  which was a good one, as were most early brands. Men knew how to brand and knew that an intricate brand would blotch and some were tough to work over, while some were easy. You will note that the list of brands in this article were all sensible, fine brands.


Richard Ashworth purchased his cattle in Oregon and a second herd from Sparks and Tinnen in Nevada. Ashworth later took on an English partner named Johnson and they purchased the Wise brand,  which was what was called "pig pen" and of course, would be illegal nowadays.


These two, now prosperous cowmen, started a ranch on the head of Sage Creek, known today as the Hoodoo Ranch and owned by U. S. Senator E. V. Robertson of Wyoming. The Englishmen returned to England in the early 90's.

Captain Henry Belknap came to the South Fork of the Stinkingwater River in 1879 to hunt Big Game and returned in 1880 with some British gold with which to purchase cattle. Though he did buy cattle in 1880 they wintered on the Gallatin River in Montana and John Dyer was employed by Belknap to receive the cattle in the spring of 1881 and bring them to


the then established BN Ranch. John Dyer had joined Captain Belknap in 1880. Dyer came up the trail with the


Bug cattle  in 1879 and remained as ramrod for Captain Belknap for 10 years. He became a top cowman in that vicinity, and was known as the "Missouri Hog Caller" as he called out dances at various places where a "set" and music could be had. Many a settler and cowhand on that river will remember old George Marquette, who also came


up the trail with the Carter cattle or Bug  cattle, as they were commonly known, along with old John Dyer. George Marquette played his fiddle for all dances.

The Belknap Company went out of business and the property was purchased by the late Colonel W. F. Cody, who adopted the TE Connected  and used this ranch as his headquarters and the Carter Ranch for his cattle, but this was later on, in the early years of this century.


One of the noteworthy brands of Big Horn Basin was that of a titled Frenchman, Count DeDory, who, after a hunting trip in 1881, returned from France with French gold and organized a ranch on Trail Creek, a tributary of the Stinkingwater River and at once went to Bozeman to receive some



Oregon cattle. This fine ranch is now five miles west of Cody, Wyoming, and was for many years a prosperous cattle ranch as the Count controlled much good winter range and, of course, summer range was abundant. He hired the best cowmen he could get and he kept a fast four-horse team ready to dash off for Billings in order that his supply of fine champagnes did not get low. He hunted buffalo, elk and deer to his heart's desire. He was a splendid host and entertained what guests there were in the country, along with a steady stream of French nobility and titled people. He adopted the brand of the Crown which made a fine brand .


When Count DeDory sold out in the early '90's to A. C. Newton, who came from the Musselshell country and purchased the ranch, the cattle were mostly eaten up by big feasts and rustlers. But Newton, being or having been to the Platte River two or three times to bring Longhorned cattle up to the Musselshell, soon had the old ranch in good order. He adopted the brand Circle  or "Ringbone" around the hip bone on cattle, and used the same brand on horses; many a man remembers the fine five and six year old steers that were trailed to Billings from the old Trail Creek Ranch and the

fine Circle  horses which A. C. Newton raised as cow horses. That Circle brand made one of the most sensible and easy to read brands that I ever knew; hard to trick, too. This fine ranch is now the property of E. P. Heald of Cody, Wyoming. A. C. Newton continues to own the brand.


At the same time the Crown outfit was getting underway, another Frenchman, Count DeVeon, located five miles north of the Crown, on Cottonwood Creek, and selected as his brand



the Shield  and branded Oregon cattle on both ribs with this brand. Count DeVeon was about on a par with his neighbor DeDory in wanting to entertain hunting parties from his native land in a lavish manner. The brand of the Shield


 is different from the Shield brand used by Beekwith, Quinn & Company, an older outfit which, in 1876 located on Bear River with headquarters at Evanston, Wyoming, and in 1884 moved a herd of Texas cattle to No Wood River in Big Horn Basin. Their brand had three dots and a bar enclosed in the Shield , while Count DeVeon used the Shield brand as herein described, nothing within the shield.

This brand  went out of existence when, in the early '90's the owner having spent all his funds and the neigh-


bors having shipped out or butchered all his beef, he returned to France.


Also in 1882, Joseph M. Carey began building the YU  Ranch on the Greybull River, which was conducted by John David, a very able cowman and they made a financial success of the ranch.

Also in 1882, George W. Baxter located his LU  Ranch on Grass Creek and purchased some Texas cattle and some western cattle. Walter E. Palmer helped bring up one Texas herd from Fort Collins, Colorado, and brought them to the Greybull. George W. Baxter later became Governor of Wyoming. I believe that his old LU  ranch is now entirely a sheep ranch, though I may be mistaken. I do not know the present owner.


One of the most colorful outfits of the Big Horn Basin was the M Bar Ranch  located on Owl Creek toward and near the south border of Big Horn Basin and close to the Owl Creek Mountains. Here was a wonderful range for all seasons and plenty of water.


J. D. Woodruff had entered the Basin in 1871 and built a log house on Owl Creek at the present location of the


 Ranch. He was largely concerned with prospecting for gold, and was, in fact, a sheep man and had purchased some Oregon sheep in 1878. Then came Captain R. A. Torrey, an Army officer stationed at nearby Fort Washakie, and he purchased the J. D. Woodruff interests in the ranch and range, sold the sheep and employed Jacob Price, a fine cowman, to buy some Oregon cattle, which then were cheap, and trail them to the range. I believe that Jake Price made five trips from eastern Oregon to Owl Creek. Later on, a brother, Colonel J. L. Torrey, purchased an interest in this ranch and brought hundreds of fine horses from Oregon and at one time the Torrey Bros. ran and owned about 50,000 head of cattle and 6,000 horses in Wyoming. The electrifying of streetcar lines put a crimp in their horse business and then they were blessed by the market which was offered in the latter part of the past century, to sell hundreds of horses to the British government, then at war with the Boers. The

 brand is still an active brand and is owned by the widow of the estate of the late George Merrill.



Then, along in 1884, an Englishman, J. R. Kirby, who had purchased two herds of Texas cows, sold them to the Torrey outfit. Colonel Kirby branded both ribs of cattle with the


Connected JR  brand.

Several other outfits were established in the eastern side of the Basin from 1881-84. These included Tinnin & Luman, who trailed in several thousand head from Texas in 1882. They branded the Moccasin  on both cattle and horses. Mostly they ran Texas cattle, though some Idaho and some from Oregon. They ran one wagon half the year. They were located on the head of Paint Rock. The outfit is now owned by Sam Hyatt, son of the founder of Hyattville.

The Rocky Mountain Cattle Company was really a good spread, but of short life. They branded cattle with reverse bottles . They ranged on the Big Horn. They began in 1885 and the winter of 1886-87 found them bankrupt.



The Big Horn Cattle Company was managed by a very fine, able man, Milo Burke, whose outfit was established in 1882 and succeeded well. It was of British capital and it paid good dividends until the bad winter of 1886-87, when it suffered heavily, though it continued in business for some years later. While they owned many brands that came up the Texas trail, the principal "holding" brand was Reversed D


 . They also owned D Reversed D  and several other brands. The first two mentioned were on both ribs on cattle and on left shoulders of the horse herd, of which they owned a mighty good one. Milo Burke made two trips to Oregon to buy cattle and one trip was for Dick



Ashworth of the old Double Mill Iron. 

Then came small outfits with brands of less consequence to the history of Wyoming Territorial brands, yet each has its own history, its ups and downs, its heartaches, its backaches, its successes over a long time or its failures. There are so many old brands which were outstanding in the '90's which vanished, as did many old-time brands of the '80's. Few succeeded over a long period of time, for the man with a plow and the sheep man were year by year crowding the cow further back and onto a more limited range. From no cattle or sheep in 1877, by 1885 the free grass range was actually overstocked.

Of the many brands in the early '90's but few survive under the direct ownership today: one being the Pitchfork

 and one being the Antlers Cattle Company, branding T open A  on ribs of cattle and occupying one of the few ranges not invaded by the farmer or the sheepman to the point of extermination. The Antlers Cattle Company succeeded one of the oldest range outfits and is now owned by Ernest May of Sunshine, Wyoming, and his brother William

May of Pasadena, California. The brand DY 

is branded on left ribs of cattle and a slash  on the left hip with the Lazy D T  on the left hip on horses. The Antlers Cattle Company produces a very high grade of cattle.

In the early years of the cattle industry in Big Horn Basin and up to 1885, all beef cattle were trailed to the nearest railroad, the Union Pacific, and Rock Springs, Rock River and Medicine Bow were the principal shipping points for Basin cattle. It was a trail of about 300 miles through a fine grass country which was pretty well watered and herds drifted to the shipping point in fine flesh, for the bunch grass country made a heavy tallow on big steers, from four years old on, as some missed the beef round-up until they were seven or over.

After the Northern Pacific Railroad completed its line into Billings, in the mid-eighties, shipments from Big Horn Basin were made to the Yellowstone River, about 100 to 150 miles, and loadings were made at Billings, Ballentine and Fort Custer, Montana.

One reason why relatively few brands became registered with the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association was that nearly all early day traffic, shipping and shopping for ranch supplies were via Montana and many of the old time big Wyoming outfits were affiliated with the Montana Stockgrowers Association. This was due largely to the fact that there were no towns in northern Wyoming, but Billings, Montana, did offer a good trading center. Then, too, the physical geography of the country was such that the Big Horn Basin had its sack open at the north, down the Clarks Fork or over Pryor Gap, an open route any time of the year, while the southern outlet had geographical obstacles and a long distance to a town, with bad streams to cross and an Indian reservation to bother with. However, by 1885 most of the mentioned brands were recorded with the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association as that Association did the inspection and detective work for Montana until the Montana Association was in a position to take it over.

This explanation of the physical conditions surrounding the mountain protected giant valley or basin explains largely why it was that the pioneer cattle in the Basin were Shorthorn Oregon cattle and that although east of the Big Horn and up through Montana, vast Texas trail herds were present, relatively few Texas cattle came into the Big Horn Basin.

It has always seemed to me that the above explanation is a good way to make clear the fact that northern Wyoming was a "No Man's Country" and yet an "Every Man's Country" and it made no difference whether a man came from Missouri, Tennessee, New York, England, Texas or Scotland,

he was always met on even terms, for the country was so new and had no background such as had Texas. Therefore, a stranger, if a cowman in Wyoming, was a "Hail Fellow, well met"—no one asked any questions and he was accepted into the inner circles of any round-up, for the crew of that round-up were good cowmen, be they from Texas, Oregon, England or the Eastern states. There was no bigotry; if he were well-behaved and well-qualified as a cowman and willing to work, he was welcome with any wagon and on any ranch. No lines were drawn in that broad-minded country, which composed in area about one-fifth the total square miles of the territory of Wyoming.

Louis Ganard at his Sweetwater bridge in Wyoming had a set of ceiling prices. If the river was high he charged \$10.00 for a team and wagon to cross and when the river was lower charged \$5.00. He also had a \$3.00 charge. *Douglas Enterprise*, April 22, 1947.

During the great migration to the Salt Lake Valley hundreds of Mormons made the trip from Europe by boat to New York City, by cattle cars from there to Iowa City and by foot with handcarts to Salt Lake City. The total cost of transportation from Europe to Salt Lake City was between \$44 and \$45.

Three wives accompanied their husbands to Fort Bridger in 1857, with the military expedition of Col. Johnston against the Mormons. Two of the women were wives of officers, the third was the wife of Alfred Cumming, newly appointed governor of Utah Territory.

The Bozeman Trail to Virginia City, Montana

In 1864

A DIARY

By BENJAMIN WILLIAMS RYAN*

APRIL, 1864

Wednesday 13

Started from Sheffield, Bureau County, Illinois. Bound for Idaho in company with Ferrin & Pierce, 2 yoke of cattle. At 10 o'clock camped at G. Morys, 12 miles from Sheffield, and 16 miles to Cambridge. Paid 50 cents for Hay. Slept rather cold.

Thursday 14

Camped at Mr. Hollys 1½ miles west of Cambridge. Paid 20 cts. for hay. Traveled 17 miles. Traveling beter than we expected to find it. Some bad sloughs otherwise the road very good.

Friday 15

Camped at Coal Valley, a small mining town with about 400 inhabitants. Got hay for one feed, but none in the morning, it being very scarce. Traveled 20 miles. Took dinner at Deanington.

Saturday 16

Camped at Cincinnati House, 1½ miles back from Davenport, Iowa. Took dinner at Moline. Bought a yoke of cattle for 115.00. Traveled 15 miles, roads being badly cut up & rough.

Sunday 17

Remained over Sunday at Cincinnati House, Ferrin & Pierce staying with the team. I took the cars on Saturday night at Davenport & returned home; found the folks all well.

*Benjamin Williams Ryan was born at Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1826. As a boy he went to Ohio, where he was apprenticed to a tanner. In 1846 he moved to Indiana, remaining there about ten years and marrying Malinda Jane Palmer. He moved to Iowa and then back to Illinois, where his family remained while he went to Montana. Returning from Montana in 1865 he remained in Illinois until 1880 when he moved to Nebraska. During 1895 he spent some time in Sheridan, Wyoming, with two of his sons who worked for the Burlington Railroad. He died in Blair, Nebraska, May 14, 1898, and is buried there.



Texas Longhorns

Monday 18

Left home this morning at 5 o'clock. Arrived at Cincinnati House about 9 o'clock; found the boys ready to pull out; traveled 14 miles, 2 yoke of the cattle being in bad condition, one having a cracked hoof, and the other a sore breast.

Tuesday 19

Camped $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Tipton having drove 18 miles; find hay scarce and hard to obtain; corn plenty from 50 to 80 cts. per bushel.

Wednesday 20

Camped 7 miles west of Tipton, County seat of Cedar County; quite a pretty little town of about 800 inhabitants, and quite a fine Court House. Find hay scarce; paid 50 cts pr. cwt. Corn 50 cts. pr. bushel. Traveled $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Thursday 21

Crossed Gowers ferry on Cedar river at 10 o'clock A. M. River 500 feet wide and 6 feet deep; ferriage 55 cents. Traded oxen with Gower and gave him 10 \$ to boot; made a good trade. Traveled 14 miles. Camped within 14 miles of Iowa City. Find no hay. Country traveled through this day very hilly & roads rough.

Friday 22

Camped 5 miles west of Iowa City. Drove about 10 miles. It rained last night, roads very slopy this morning. Crossed Iowa river. Paid 50 cents ferriage.

Saturday 23

Traveled 18 miles & within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Amany Colony. Passed through Homestead settled by a Dutch Colony. They have very nice buildings & farms, and as nice blacksmith & carpenter shops as I ever seen.

Sunday 24

This morning we was awake by the rain pattering on the wagon cover. Yoked the cattle & drove to Amany. Put up at a Dutch Hotel; found everything in perfect order. No. 1 barns & houses. We got plenty to eat, a good stable for our cattle, a good room for ourselves. It rained all day & quite cold.

Monday 25

Started this morning in the mud and prospect of more rain, but fortunately it cleared off & sun came out warm, which soon produced a change in the traveling. Traveled 16 miles. Hay scarce. Mailed a letter to my wife this morning.

Tuesday 26

Traveled 18 miles; roads very good considering the rain. Passed through Brooklyn. Paid 1 dollar for 2 feeds of hay. Corn 75 cents per bushel. Brooklyn has about 200 inhabitants.

Wednesday 27

Traveled 18 miles. Passed through Grinnell about 800 inhabitants; present terminus of M. & M. R. R. Got box of provisions & other goods we shipped. Paid 1.00 per cwt. for hay to feed. Recd a letter from W. H. & C. L. Palmer.

Thursday 28

Arrived in Newton about 11 o'clock, a place of about 1000 inhabitants; quite a stirring little place; has a very nice Court House. Traveled about 13 miles. Hay 1.00 per cwt. Corn 75 cts. per bushel. Received a letter from wife.

Friday 29

Traveled 18 miles. Country rough & hilly. Hay very scarce 1\$ per cwt. Corn 60 cts. per bushel. It rained about all night; made the day's traveling very hard.

Saturday 30

Traveled 13 miles; arrived at Desmoins City about 3 o'clock; stopped and done some tradeing. Paid 60 toll for crossing the Demoin river & 40 cts. for crossing Coon river. Camped on the west side of the Coon.

MAY, 1864**Sunday 1**

Traveled 17 miles. About 5 o'clock it commenced snowing and the wind blew very hard. Stopped for the night, but could get no hay; ground covered with snow. Stopped snowing about sundown & cleared off cold. I slept in a house.

Monday 2

Started this morning about sunrise; drove 3 miles. Found some hay; stopped and fed, and got our breakfast and went on to Winterset and camped by the side of the Methodist Church. Town has about 800 inhabitants. Traveled about 18 miles; good farming country around the town. County seat.

Tuesday 3

Traveled 16 miles. Camped on the bank of Midle River. Corn scarce at \$1 per bushel. Hay \$1 cwt. Traveling good and weather fine. 35 miles from Winterset to Fontinnell; 120 miles from Winterset to Council Bluffs.

Wednesday 4

Took dinner at Greenfield, a vilage of about a dozen dwellings, a fine school house & a very good Hotel. Beautiful land around it, but no timber land. 2 dollars per acre. Traveled 14½ miles. Camped on Nauter Creek.

Thursday 5

Traveled 18 miles. It rained most all day. Camped in Whitneyville. Took possession of an old log house; quite comfortable quarters & still raining. This vilage has 3 houses for dwellings & one school house. No children large enough to go to school. School house used for grainery.

Friday 6

Traveled 19 miles. The country passed through today very nice, but no timber. Camped on the bank of the Nishnebotna River near the town of Lewis, the county seat of Cass Co., about 300 inhabitants. The country around the town rather broken.

Saturday 7

It rained about all the forenoon. We pulled out about noon, drove about 3 miles & camped, the road being very slipery & muddy; got very poor hay; paid 75 cents per cwt. for it.

Sunday 8

Pulled out about 12 o'clock; traveled about 10 miles; roads very muddy; camped on the prairie & turned the cattle out to grass for the first time.

Monday 9

Traveled about 18 miles; road still muddy; took dinner on the bank of the west Nishnebotna River. An old deserted flouring mill, 4 or 5 dwellings from the appearance, a good water power, good farming country, some timber. Camped for the night on the prairie.

Tuesday 10

Started very early this morning. The wind blew so hard & was so cold we could not get a fire started. Drove about 3 miles to a creek & some timber. Got breakfast & went on to Council Bluffs. Traveled about 12 miles; found Stevenson, Marple & Wright, Campbell, Case, Humphrey & the Riley's.

Wednesday 11

Drove to the north part of town to find more water and feed. Camped near water, but hay scarce. Corn plenty at 75 cents to 1 dollar pr. bushel. Council Bluffs has about 2000 inhabitants.

Thursday 12

Remained in same place. Bought the rest of our provisions; 700 lbs. flour at 3\$ per cwt., 200 lbs. bacon & hams at 15 cents per lb., 150 lbs. sugar at 24 cts., 1 can lard 40 lbs. at 15 cts. Whole bill 122.05. About 40 wagons camped nearby.

Friday 13

Remained in same place; finished packing wagon; got washing done at 10 cts. per piece. Wrote a letter to J. Lyda; also 1 to M. J. Ryan.

Saturday 14

Pulled out about noon; drove to river, found 180 teams ahead of us waiting to cross the river, & by night there was about 300 teams in a string on the road.

Sunday 15

Remained in the road so as not to loose our turn; moved up occasionally from 10 to 150 yds. Ferry boat makes from 10 to 12 trips per day & takes ten to 12 teams each trip.

Monday 16

Crossed the Ferry about noon; camped 1 mile west of Omaha, a fine flourishing town of about 2000 inhabitants, and the capitol of the territory. Received some letters from home; second letters I received; one from B.F.W.; 1 from M.J.R.

Tuesday 17

Bought a few articles & started out. Drove to Pampillon, 12 miles; camped; found grass tolerable good; plenty of water. Corn 1.25 per bushel; road good, but quite hilly.

Wednesday 18

Drove about 17 miles; camped on Platt valley; drove some at night & overtook Wright, Marple & Stevenson & Co. Grass good; water plenty; wood scarce; roads dry & dusty.

Thursday 19

Drove 18 miles; camped on the bank of the Platt River. Grass plenty; wood scarce; roads dry & dusty. Weather very warm. Went into the Platt river batheing.

Friday 20

Drove 19 miles; camped on the prairie in front of a house. Bought 3 lbs. of butter at 25 cts. per lb., eggs 20 cts. per doz., corn 1.25 bushel. Some appearance of rain.

Saturday 21

Drove 15 miles; crossed Loup Fork River on a ferry about $\frac{1}{2}$ way across & forded the balance of the way. Paid 1.50 ferriage. Camped $\frac{1}{2}$ mile southwest of the ferry near a saw mill about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Sunday 22

Remained in the above named place. Good grass, plenty of wood, and good water. The town of Columbus is situated $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of Loop Fork Creek, about 200 inhabitants, 3 or 4 groceries & stores, a hotel and P.O. Mailed letter to wife.

Monday 23

Drove 20 miles; camped on banks of the Platt; road some sandy & dusty; grass and water, but no wood. Country passed through generally good.

Tuesday 24

Drove 20 miles; camped on bank of Platt within 2 miles of Lone Tree. Roads has been very dusty today.

Wednesday 25

Drove 18 miles. Roads still continue dusty. Camped on the bank of Platt. Turned cattle on an island; had to wade 4 or 5 rods; water from 1 to 3 feet deep; had some trouble to get them back again.

Thursday 26

Drove about 19 miles; grass rather poor where we camp tonight. Country passed through today very nice; roads dry & dusty.

Friday 27

Drove about 15 miles. Roads very dusty & disagreeable, the wind driving the dust in the driver's face. Camped on Wood River. Plenty of wood & water. Grass tolerable good. Paid 10cts. per lb for a loaf of bread.

Saturday 28

Drove about 13 miles. Arrived oposite Fort Kerney about 3 o'clock P. M. Camped on bank of the Platt. 10 men gave 1 man \$1 & orders to get letter. He had to wade the river; water from 6 in to 3 feet deep; $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide in one branch & 8 other branches. Mailed letter to wife.

Sunday 29

Remained in above place. Received no letter. Mailed one to C.L.P. Plenty of water; no wood; grass poor, and here we pass the last dwelling on the road. Man keeps a kind of trading post. Telegraph crosses the river. Keeps on the other side.

Monday 30

Drove 22 miles. Camped on Elm Creek. Wood, water & grass. Water for drinking rather poor; good for stock.

Tuesday 31

Drove 18 miles. Camped on Buffalo Creek, 3 miles above the crossing. Grass poor; wood plenty, water poor & scarce. Wind blew very hard during the evening. Land passed over the last 2 days very poor.

JUNE, 1864**Wednesday 1**

Drove 20 miles; camped on bank of the Platt. Plenty of grass & water; no wood. Saw grave of H. E. Parke of Arlington, Burean County, killed May 31, by accidental discharge of his own gun. Opened cada of tobacco & commenced using it.

Thursday 2

Drove 18 miles. Camped 2 miles west of Sandy Bluffs on bank of Platt. Road part of the day very hard traveling being very sandy. Country poor.

Friday 3

Drove 20 miles. Hard, sandy road. Passed a big Pawnee Spring. Camped on Carrion Creek near grave of J. F. Manning, killed by Indians May 23, aged 24 years, belonged in McPike's train, from Pike County, Missouri. Good grass & water; no wood.

Saturday 4

Drove 18 miles. Camped on bank of Platt; plenty grass & water; no wood; last wood found on Buffalo Creek. The statement of Campbell that we would find wood 5 miles west of Carrion Creek is false. Passed 8 Indian wigwams.

Sunday 5

Remained in above place. We done some cooking; found a cedar stump on bank of river that made very good wood. Land a little better than it has been.

Monday 6

Drove about 16 miles. Passed over some very sandy road. One wagon stuck with 7 yoke of cattle on. Found water & grass plenty. No wood. Emigration immense; one constant string of teams. Ferrin's boil is better.

Tuesday 7

Drove 16 miles on bank of Platt; found grass & water plenty. Much of road sandy and hard hauling. Heard that McPike had 42 horses & mules stamped at the time one of his men was killed by supposed Indians. Passed about 200 Sioux Indians.

Wednesday 8

Drove 20 miles; camped near bank of Platt; grass & water plenty; some very heavy sand road; no wood; some rain last night; very warm today; seen some nice limestone, the first stone we seen from the time we struck the Platt river.

Thursday 9

Drove about 20 miles; found plenty water; grass tolerable good. Passed a good many graves, some dated 1863 & 1864. Saw Ash Hollow on south side of River where Harney thrashed the Indians.

Friday 10

Drove 18 miles; road very good; plenty water; grass scarce. No wood. Could not keep up with Wright, Marple & Stevenson. They drove too fast for our team. Should have cattle for this trip not less than 5 year old & not more than 6 & weigh about 2500 to yoke, straight long legs & round bodys.

Saturday 11

Drove about 16 miles. The day has been very cool. Good road. Appearance of rain. Camped on Platt. Good grass & water. No wood.

Sunday 12

This morning very windy & cold with appearance of rain & on that account we drove today. Drove about 13 miles. Camped on bank of Platt near where some high bluffs extend to river. Water & grass plenty. No wood.

Monday 13

It rained two very hard shower last night. Drove about 15 miles to a little stream nearly opposite to Chimney Rock, and while looking for a place to cross it, it commenced to rain. blow & hail, & a more sever storm I never seen; the wind changed three different times & every change it blew & hailed harder; very heavy thunder & vivid lightening; lasted about 1½ hours. The stream is at this time at least 1 mile wide; now dark.

Tuesday 14

Traveled 8 miles. Camped on creek; road very bad. Good many teams stuck acrossing creek.

Wednesday 15

Drove 16 miles.

Thursday 16

Drove 14 miles.

Friday 17

Drove 25 miles.

Saturday 18

Drove 14 mile. Got to Fort Laramie; got three letters. Paid 50 cts. for crossing ferry; mailed one to wife; one to Newton; one to Williams & one to W. H. Palmer.

Sunday 19

Drove about five miles. Camped on Platt. Plenty wood, water & grass.

Monday 20

Drove 15 miles. Commenced crossing Black Hills. Camped on bank Platt. Had shower of hail & rain, wood, water plenty & grass very scarce.

Tuesday 21

Broke camp 4 o'clock. Drove 3 miles & camped and turned cattle out & got breakfast. No water, but grass pretty good. Started at 9 o'clock & drove to Box Elder Springs, & camped. Drove about 12 miles. Wood, water & grass. Had hard time to get water on account of the large amount of teams.

Wednesday 22

Drove 18 miles. Road good today. Camped on Platt. Grass plenty.

Thursday 23

Drove 19 miles. Camped on Platt. Grass good. Road first rate.

Friday 24

Drove 9 miles. Road rough & mountainous. Grass good. We drove the cattle 2 miles in mountains to get it.

Saturday 25

Drove 9 miles. Day very hot. Camped at noon on bank of Platt.

Sunday 26

Drove 17 miles. Camped on bank of Platt. Grass poor. Had to drive cattle in hills about 2 miles.

Monday 27

Remained in camp all day on account of the cattles stampeding out of the correll & broke two wagons so that we had to leave them. Found a good spring on the side of the hill, 20 rods north of the road.

Tuesday 28

Drove 15 miles. High southwest wind. Dust blew in our faces all day. Camped on hill. Grass middling. Wood scarce. Found saleratus lake on this hill; saleratus about 4 inches thick. I picked up a piece that would weigh about a lb.

Wednesday 29

Drove about 15 miles. Arrived at Lower Bridge on Platt River at 10 o'clock. Here we left Platt River & took Bozeman cutoff. Drove 12 miles before we found water, and that was very poor. Took us till 12 o'clock at night to get enough for our team. Grass middling good. No wood. Water has a very bad taste. First 3 or 4 miles of cut-off very sandy. Sent letter to wife.

Thursday 30

Drove about 8 miles. Road very sandy & hilly all the way. Found plenty of water, and a little better quality than we had last night. Good grass. No wood, but sagebrush. Correlled for the balance of the day to let cattle rest & fill up.

JULY, 1864**Friday 1**

Drove 14 miles. Camped on Dry Fork of Powder River. First 4 miles of road very sandy; balance very good. Water about the same as yesterday. Wood plenty. Grass tolerable. Here we found about 84 wagons waiting for us to organize a stronger force. We elected Townsend captain. About 30 miles from the lower bridge on Platt River we overtook 84 wagons bound for Big Horn mountains. We consolidated our train and elected officers & employed guides at 4 dollars a wagon to conduct us to the Big Horn River. They agree to find us plenty grass, wood and water & a passable road & act as interpreters with Indians.

Our train & camping party consist of: 350 men; 32 women; 42 children; 817 cattle; 10 mules; 57 horses; 141 wagons; 1547 shots without reloading. Estimated cost as given by the different parties is 121,900 Dollars. The guides names are Raphael Gogeor and John Boyer.

Recapitulation of train:

Wagons	150
Men	375
Women	36
Children	56
Oxen	636
Cows	194
Mules	10
Horses	79
Shots	1641
Valuation	\$130,000
Captain	A. A. Townsend of Wis.
Lieutenant	Blasedale
Orderly	Vanderly
Wagon master	Van Sickles

Saturday 2

Drove about 15 miles. Camped on Dry Creek. Plenty of wood & grass. Water plenty, but very poor. Road very crooked & rough & very dusty. Concluded to wait until some 20 other teams overtakes us.

Sunday 3

Remained in above place all day. Water proved worse than we expected. Great many cattle sick from drinking it. It appears to be a mixture of alkali & salt. We used as an antidote fat bacon, vinegar & cream of tartar. Addition to train arrived. Had not ought to stop in such places longer than possible. Better for stock.

Monday 4

Drove about 20 miles. Found plenty wood, water & grass. Water very poor, but think it won't hurt stock. 6 or 700 shots fired to celebrate the day. Opened cake box & found it all right. Had a good drink of milk punch and a very good supper. Road very dry and dusty.

Tuesday 5

Drove about 15 miles. Arrived at Powder River about noon. Thought cattle would kill themselves drinking water. About same as the Platt. Drove up river about 3 miles & went into camp. Plenty wood, tolerable grass, good spring water on bank of river.

Wednesday 6

Remained in above place all day on account of one of the parties having an axle tree broke, and is getting it repaired. Will be ready to pull out in morning. One ox died today, making 4 that has died out of train since we left Platt River.

Thursday 7

Pulled out this morning at day light. Drove about 2 miles & found good grass. Stopped & got breakfast. Plenty of wood. About the time we were ready to start again there was a party of Indian warriors rode up to us all armed & equipped. Our guide went up to them and asked them what they wanted. They said they wanted something to eat, but did not want to fight us. We gave them some, and they set down & eat part of it & then the guide told them he wanted them to go away, and they started off slowly up the hills along the road we were going to take, and acted very suspicious. One of our party had gone back to the camp we left in the morning & we waited a short time for him to come up, and then seven men started on horseback to go & look for him. They had not gone more than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile until they were surrounded by about 30 Indians. They commenced shooting arrows at them. They fought their way out, & came back to the wagons. One man is badly wounded with an arrow in the back. Our captain ordered us into correll, and the fight commenced in earnest. We soon got possession of all the highest points and kept them away from the camp. The fight lasted about 5 hours. We had one man killed in the fight, and one killed

that had gone out hunting. The man that went after the cow & one other is missing yet. We could not tell how many of the Indians was killed as they carried them off as fast as they fell, but seen several fall & seen considerable blood on the ground after they left. We drove about 2 miles the same evening and went into camp again & buried one of the men that was killed. The men's names that was killed is:

Frank Hudlemyer from Canada.

A Warren from Missouri. He leaves a wife & 2 children. He fell gallantly fighting in the Morning and died during the night.

The man that went back after the cow did not return & we suppose he is killed.

Also man went out a prospecting met the same fate, making 4 that was killed in the fight with the Indians.

Friday 8

This morning we buried the other man that was killed. Drove about 8 miles & camped on Powder River. Plenty of wood, water & grass.

Saturday 9

Drove about 16 miles & camped on Willow Creek. Road very good. Plenty of water. Wood & grass very scarce. On leaving Powder River fill your keg with water & put on wood enough to last a couple of days.

Sunday 10

Drove about 18 miles. Camped on North Fork of Crazy Woman's Creek. Good water. Plenty grass. No wood. Plenty Buffalo chips. North Fork we crossed 3 times today. Seen no Indians since the fight.

Monday 11

Drove about 15 miles. Camped on Lodge Pool Creek. Plenty good water & grass. Wood scarce. About $\frac{1}{2}$ the road today very hilly, the balance good, but very dusty.

Tuesday 12

Drove 16 miles. Camped on Clear Creek. Plenty good water & wood. Grass middling good. Crossed North Fork of Loche Pool Creek 3 times. Road very good, a few steep pitches & assents. Crossed two other small streams this afternoon. Passed a small lake east of road about noon.

Wednesday 13

Drove about 8 miles. Camped on Beaver Creek. Plenty water for stock. Drinking water not very good. Plenty good wood. Crossed two small runs. Road very hilly & dusty.

Thursday 14

Drove about 9 miles. Camped on Tongue River. Plenty wood, water & grass. We drove down Beaver Creek about 7 miles. Road very good but dusty. Seen plenty antelope. Our party killed 15 antelope, 2 deer yesterday; today several antelope & 2 buffalo. Stood guard last night. Plenty gooseberries. Very hot & dusty.

Friday 15

Drove about 14 miles. Camped on fork of Tongue River. Plenty good wood, water & grass. Drove about 3 miles up Black Ash Creek this forenoon; crossed a fork of Tongue River this afternoon. Plenty gooseberries & wild currents & nice trout in these streams. Very hot & dusty.

Saturday 16

Remained in camp in the above place. 75 of our party went to the mountains to prospect for gold; some went fishing. The prospecting party did not even find the color. The fishing party caught the finest fish I ever seen. They call them mountain trout. The day has been very warm.

Sunday 17

Drove about 16 miles. Camped on little Rose Bud Creek, crossed mud Creek about noon. Seen plenty buffalo & antelope. Our party killed 10 or 12 buffalo. The road has been very good, and the day cool. Plenty good grass, wood & water.

Monday 18

Drove about 18 miles. Camped on Stinking Water Creek. Wood, water & grass. Crossed Big Rose Bud Creek at 9 o'clock. Little Horn River at 2 o'clock P. M. Found nice huckleberries on bank of Creek. Day has been cool & pleasant. Road very dusty.

Tuesday 19

Drove about 17 miles. Camped on Big Horn River. Plenty wood, water & grass. Crossed Spring Creek at 11 o'clock. Crossed two other small streams this afternoon. Road today very hilly & dusty. The day has been cool. Big Horn River is as large as the Platt at the bridge & runs very rapid.

Wednesday 20

Crossed the Big Horn River & drove up it about 1 mile & camped. This river is bad to ford. We had to raise our wagon boxes about 1 foot to keep water from running in. Wood, water & grass good, the day warm. Sent letter to wife by guide. Paid 50 cts.

Thursday 21

Remained in above place all day & parties went out prospecting & to see if there could be a practicable road. Got up

the river to the mountains. No road found. Gold found in every pan washed, but not in paying quantities. I have a very bad pain in my teeth & face.

Friday 22

Drove 15 miles. Camped on a dry creek. Water standing in holes; plenty for stock, but very poor for drinking & cooking. Grass poor. No wood. Crossed a small creek with plenty water 8 miles from Big Horn. Good place to camp. Rained a little this morning. The day warm.

Saturday 23

Drove 20 miles. Camped on Nes Perce fork. Plenty wood, water and grass. Crossed a dry creek with some water in 4 miles. Another same kind in 10 miles. Found good springs in 15 miles. Good place to camp. The day has been very warm.

Sunday 24

Drove 12 miles. Camped on Yellowstone River. Plenty water, wood & grass. Road today has been very rough & hilly & dusty. Found no water along the road today. The country very broken & barren, the hottest day we have had on the trip. My face is getting better.

Monday 25

Drove 12 miles. Camped on bank of Yellowstone River. Plenty wood & grass. We drove up the river about 2 miles & then we left it & took up some steep bluffs and drove 8 miles before we come to the river again. Found no water along the road. The day has been warm & the road very dusty, and part of it very hilly.

Tuesday 26

Drove about 8 miles. Camped on Yellowstone. Drove up the river about 5 miles & came to Clark's Fork; forded the fork; very good place to ford. The day has been very warm. Road good; getting better.

Wednesday 27

Drove 12 miles. Camped on Rock Creek. Left Yellowstone this morning. 7 miles to Clark fork. Drove up creek 5 miles; good grass, water & wood. Road good. Day cool. Forded fork. Just before we camped at Rock Creek we came to Place Bridger's Cut off comes in.

Thursday 28

Drove 12 miles. Camped on Skunk Creek. Drove up Clark's Fork 5 miles; recrossed it 1 mile to Skunk Creek. Drove up it 6 miles. Wood, water & grass. Road tolerable good. Day not very hot.

Friday 29

Remained in camp at above place all day. Sent 40 men out prospecting; 20 of men took 1 week's provisions; the other

2 day's provisions. Wrote letter to wife & sent it ahead to Virginia City by C. H. Sackett.

Saturday 30

Pulled out this morning. Drove 12 miles. Camped on the 3 forks of Rose Bud Creek No. 2. Good water & grass. Wood plenty. Road rather hilly. Crossed a dry creek with some standing water in it.

Sunday 31

Remained in camp in above place. The 2 days party came in & reported nothing found that would pay 607 men. Went out & killed 2 elk & a fawn & brought them into camp on a wagon. The elk dressed about 400 lbs. each. The prospecting party brought in a fine deer.

AUGUST, 1864

Monday 1

Still in camp. There has nothing transpired worthy of note. We are waiting to hear from the other prospecting party. The weather pleasant. Middle of the day tolerable warm. Nights quite cool.

Tuesday 2

Still remain in camp. This morning there was a party of 20 men & 2 horse wagons, with provisions for them, started back to prospect the Big Horn Mountains. They calculate to be gone 15 days. The weather remains about the same.

Wednesday 3

Still remain in camp. The 1 week party returned to camp. They report nothing found that will pay. The weather same.

Thursday 4

Still in camp. This morning we moved the correll $\frac{1}{2}$ mile up the creek on account of the other one being very dirty. The weather about the same.

Friday 5

Still in camp. Went fishing; caught 6 very nice trout. Another party of 14 went out prospecting; took 9 mules packed with 2 weeks provisions. The weather about the same.

Saturday 6

Still remain in camp. This morning another party of 6 went out prospecting; took 2 horses packed with 10 days provisions. The weather the same. Two men came into camp. Say they are going to Omaha to start an express rout from there to Virginia City.

Sunday 7

Still remain in camp. The 2 expressmen stayed at our camp today. The wind blew quite hard this afternoon for a little while & rained a little, but not enough to do any good.

Monday 8

Still remain in camp. The party that went to prospect the Big Horn returned today. They did not do anything. They came to camp of 5 or 600 Crow Indians, & they took and begged all of their provisions, and told them they did not want white men there. They kill & scare all the game away, & eat all the berries.

Tuesday 9

Still remain in camp. There was 3 of the Crow Indians came back with the prospecting party, & are here yet. They say their tribe is friendly to the whites, but they do not want the white man on their hunting ground.

Wednesday 10

Still in camp. Nothing transpired worthy of note. The 3 Indians are with us yet. The weather same as it has been.

Thursday 11

Still in camp. The other two prospecting parties returned today, and report nothing found that will pay.

Friday 12

Pulled out this morning & crossed east fork of Rose Bud. Drove 1 mile, crossed the middle fork, drove 13 miles, & camped on the west fork. Road today quite stony & hilly.

Saturday 13

Drove 18 or 20 miles & camped on the Yellowstone River again. Wood, water & grass. Water rather riley. Drove 5 miles & found a good spring. 11 miles to Small Creek. Road quite stony & hilly.

Sunday 14

Drove 18 miles up Yellowstone & camped. Wood, water & grass. Drove 6 miles. Found small stream 9 miles & crossed Stony Fork of Yellowstone. Road today level, but a great deal of it very stony. The day has been cool. This evening overcoats are very comfortable.

Monday 15

Drove 18 miles up Yellowstone & camped. Wood, water & grass. Drove 7 miles & forded Yellowstone River. 8 miles came to small stream. 11 miles came to Hot Spring. 12 miles good cold spring. This evening very cold. Have to put on overcoat.

Tuesday 16

Drove about 14 miles. Camped on fork of Cottonwood Creek. Good water & grass. Plenty of wood. Road in fore part of day very hilly, after part very good; the day cool, the evening pleasant.

Wednesday 17

Drove 15 miles. Camped on Mountain Creek. Grass, water & wood. The mountains are quite high all around us. Part of the road today very hilly, balance very good. Had plenty of water all day from mountain springs.

Thursday 18

Drove 15 miles. Camped on mountain brook. Plenty wood, water & grass. The road this forenoon mountainous & very rough. Better this afternoon. Plenty water all day. My face is swelled very bad, & am generally unwell.

Friday 19

Drove about 10 miles. Camped on Galatin bottom near a small stream. Wood, water & good grass. There is about a dozen cabins on this bottom. They have very nice gardens; potatoes, peas & all kinds vegetables grow nice, but they have to irrigate the land.

Saturday 20

Remain in camp in above place for one of the party to file a wagon wheel that was broke yesterday coming through the Devil's Gap in mountains. Road yesterday in forenoon very rough. Plenty water. I feel some better today.

Sunday 21

Pulled out this morning. Drove 20 miles. Camped on small run of water that rises & sinks. Plenty wood & grass. Road today has been very good, but very dusty. The wind blew the dust in my face all day. Am getting well again. Crossed Galatin River at noon.

Monday 22

Drove about 18 miles. Camped on Burnt Creek. Good grass & water. Wood rather scarce. Crossed Madison River 10 miles from where we camped last night. 125 yds. wide.

Tuesday 23

Drove 3 miles on main road, then turned northwest & went to Norwegian Gulch. Found quite a number a mining; about 100 claims taken. Dont happen to be paying very big. Passed a hot spring on the main road to Va. City.

Wednesday 24

Concluded that the Norwegian Gulch is a humbug. Pulled back to the main road. Traveled 10 miles. Camped on Meadow Creek. Good grass, wood & water.

Thursday 25

Concluded to stay at this place for a day or two. Some of the party are going to prospect. I am going to Virginia City to see the place. It is called 15 miles across the mountains & 20 by the road.

Friday 26

I arrived at Virginia City yesterday about 2 o'clock P. M. Found it quite a stirring business place. Visited the mines, found a great many men at work, and the mines appear to be paying. Claims all taken. I walked back, and met the teams coming in.

Saturday 27

Today we arrived at the city with the teams. About noon took our team in town to sell them. Had some offers for them, but did not sell. I took the team in the mountain about 4 miles to graze, and stayed with them all night. Road as stony as a Boar's ass.

Sunday 28

Drove the team in this morning, and I bought Ferrin's & Pierce's interest in the 2 largest yoke of cattle. We valued 1 yoke at 80\$; the other at 65\$ with yoke & 3 chains. Sold the other yoke for 55\$

Monday 29

I went into the mountains today to see about timber & wood. Found plenty from 6 to 10 miles. Rather bad road to haul it over. Wood can be bought for 2.00 per cord in the woods. It rained considerable last night.

Tuesday 30

Stayed around town in the forenoon. In the afternoon went to see the mines. Talked of buying a claim. It commenced raining about 6 o'clock, and rained quite hard for about 2 hours.

Wednesday 31

Went to look at claim and had some talk of buying. In afternoon went down to Nevada to see P. Allen. Found him & lady; stayed & took supper with them.

SEPTEMBER, 1864**Thursday 1**

Today we bought the claim we look at yesterday. We pay 2,500 dollars. The company consists of W. F. Marple, B. W. Ryan, N. Wright, J. Ferrin, N. E. Pierce, J. D. Stevenson. Wrote a letter to wife & sent by N. G. Hide.

Friday 2

Today I went to get the 2 yoke of cattle I had on ranch. Walked about 25 miles. Have not been so tired since I left home. Only found one yoke.

Saturday 3

Today we moved the wagons up to the claim about 4 miles up the gulch from Virginia City. Sold one yoke of cattle for 70 dollars & wagon & one chain for 86-50/100 dollars.

Sunday 4

Today we took the large yoke of cattle to Virginia City & sold them for 83.50/100 dollars. I paid 4.00 dollars for ranching cattle and one dollar for hay.

Tuesday 6

Worked in mines all day. Run the sluices part of the day. Took out 11 dollars, 8 hands to work. It froze ice in sluice boxes last night.

Saturday 10

Worked in mines all day. Run the sluices 9 hours. Took out 65.70/100 dollars, 8 hands to work. It is now 10 o'clock at night. I have just finished writing a letter to W. H. Palmer. It is raining and has the appearance of doing so all night.

Sunday 11

It rained all forenoon. In afternoon went down to town & mailed letter to W. H. Palmer.

Monday 12

This morning when I got up it was snowing, and it continued to snow until about 8 o'clock, the ground being covered. We went to work on claim & worked the balance of the day. Did not run the sluices, but a few minutes. 7 hands in forenoon; 8 hands in afternoon.

Sunday 18

Went down town today. Bought 1 pair socks for 75 cents. The day has been very pleasant. Paid 75 cents for washing & 1.36 for beef. There was a man hung yesterday for stealing 700 dollars. Today there was a prize fight about 2 miles from here in the hills. 2 Dolls. a ticket. They say there was a large crowd to see it.

Thursday 22

I was sick today, and did not work. One of my eyes is very sore & am generally unwell. Run sluices all day. 10 hands to work. Took out 221.55/100 Dolls. The day has been cloudy & quite cold & damp; has the appearance of snow.

Friday 23

Worked all day in mines. Run sluices about 9 hours. Took out 117.10/100 Dollars. My eye is some better. The day has been cloudy & cold.

Saturday 24

Worked all day in mines. We moved the windlas & sluices & done some other fixing. The day has been cloudy, but not

so cold as yesterday. My eye getting better. Moved our goods to shanty.

Sunday 25

We fixed bunks today & done some fixing about the house, such as put up shelves, divided the gold taken out last week. My share is 100 dollars.

Monday 26

Worked in mines all day. Run sluices about 7 hours. Took out 128.75/100 dollars, 10 hands to work. The day has been cold & chilly; freezing some this evening.

OCTOBER, 1864

Saturday 1

Did not work today on account of my throat being sore. The day has been cold & chilly. Paid 75 cents for one qt. of vinegar. They run the sluices all day. Took out 128.75/100 dollars, 10 hands to work. Paid 25 cents for whiskey.

Sunday 2

Divided the gold taken out. My share is 114 Dolls. Went to Virginia & Nevada Cities. Got dinner at Hotel for 1.00. Paid 2.00 Dolls for buck mittens. Paid doctor 2.50 for looking at my throat. Paid 50 cents for whiskey. Paid 5.00 Dolls for work in my place. Mailed letter to wife & 1 to A. Smith.

Monday 3

Did not work today. Hired a man in my place. They run sluices all day. Took out 177.15/100 Dolls. 9 hands to work. My throat is some better. Been a beautiful day. There was some ice this morning.

Tuesday 4

I went to Virginia City. Did not work today; hired a man in my place. They run sluices all day. Took out 141.75/100 Dolls. Bought 1 pr. pants for 5.00, 1 vest 4.00, 1 shirt 2.00, paid 1.25 for dinner, 25 cts. for whiskey, 3.00 dollars for medicine, 50 cts. for purce. The day has been very nice & warm. No ice this morning.

Wednesday 5

Did not work today; hired a man in my place. They run sluices all day. Took out 133.20/100 Dolls. I stayed in cabin all day. Think my throat is getting a little better. Has been a beautiful day. 11 men to work. No ice this morning.

Thursday 6

Did not work today; hired a man in my place. They run sluices all day. Took out 58.25/100 Dolls. 11 men to work. My throat is getting some better. Been a fine day. No frost this morning.

Friday 7

Did not work today. Took out 94.25/100 Dolls. They run sluices all day. 11 men to work. The day has been very nice. A little white frost this morning. My throat is some better.

Saturday 8

Did not work today. Run sluices about 8 hours. Took out 108.00 Dolls. 12 men to work. The day has been very nice. Little frost this morning. My throat is getting better.

Sunday 9

Stayed at home all day. We divided the gold taken out my share being 54 dollars, after paying 35 dollars for my lost time. Paid 6 dollars for meat bill. The day has been very nice. My throat is not as well as yesterday.

Monday 10

I did not work today. Went to town, got more medicine for my throat. Paid 2.50. Got dinner at hotel for 75 cents. Paid 50 cents for California paper. The boys run sluices all day. Took out 36.00 Dolls. 9 men to work. The day has been very nice.

Tuesday 11

I did not work today. Boys run sluices all day. Took out 44.72/100 Dolls. 11 men to work. The day has been very fine & warm. My throat is not any better. Am afraid it will injure my speech.

Wednesday 12

Did not work today. The boys run sluices about 7 hours. Took out 30.70/100 Dollars. 10 hands to work. The day has been fine. My throat is not any better.

Thursday 13

Mailed letter to J. H. Ryan & J. Lyda. I went to Virginia City today. Got more medicine for my throat; paid 3.00. Paid 75 cents for my dinner. Boys run sluices all day. Took out 38.25/100 Dolls. 8 hands to work. The day has been nice. It threatened rain in afternoon but sprinkled a very little.

Friday 14

Did not work today. The boys run sluices all day. Took out 177.75/100 Dolls. 7 men to work. The day has been pleasant. My throat is getting better. Froze some last night.

Saturday 15

Did not work today. Boys run sluices all day. Took out 129.55 Dolls. 7 hands to work. The day has been pleasant. Froze some last night.

Sunday 16

I went to Virginia City. Bought R boots for 8 dolls. Paid 30 dolls for man to work in my place. Paid 75 cents for dinner, 40 cents for tobacco, 108 dollars on claim, my share being 116.67/100 Dolls, the balance being 8.67 paid out of company purse. Mailed paper to wife.

Monday 17

I worked all day in mines. We run sluices all day. Took out 46.55/100 dollars. The day has been fine. Froze considerable last night. 7 hands to work. My throat has got about well.

Wednesday 19

I worked all day in mines. Run sluices about 7 hours. Took out 109.35/100 Dollars. Froze considerable last night. 7 hands to work. The day has been fine. Mailed letter to J. L. Morgan. Paid postage 12c.

Friday 21

I worked all day. Run sluices all day. Took out 80.55/100 Dolls. 7 hands to work. Froze considerable last night. The day has been fine. In cleaning up we got 11.60/100 Dollars.

Saturday 22

Could not run sluices today on account of scarcity of water. We banked up the house & done some other repairing. The day has been fine. Divided the gold. My share is 45 Dolls. Recd a letter from wife & one from W. H. Palmer. Paid 25cts. postage.

Sunday 23

Stayed at home all day. Wrote 2 letters; 1 to wife; 1 to W. H. Palmer. The day has been fine. Froze some last night. Paid for washing 75 cts.

Tuesday 25

Woke up this morning & found the ground covered with snow & snowing. It cleared off about 9 o'clock. We worked the balance of day. Run sluices. Took out 65. Dolls. 6 hands to work. Froze some. Mailed the letters I wrote Sunday. Paid 25 cts postage.

Wednesday 26

Worked all day. Run sluices about 6 hours. Took out 59.10/100 Dolls. 6 hands to work. Froze quite hard last night. The snow still lays on the mountain, but about all gone in the gulch.

Friday 28

Worked all day. Run sluices about 4 hours. Took out 29.90/100 Dolls. 6 hands to work. The ground was covered with snow this morning but all gone in the gulch this evening.

Saturday 29

Worked all day. Did not run sluices today in that we had no ground striped. 6 hands to work. The day has been fine. Froze some last night. It commenced snowing about 5 o'clock this evening. It will be quite a snow from appearances.

Sunday 30

Stayed at home all day. Fixed heels of my boots. Done some other mending. Divided the gold taken out last week, my share being 45 Dolls after paying 42 Dolls out of Co. purse on claim. The snow was about 3 inches deep this morning. The day has been fine; thawed some.

Monday 31

Worked all day. We striped. 6 hands to work. The day has been fine. Cold in the morning. The snow is all gone in the gulch.

NOVEMBER, 1864**Sunday 6**

Stayed at home all day. The day has been cold & stormy. Froze & snowed a little all day. Ferrin & Stevenson made fried cakes, and they are very good. I mended my mittens & socks. Paid 31.50 Dolls for syrup. 3.55/100 for meat. 75 cents for washing.

Monday 7

We did not work in mines today it being too cold, and snowed in the morning. In afternoon we went on the mountain & drew down two loads of wood each. It is clear tonight, but freezing hard. Paid 1.20/100 Dolls for 24 lbs. hay to put in bed.

Tuesday 8

We did not work in the mines today being quite cold. In afternoon we went to the mountain and hauled quite a lot of wood.

Wednesday 9

We worked at striping today. It was cloudy all day. Snowed a little by spells, but not very cold.

Sunday 13

Wrote a letter to N. H. Ryan. Stayed home all day. It was quite stormy in forenoon; raining and snowing. Wright & myself made 48 candles. Marple & a man by the name of Sells went to Virginia City & bought a yoke of cattle for 90 Dolls to go prospecting.

Monday 14

We did not work today in mines. Wright, Stevenson & Pierce went to Va. City. Ferin & Marple went out prospecting in Co. with M. Sells & three other men. I stayed at home all day & done some tinkering. Mailed a letter to N. H. Ryan.

Tuesday 15

We did not work today. Felt a little lazy in forenoon. It commenced snowing about 1 o'clock P. M. & snowed quite hard balance of the day & was snowing when we went to bed at 9 o'clock. Snow 11 in. deep.

Wednesday 16

We did not work today. The snow is 1 foot deep, but the sun has shown all day & thawed a little in the middle of the day. I done some mending. Had a visit from A. Garwood, formerly from Sheffield, but late of Colorado.

Thursday 17

We did not work today. Pierce & Stevenson went to town. Wright & myself stayed at home. I done some more repairing of my pantaloons. The day has been clear. Thawed a little in middle of the day.

Friday 18

We did not work today. All stayed in house. The day has been clear & thawed some in middle of the day. I worked at patching my pantaloons. It will take me about 2 hours more to get them fixed.

Saturday 19

We did not work today. Wright & myself went to Va. City, called on Dr. Mason & C. Whitson. The day has been cloudy, but not very cold. Commenced snowing about 3 o'clock P. M. & is now snowing 8 P. M. Mailed a letter to A. Smith.

Sunday 20

Stayed at home all day. Finished mending my pantaloons. I have now got them covered all over with antelope & sacking. It snowed some this afternoon. The day has not been very cold. Wrote letter to wife this evening. About 4 inches more snow.

Monday 21

We worked all day at striping. 4 hands. The day has been pleasant. The sun shone all day. Quite cold in morning, but thawed in middle of the day. It will freeze quite hard tonight.

Wednesday 23

Worked at striping all day. 3 hands. Stevenson went to Va. City. The day has been cloudy, but not cold. Thawed some in middle of the day. Mailed letter to wife. I wrote it Sunday.

Thursday 24

Worked all day at striping. 4 hands. The day has been cloudy & windy, & snowed a little about noon. Tolerable cold.

Saturday 26

Worked all day at striping 4 hands to work. The day has been cloudy & the after part windy & quite cold, snowing some

during the evening. It snowed considerable, and the wind blew quite hard. Received a letter from W. H. Palmer. Paid postage 15 cents.

Sunday 27

Stayed home all day. Wrote a letter to B. F. Williams, and one to W. H. Palmer. The day has been cloudy, but not very cold. Thawed in middle of day.

Monday 28

We did not work today. It snowed quite hard until about 10 o'clock, snow 3 inches, & the day has been cold & stormy. Pierce went to Va. City. Mailed 2 letters; 1 to B. F. Williams, & 1 to W. H. Palmer. Made a sweet cake & it is very good.

Tuesday 29

Did not work today. Stayed in cabin all day. The morning was a little cold & blustery, but cleared up about 9 o'clock & the sun shone the balance of the day. Thawed a very little in the middle of the day.

Wednesday 30

Did not work today. Stayed in cabin all day. The day has been quite windy & the coldest day we have had this fall.

DECEMBER, 1864

Thursday 1

Did not work today. Stayed in cabin all day. It was snowing when we got up this morning, & continued to snow until about 4 o'clock. There was 13 inches fell. I put a new pocket in my pantaloons.

Saturday 3

We did not work today. Pierce went to Va. City, the rest of us stayed in cabin. The day has not been very cold.

Monday 5

We did not work today. It snowed about 1 inch last night. The day has been pleasant. The sun shone all the forenoon, but cloudy in afternoon. Pierce returned today. I baked bread.

Tuesday 6

We did not work today. The wind blew quite hard last night & drifted the snow. It snowed about 3 inches. The day has been the coldest we have had. Cloudy all day. Thermometer 20 degrees below zero.

Wednesday 7

We did not work today. The day has been pleasant. The sun shone all day, but did not thaw but very little. The road is well broke from here to Va. City, and the sleighing is splendid.

Thursday 8

We did not work today. Myself, Stevenson & Pierce went to Summit City. The day has been clear all day. In afternoon I washed 1 shirt, 2 pair drawers & 2 pair socks.

Friday 9

We did not work today. Stayed in cabin all day. Pierce made a boiled pudding out of dried peaches & apples. It was very good. I patched my drawers. It snowed some during the day.

Saturday 10

We did not work today. Stayed in cabin all day. It has been very cold. Stevenson made a pot of vegetable soup, and we all took dinner with him.

Sunday 11

Stayed in cabin all day. It has not been as cold as yesterday. I washed myself all over & changed all my clothes. It is snowing now at 8 o'clock P. M.

Monday 12

Did not work today. Not very cold. Snowed about 3 inches last night. I washed one shirt, one pair drawers & 3 pair socks. Stevenson, Wright & Pierce went to Va. City.

Tuesday 13

Did not work. The day has been very pleasant. The sun shone all day. I patched 2 pair socks. Thawed some in middle of the day.

Wednesday 14

We did not work today. Stevenson, Wright & myself went on the mountain & got each of us a load of wood. Pierce worked a little at prospecting. The day has been cold.

Saturday 17

Did not work today. Wright & myself went to Va. City. I bought 1 quire Cap paper for 1 dollar, & 2 envelopes for 10 cents. Mailed letter & paper to my wife. The day has been nice. The sun shone all day. Cold in the morning.

Sunday 18

Stayed in the house all day. The day has been clear. The sun shone all day & thawed a very little in middle of the day. The sleighing is splendid up & down the gulch & has been ever since the 15th of November.

Monday 19

Did not work today. The day has been clear. The sun shone all day. Thawed a very little in the middle of the day. Received a letter from J. Lyda. Paid 15 cents postage.

Saturday 24

We worked today at striping 3 hands worked 4 hours. Pierce went to Va. City. The day has been clear, but cold. Did not thaw any. There was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches of snow fell last night. Paid 1.00 dollar for potatoes.

Sunday 25

Stayed in cabin all day. Pierce paid me the note I held against him for 56.85/100 Dollars at 60 cents on the \$ making \$34.11, I paid him my share of the meat bill 4.38/100 Dollars. The day has been cloudy & windy, but not cold.

Monday 26

We did not work any today. The day has been cold & blustery, & the wind blew very hard last night, & snowed about 2 inches. Paid 15 cents for Chicago Times. Paid 30 cents postage. Received letter from wife & one from A. Smith.

Tuesday 27

We did not work today. The day has been cold & blustery. It snowed about one inch last night. I wrote 2 letters today, one to wife & one to A. Smith.

Thursday 29

Myself, N. Wright & Stevenson went to Va. City. I mailed 3 letters, one to M. J. Ryan, one to J. Lyda & one to A. Smith. The day has been cloudy, but not very cold. It snowed about 2 inches last night. Paid 25 cts. for stamps.

Friday 30

We did not work today. Stayed in house all day. The day has been cold but clear. The sun shone all day. Thawed a very little in middle of the day. I shot off my revolver & cleaned it & reloaded it.

Saturday 31

We did not work today. Stayed in cabin all day. The day has been cloudy, but not cold. Has the appearance of more snow.

MEMORANDA

Items that we did not have that we needed very much in making the trip to Idaho:

1 gallon & $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon milk cans with tight covers

Fraziers Lubricator for wagon grease

2 dozen boxes of Preston's & Merrills infalable yeast powders

Vinegar

Crackers

Bozeman cut off

From Platt River to Salt Springs

12 Mi

Sand springs

8 "

Dry fork of Powder River

14 "

*David G. Thomas' * Memories of the Chinese Riot*

As told to his daughter

MRS. J. H. GOODNOUGH**

On the second day of September 1885, in Rock Springs, Wyoming, occurred a riot, so brutal in its actuality, so revolting in its execution and so gruesome in its details, that it made the town, since famous for its coal, equally infamous, and left deep scars in the minds and hearts of the citizens. As I questioned my father about the stirring events which led to the actual riot, I could not but be impressed. He sat calmly smoking his friendly pipe and animatedly related events as he saw them. He told of the progress which civilization has brought in its wake to our city as contrasted with the bloody scenes of the eighties. We who live in Rock Springs and love it, are vitally interested in her history and this was the reason I secured the facts herein quoted.

The opinions expressed may or may not be correct, but they are formed by the impressions made at the time and are our own. My father, David G. Thomas, witnessed the riot from No. Five tipple and actually saw what follows in the narrative.

To understand conditions as they existed, one must go back to the year 1869, when the Southern Pacific Railroad was being completed and Chinese coolies had been imported for the work of building the road. Upon its completion, most

*David G. Thomas was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 2, 1857 of Welsh parentage and at an early age moved to Missouri. He came to Rock Springs, Wyoming in 1878 and while in the employ of the Union Pacific Coal Company studied law. For sixteen years he held public office in Uinta and Sweetwater counties and served a number of years as State Coal Mine Inspector. In 1893 he married Elizabeth E. Jones. Several of his literary efforts have been published and he was a member of the Missouri Historical Association and contributed to the Wyoming Historical Society. Mr. Thomas died in Rock Springs, February 6, 1935.

**Myfanwy Thomas Goodnough is the only child of David and Elizabeth Thomas. She was born at Rock Springs and received her education at the University of Wyoming and Stanford University, graduating with an A. B. degree in 1916. For one year she taught English in the Rock Springs schools and in June, 1917 was married to Dr. J. H. Goodnough, A. C. S. Mrs. Goodnough is a member of Delta Delta Delta and P. E. O. Two volumes of her verse have been published, one of which was written in collaboration with her father.

of the Chinese were out of work and anxious to become engaged in some remunerative labor. There was a feeling of resentment against them, which grew steadily each year as it was fed on propaganda issued by labor agitators.

The situation in the coal mines at Rock Springs in the year 1876, was anything but pleasant. A strike was in progress, whereby the coal mined was limited in degree and quantity and very few miners were hired. Neither the superintendent nor the mine boss had any authority, the power being relegated to a committee of three miners, a triumverate, who were the dictators of the mines. Finally the situation became intolerable to mining officials and the agitators were fired, boldly and bodily from any further participation in company affairs. However, a few men, loyal in their devotion, were retained.

To a large extent, the mines were now without white labor, so the question was, "Who should mine the coal?" Beckwith and Quinn agreed to furnish a contract to supply Chinese labor for the mines, with Mr. W. H. O'Donnell, the contact man for the deal in the year 1885. It is well to bear this fact in mind, as Mr. O'Donnell, (or "Grandpa" as he was affectionally known to those of us of a younger generation, who worshipped him with a real affection bordering on adoration), was involved in the brutal workings of what we now call "Mob psychology" but which caused him worry and annoyance for two days, when he was guilty of nothing, but the faithful discharge of his duties.

The years passed, from 1878-1885, with the spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction gaining ground against the Chinese, not only in Rock Springs, but in California, Colorado and even in Pittsburgh, Pa. In 1885 my father was a mine boss at No. Five and from this point he will tell his own story as he actually saw it, using the first person.

"One week before the riot Mr. C. P. Wassung and I had occasion to visit Laramie, on lodge business. We met an acquaintance, who had no business connections in Rock Springs at the time, but who remarked that he would visit our town in a few days, and that there would be something doing. The 'something doing' part of the conversation made an indelible impression on our minds, when this same man became one of the leaders in the riot of September 2nd. I have reason to believe that he lived and still lives to be very much ashamed of his participation in the disgraceful events.

"I was mine boss at No. Five, and on the morning of Sept. 2nd, I noticed a visible commotion at No. Three. Rumors had reached me that there was violence at No. Six, wherein Chinese miners had been assigned to places previously promised by the superintendent to the white men. It is an un-

written law in the mines, that miners work in certain assigned places. I felt at the time and have since had no reason to change my views, that the Chinese riot was due to the tactlessness of the Mine Superintendent, Jim Evans. He was efficient in working knowledge, but lacking in the virtue of 'tact,' and one error was the only thing needed to fan the flames of revolt and race hatred to red heat and start the riot which cost the lives of 27 innocent men. I never felt that the men wanted to riot at this time.

"To quote from *The Rock Springs Independent*, dated Sept. 3, 1885: 'Today for the first time in a good many years there is not a Chinaman in Rock Springs. The five or six hundred who were working in the mines here have been driven out, and nothing but heaps of smoking ruins mark the spot where Chinatown stood. The feeling against the Chinese has been growing stronger all summer. The fact that the white men had been turned off the sections, and hundreds of white men were seeking in vain for work, while the Chinese were being shipped in by the car load and given work strengthened the feeling against them. It needed but little to incite this feeling into an active crusade, and that came yesterday morning at No. Six. All the entries at No. Six were stopped the first of the month, and Mr. Evans, Mine Superintendent, marked off a number of rooms in the entries. In No. Five entry eight Chinamen were working and four rooms were marked off for them. In No. Thirteen entry, Mr. Whitehouse and Mr. Jenkins were working and Evans told them they could have rooms in that entry or in No. Eleven or No. Five. They chose No. Five entry and when they went to work Tuesday, Dave Brookman, who was acting as pit boss in Mr. Francis' absence, told them to take the first rooms marked off. He supposed the Chinamen had begun work on their rooms and that Whitehouse and Jenkins would take the next rooms beyond them. But as the first two rooms of the entry had not been commenced, Whitehouse took one, not knowing that they had been given to the Chinamen. He went up town in the afternoon and during his absence the two Chinamen came in and went to work in the room Whitehouse had started. When Whitehouse came to work two Chinamen were in possession of what he considered his room. He ordered them out, but they wouldn't leave what they thought was their room. High words followed, then blows. The Chinese from other rooms came rushing in, as did the whites and a fight ensued, with picks, shovels, drills and tamping needles for weapons. The Chinamen were worsted, four of them being badly wounded, one of whom has since died.'

"To resume my story from this place. I was standing on No. Five tippie when I distinctly saw a commotion at No.

Three mine. I hurried over there to transact some business at the blacksmith shop, and upon its completion, made my way through Chinatown, notifying five or six of my Chinese friends to be careful, as it looked like trouble was brewing. I then returned to No. Five tippie, when I saw the mob now formed with rifles, shot guns and revolvers, stop for a moment at the railroad crossing near the present home of M. W. Medill. Here a shot or two was fired at the defenseless Chinese, who came out of their numerous dugouts and shacks like sheep led to the slaughter—taken by surprise, unarmed and unprotected. They fled precipitously to Bitter Creek, eastward to Burning Mountain and now the riot was on.

“May I say at this point, that one of our leading professional men, was on horseback, waving his hat and shouting loudly, and while he appeared to be unarmed, he was inciting a maddened crowd to bloodthirsty deeds.

“Bullets followed the fleeing Chinese and sixteen of them were killed brutally, while the other casualties met an even more horrible fate the same evening, when some of the citizens satisfied their murderous instincts and inhumanly slew the few remaining Chinese for the money which their victims had hidden on their persons, afterwards setting fire to the buildings to hide the crimes.

“I left for home and went up town. Here an old Chinese laundryman Ah Lee lived in a dirt dugout with a roof of boards. He was so frightened that he bolted his door, but the fiends were not to be cheated of their prey, so they came through the poor old man’s roof and murdered him ruthlessly. I asked the same man whom I had previously met in Laramie, ‘Why did you kill poor old Ah Lee?’ His answer was, ‘I had to, Dave, he was coming at me with a knife.’ The reader can judge for himself the accuracy of the alibi, self defense, after breaking through a man’s roof and shooting him in the back of the head. But dead men tell no tales.

“In this connection may be told the story of a Rock Springs woman, who walked over the body of the dead Chinaman and stole packages of laundry which he had neatly laid aside for delivery.

“Understand, too, we were nervous for our own safety as we were in the employ of the Company and knew not what the mob might decide to do as the next order of business.

“However, around seven o’clock, Frank Hamlin, Lloyd Thomas and I walked over to Chinatown, where we saw lying in the dirt the body of an old Chinaman, whom we had known, shot through the chest and dying slowly. One of the men in the group suggested that we shoot him to get him out of his misery but this we decided not to do, so we left him to die.

"The flames from forty burning houses lighted our faces. When we came to Bitter Creek we saw the body of Joe Brown, one of the first Chinamen killed in the one sided battle.

"We returned to the house of Mr. Tisdale, the general Superintendent, which is located on the present site of the postoffice. Mr. and Mrs. Tisdale were out of town, so Frank Hamlin and I prepared to retire, although we slept little, as the section house had been set on fire by this time and shots were rending the air all night long. We wondered, too, if the mob would not visit Mr. Tisdale's house in a spirit of revenge, but our fears were groundless and we were left undisturbed.

"These were things I actually saw and the next day we heard that Mr. Jim Evans, Mine Superintendent, had been requested to leave town at once, which he did on the night train, never appearing here again.

"To quote again from the local paper, dated the 3rd: 'Well, gentlemen, the next thing is to give Mr. O'Donnell notice to leave and then go over to No. Six,' said one of the men in the crowd. But the crowd was slow in departing on this errand. A large number seemed to think that this was going too far, and of the crowd that gathered in front of O'Donnell's store, the majority did not sympathize with this move. But at somebody's order a note ordering O'Donnell to leave was written and given to Gottsche, his teamster.

"One of the men, who objected loudest to this mode of procedure was the same person we have had occasion to mention before, at Laramie, Ah Lee's murder, etc., but he quit the riot at this place, being highly indignant at the treatment meted to Mr. O'Donnell. However, Mr. O'Donnell was told to come back in two days, which he did, much to the general rejoicing.

"A look around Thursday, revealed some gruesome sights, resembling the methods of the modern racketeer. In the smoking cellar of one Chinese house the blackened bodies of three Chinamen were seen. Three others were in the cellar of another and four more bodies were found near by. From the position of some of the bodies it would seem as if they had begun to dig a hole in the cellar to hide themselves, but the fire overtook them when about half way in the hole, burning their lower limbs to a crisp and leaving the upper trunk untouched.

"At the east end of Chinatown another body was found, charred by the flames and mutilated by hogs. For a long time, pork was not tempting to us as an appetite teaser, and we gladly refrained from including it in our diet. The smell that arose from the smoking ruins was horribly suggestive of burning flesh. Farther east were the bodies of four more

Chinamen, shot down. In their flight one of them had tumbled over the bank and lay in the creek with face upturned. Still further another Chinaman was found shot in the hips but still alive. He had been shot as he came to the bank. He was taken up town and cared for by Dr. Woodruff. Besides this, two others were seriously wounded.

"One Chinawoman fled with her husband, a gambler, who carried her across Bitter Creek, and both appeared to be unusually calm. Neither of them were among the casualties. The wife of Soo Qui, a boss Chinaman, was badly frightened and with tearful eyes and trembling voice said to the mob, 'Soo he go; I go to him.' The assurance of the men that she would be unharmed failed to calm her and gathering a few household goods she fled to the home of a neighbor.

"A few days after the riot, Mrs. Thayer was visited by a woman who carried a fur coat over her arm, making the statement that this coat was made of an 'H'African Lion', and was too large for her, so she would like to sell it. She failed to convince Mrs. Thayer, however, as the latter had seen the coat too often on Ah Coon, one of the missing Chinese.

"Mr. Joe Young, the sheriff, was in Green River the day of the riot, but placed guards to protect the property of citizens in case of a disturbance.

"A Coroner's jury, who with Dr. Woodruff, examined the dead bodies of the Chinamen, returned a verdict that eleven had been burned to death and four shot by parties unknown to the jury. The bodies were put in rough coffins and buried in the Chinese burying grounds.

"A good many indictments followed the arrival of the troops, which were sent by the Government, but the trial was a farce and the cases dismissed. I was told to report for jury service in Green River and when D. O. Clark asked me why I did not wish to serve, I replied that I did not feel that my back was bullet proof. Such was the attitude of the citizens at the time.

"Gov. Warren came with railroad officials on a special train and took a view of the situation and provisions were sent west for the Chinese near Green River. Troops were ordered to be stationed in Rock Springs, and all of the Chinese were picked up and closely guarded by Uncle Sam's men. Some of the officers located here included Major Freeman, and Captain Coolidge, the adopted father of the Rev. Sherman Coolidge, Indian Episcopal rector at Colorado Springs. The troops remained here until the Spanish American war, and it was with considerable regret that the citizens saw the soldiers depart, as they had become an influence for good in the community.

“And now to tell the story of Pung Chung, our loyal and devoted friend. He went to No. Three when he first heard about the riot through the Chinese whom I had notified, and retraced his steps back again through the mine to No. Five, where he had hoped to find me, but I had left for home by that time. Then he fled to the hills, where he stayed for three or four days, without food or water, and when found, was in a half crazed condition, brought on through fright and starvation, together with exhaustion. He was always our loyal friend and years later I can picture him, an old man, seated on the coping of my wife's grave; in his hand, a few fragrant flowers, pitifully eloquent, his token of respect to her memory. His devotion touched us, and we feel it indeed a privilege to place on his grave, each Decoration day a little flower, with a thought similar to the one expressed by Thomas Campbell—

‘To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die’.”

In 1901 there were more than 260 mining companies operating in and around Encampment, and several thousand mining claims were on record in the district.

Miss Elizabeth Pettingill ran a men's clothing store at Battle in 1898, when that mining camp on the top of the Sierra Madre range above Grand Encampment, was booming.

Trail herds coming north from Texas in the 1880's traveled an average of 450 to 500 miles per month.

In 1874, John C. Friend of Rawlins shipped a carload of “Rawlins Red” paint for use on the Brooklyn bridge. This paint, made from soft rock obtained near Rawlins, was used for many years on Union Pacific freight cars.

“Sergeant Dobbins,” clerk of the weather bureau, built a two story dwelling and “observatory” on 17th street in Cheyenne in 1874 at a cost of \$1,500.00.

The Freighter in Early Days

By JESSE BROWN*

In company with O. W. Lyman, William H. Countiss, the writer left Ottumwa, Iowa, on the twenty-sixth day of April, 1865, crossed the Missouri River on the fifteenth day of May at Nebraska City, and was soon employed by the proprietor of a large freight outfit, named James K. Hinds, to drive teams (Bull teams) to Fort Laramie, then Dakota Territory.

There were twenty-six teams in the outfit. They carried no tents, no cook stoves, but cooked by camp-fires. When it was raining there was very little cooking, as our fuel would be wet. Wood was not to be obtained, so we had to rely upon buffalo "chips," as they were called, for fires.

The whips used by the men were fifteen to eighteen feet long, with short stocks about three feet long. It was quite amusing to see some of us trying to swing these whips. We were more likely to wrap them around our necks than to strike what was aimed at.

Our provisions consisted principally of hot biscuits, bacon and black coffee. There were also beans and dried fruit, but very seldom time to cook them.

Each team consisted of seven to nine pairs or yokes of oxen, and two wagons coupled together. We made the trip through to Fort Laramie in forty-two days—just one hundred miles per week.

After unloading our supplies, Major Carrington, in command of the Post, ordered Mr. Hinds to make preparations to haul wood for winter's use. Our boss said, "We haven't the provisions, and my men do not wish to haul wood." The Major said: "I will furnish rations, and, as far as the men are concerned—I will place a soldier with a bayonet behind each man if necessary. We must have wood, and we have no teams to haul it." The wood was hauled.

When we had finished the job, we were all rejoicing, thinking that we were going to get out of the country before winter set in. But, "Ever thus in childhood's hour to disappointment doomed." The old Major came out with another order, to load with supplies and go to Fort Reno on Powder River. Then

*Jesse Brown was born in Tennessee in 1844 and came to Nebraska in 1865. He freighted through Nebraska and Wyoming for Army contractors until the Black Hills gold rush. In Dakota he was engaged as a shot gun messenger for the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage. He spent the remainder of his life in Sturgis, S. D., where he served as a public servant in the capacities of sheriff and county commissioner.

there were some real genuine refusals put in. Our wages were increased, and that seemed to be satisfactory.

We made the trip without any trouble, except for suffering from the cold which was caused from lack of proper wearing apparel. Upon our arrival at Horseshoe Creek, fifty miles west of Laramie, the wagon master concluded to go into winter camp, rigged out a four mule team with a light wagon loaded with grub and baggage enough for twenty-two men, and we started for Nebraska City. We arrived there on the first day of January, 1866. The ground was covered with snow. The weather was bitter cold, and no fuel of any kind to be had except green cottonwood limbs cut from scrubby trees along the streams.

Arriving at Julesburg, we expected to be able to obtain some wood but found the ranchers out of it, or with at least none to spare. They said their teams had been out for thirty days after wood and they did not know when they would arrive. Finally, one ranchman let us have enough to cook a couple of meals at ten cents a pound—weighed on his scales. Several of the boys were pretty badly frozen, their ears, hands, and feet; one especially, who had no mittens. His hands were frozen as hard as bricks. Of course, the men had to walk, there being no room in the one wagon except for the driver, and their suffering was intense.

The men were paid off upon arriving at our destination and after visiting a barber shop, a clothing store, and taking a sup of "Oh-Be-Joyful," it was difficult to recognize some of the men with whom we had associated for eight months. We parted there, each one going his way; most of them to their homes. A few of them I never met again, while some returned and worked in the same outfit in '66.

This outfit, I will proceed to relate, loaded up at the North Platte, the western terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad. Our destination was Fort Laramie and we made two round trips there. This season was uneventful, as far as we were concerned, although the Sioux were killing and scalping the pale-faces everywhere. It seemed that we were immuned from molestation. I cannot account for it in any other way than this: the size of our outfit, and the method of handling it.

The owner of the outfit was an old frontiersman. For fifteen years prior to this time he had been on the plains and understood the ways and methods of the Red Man. He would never camp on low ground surrounded by hills and would always see that the drivers kept their guns and ammunition on the outside of their wagons, so they could reach them on the spur of the moment. All camp-fires had to be out at dark whenever possible, and corral guards on. The Indians would

watch these trains for days, to note their maneuvers, and were wise enough to see which were on their guard and which were careless and showed no system in their movements.

In 1867, the Union Pacific Railroad had reached Julesburg. We loaded up there for Fort Phil Kearney, then right in the heart of the Sioux hunting grounds, and in spite of all precautions, we were attacked five times. The Reds were resisting all and any invasion of this, their favorite territory, by the White Man.

On this trip we had reached the crossing of the Cheyenne River on the new Overland Route to California, and had camped on a flat on the north side. We had an escort of thirty-five soldiers from Fort Fetterman, and they had six mule teams. They always corraled close up to us. The mules had been grained, then hobbled, and were grazing about three hundred yards away. The Indians had approached just as near as they could without being observed, then charged on the mules, whooping and yelling, intending to stampede them and take them on a run. But, of course, the mules could only move slowly on account of the hobbles. I happened to be working by the lead wagon and yelled, "Indians!" reached for my gun and ran towards the mules. It was only a moment, it seemed, until the soldiers and our men were there, shooting as they came. The Redskins did not hesitate about going, but went as quickly as they had come. We ran after them, still shooting, as long as they were within range. They got no mules that time. That was such an easy victory, we thought we could whip the whole Sioux tribe. But wait a bit; there is another tale to tell.

Proceeding on west to Fort Reno to Crazy Woman Creek, a few days later, the road ran through a canyon two miles long. Seventeen teams had entered this narrow defile, when we were attacked. I do not know how many Indians there were, but it was estimated to be around three thousand. The hills were covered with them, besides hundreds of ponies circling in a swift run, loading their rifles at the same time.

When reaching the closest part of the circle to us, they would fire into or at the nine wagons, which had been cut off from the main body. Upon the explosion of their guns they would throw themselves over the side of the ponies, so they could not be seen from the outside. I was riding well up towards the front when the unearthly yell was given, or rather heard. I knew that some of the soldiers were in the rear, but I rallied some of our best men and went back to relieve the men there. There was a constant roar of firearms from the hillsides, where the enemy was concealed behind rocks and ditches, along with the firing of those mounted. Part of the force I had with me happened to be ex-Rebel

soldiers, and they did great execution. We could not help but cheer when we saw those warriors and their ponies fall. When it began to look gloomy for the painted faces, their big medicine man, in order I suppose to encourage his braves, left the main body and charged up within a hundred yards of us. A sergeant and I were standing close together. We both fired. The rider and horse fell dead, and the fight was over.

There was another big freight train just ahead of us with a Captain in command. They had a piece of heavy artillery. He was well aware that we were in a bad place and would have a difficult time in releasing ourselves, so he started three mule teams, with just enough grain in the wagon to stop a bullet, twenty-five men, and the big gun. When the Indians saw them coming, part of them left us and attacked the soldiers. When the redskins would charge, the others would bunch their wagons, using them for protection. They would pour a few volleys into them and drive the enemy off. Finally they reached us.

It was about eight o'clock in the evening, and we had been fighting for six hours, with no show whatever of releasing ourselves. We were being surrounded. The grass was on fire, and they were shooting arrows into the air, which fell on our cattle and men. When an arrow would land on a bull's back he would bawl and try to break away. It would have required but little more to have stampeded the whole of them.

We surely felt relieved upon the approach of reinforcements with the mortar. They immediately elevated it towards the hills. It was only a few minutes until the Indians could be heard giving orders and retiring to safety.

We got things straightened up, pulled out, and traveled all night. We lost several steers. Three horses and three soldiers were wounded. They all recovered. It seemed to me that there was shooting enough to kill a million but the Indians are poor marksmen; neither are they brave. In the first place they select their own battle ground and never were known to be successful in any undertaking, except by having forty or fifty to one.

We arrived at Fort Phil Kearney without any further mishap, and after unloading the supplies, the owner of the outfit was offered great inducements to remain at the Fort and haul saw logs and hay for the winter's use; which he did, along with the proprietor of another freighter that had arrived. I was given charge of twenty-four teams to haul logs with which to make lumber for the erection of more suitable buildings, as they were living in tents and pine pole shacks at this time. I could use only one-half of the teams, having to change at noon each day; the Commander of our guard or escort

would not allow us to leave our stock out to graze at night, on account of the great danger from raids on the herd by Indians, who were constantly hovering around us. We could see their fires, and hear the beating of their Tom Toms of a night and did not attempt to go anywhere, not even to water the stock without a guard. Upon going into the timber to load the logs, we were surrounded by a guard of soldiers.

On the other hand, think what that wily old Chief Red Cloud accomplished! He maintained an army of three thousand men all summer, subsisting by the chase. If they had known their power, there would not have been one white man escape the scalping knife.

Twisted buffalo hide, instead of steel, was used for cables in the 1860's when the ferry was first operated at the crossing of the North Platte River, about 8 miles from Saratoga. The stage station at the crossing was known as the North Platte Station.

It is recorded that the Ford Restaurant, operating in Cheyenne in October, 1867, was doing business estimated to average \$1000.00 a day. Meals were \$1.00.

The two daughters of Ben Holladay, owner of the Overland Stage Company, and a familiar figure in what is now Wyoming, each married a French Count.

The thousands of circles on the western prairies which appeared every spring were called by travelers "Fairy rings." They were formed during the buffalo calving period. The buffalo bulls, in order to keep off the gray wolves that singly or in great packs hunted over the prairies, formed regular beats to guard the cows. In walking these beats the bulls made circular paths in the new grass.

About twenty-five per cent of the skilled glass workers employed at the Laramie Glass Works in 1887, were Belgians.

One version of how Chugwater received its name has to do with the driving of a buffalo herd over a cliff. Another version, which appears in the Cheyenne Leader of July 19, 1877, says that a pair of trappers took a young Frenchman, who had never seen a beaver, to the mountains. While the men were encamped along a stream "a beaver, which was in the creek near them, began lifting its tail and striking the water thus: Chug, Chug. The tenderfoot listened in amazement and finally said: 'Sacre Dieu! Chugwater!' and the stream has born the euphonious name ever since."

The Rudefeha

The "RUDEFEHA" or Ferris-Haggarty Mine at Grand Encampment was the miner's dream realized—the copper bonanza of Wyoming. In his unpublished notes C. G. Coutant makes the following report of the discovery and early processing at the mine.

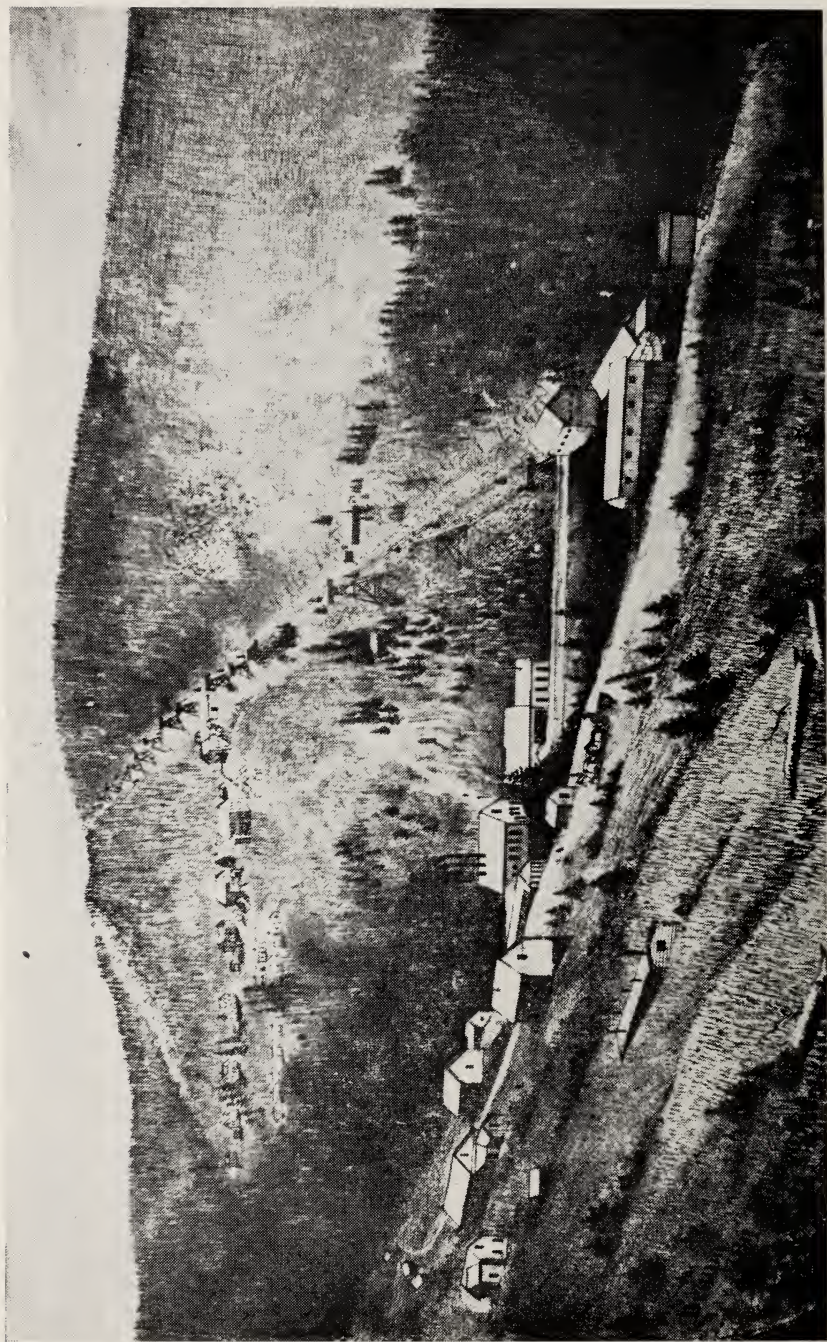
"Ed Haggarty, a poor prospector and sheep herder has suddenly become a copper king, with a mine that even now, in its infancy (March, 1899) is shipping more than ten thousand dollars worth of copper ore a week; and is believed to have at least three hundred thousand dollars worth of the red metal already in sight after only three months of actual mining work.

"It is only another instance of where the fickle goddess of fortune left ajar the door of one of nature's strong boxes, and Ed Haggarty awoke from the alluring dreams of a prospector to find himself the possessor of a vault of copper ore richer by five times than the ore of the famous Anaconda Mine, of Butte, Montana, and twenty times richer than the average yield of the greatest copper mines of northern Michigan. This is in brief the story of Ed Haggarty and his 'RUDEFEHA' copper mine, of Grand Encampment, Wyoming—a story that is already electrifying the western mining world; for the 'RUDEFEHA' is believed to be the richest copper strike ever made in this country.

"It is the first really great discovery of copper made in a new district in years, and with the price of copper steadily advancing a great copper mine has become more desirable in the miners' eyes, than the richest of golden bonanzas.

"A few months ago the western slope of Copper Mountain in the Sierra Madre range of southern Wyoming, was an uninhabited wild, save by elk, deer, bear, wolves and mountain lions—today, it is the seat of Wyoming's greatest mining activity; where the wand of the miners' pick and shovel has already brought to the light the richest copper prospect in the world.

"A shaft eighty-five feet in depth—a drift of forty feet at a fifty foot level, and another of fifty feet at an eight foot level—a vein of copper ore averaging over seven feet in width, and yielding at Chicago and Denver smelters thirty-three and one-half per cent in copper, a dollar and ninety-six cents in gold and one ounce in silver to the ton in carload shipments—all this has enabled Ed Haggarty to sail for a visit to his home at Cumberland, England, with \$30,000 in the bank to his credit,



The "RUDEFEHA" or Ferris-Haggarty Mine from a pen and ink sketch by Merritt D. Houghton

with which to administer comfort to an aged father and mother whom he has not before seen in 14 years.

"During the early part of October, the first wagon load of the 'RUDEFEHA' ore was hauled over the mountains to Ft. Steele, on the Union Pacific Railroad, a distance of 60 miles from the mine. Other wagon loads of the ore followed quickly until a car containing $14\frac{1}{4}$ tons of 'RUDEFEHA' copper ore was sent to the Chicago Copper Refining Company's smelters at Blue Island in Chicago. This ore was largely surface, but the $14\frac{1}{4}$ tons brought a check of \$664.00 above all transportation charges. This first shipment averaged 33.18% copper; but no return was made by the smelter for either the gold or silver.

"After this shipment the force of men working at the mine was increased from 8 to 27, and other carloads of ore were shipped rapidly to the Chicago smelter, all showing copper returns of about $33\frac{1}{2}\%$, the ore getting richer with depth.

"Six or eight carloads of ore have been shipped to Denver, and run through the Argo Smelter, the ore averaging a little more than $33\frac{1}{2}\%$ pure copper to the ton. The last carload shipped to the Argo Smelter ran 35% copper, \$2.00 in gold and one ounce of silver to the ton. For this carload a check for \$1435 was received.

"The story of Ed Haggarty and the discovery of the 'RUDEFEHA' mine is plain but alluring. Haggarty began prospecting, as he says, because he had never been able to save a cent while working for wages. The first mining work that he ever did was at Cripple Creek in 1894, but his first prospecting was at Sandstone, about 10 miles from this place, where he took several claims and spent what money he had in doing the assessment work upon them.

"In the fall of 1896 he succeeded in getting John Rumsey, Robert Deal and George Ferris, three Wyoming men, to grub stake him and he came to Grand Encampment, locating here two claims near the Kurtz-Chatterton copper mine.

"In the spring of 1897 he again went over to Sandstone to do the assessment work on his claims and it was while on this journey that he first saw the 'prospect' that has since made him both a fortune and a reputation as a miner. On this journey Haggarty was accompanied by several copper miners from Douglas Mountain, Colorado. The party camped for a few days at Battle Lake, near the top of the continental divide about 12 miles from this place. One of these mining men told Haggarty that he was looking for red, spongy iron ore at surface, as he considered it to be a much surer indication of copper than the green copper stains for which most prospectors looked. Haggarty thought over this suggestion,

and concluded that he would not rashly overlook a prospect of red, spongy iron ore, but at the first opportunity would try to demonstrate either the truth or falsehood of the old miner's theory.

"On the morning of June 20th, 1897, he left the camp and headed for a big quartzite dyke some three or four miles away, plainly visible at that distance on account of its immense size. Although it was in the latter part of June, Haggarty was unable to reach this dyke as the snow had not left that side of the mountain. He accordingly turned out along the side of the mountain where the snow had nearly disappeared. In crossing one bare place he found some of this red, spongy iron ore, described by the miner. He made a note of the place but did not stake out a claim as the ground there was too much covered with snow to permit any accuracy in determining the direction of the lead.

"After returning from Sandstone, where he found his claims worthless, he went over to the camp of a friend, a sheep herder on Battle Creek, to prospect. On July 25th, he tried again to reach the white quartzite dyke, for which a month before he had wallowed in vain. The snow now having disappeared he again crossed the place where he had before found the red iron. He discovered that tons of the iron ore had rolled down the mountain side and that the quality of the iron answered the description of the Douglas Mountain copper miner. On closer examination of the ore he found a few pieces of it had sulphide ore stained green in places with copper. This confirmed him in the belief that the red iron is an indication of the existence of copper.

"Haggarty at once set up a location stake, erected a monument, and thus took possession, by law, of a twenty acre tract of mining land, which he christened in his location notice as the 'RUDEFEHA' lode mining claim, the name being composed of the two first letters of the name of each of the partners—Rumsey, Deal, Ferris and Haggarty. A few days later he began a more thorough prospecting of the claim with the view of finding the lead from which the iron ore had been eroded. After about a month of work he located the vein in place and discovered in it the red oxide of copper, although not in any paying quantities.

"Haggarty was now convinced that he had at least a copper prospect worth working, and he appealed to his partners to work the claim during the winter. Ferris and Deal were both willing, but Rumsey was afraid the ground was not worth the spending of more money and his one fourth interest was purchased for one thousand dollars by Ferris. Owing to this difficulty in creating harmony among the partners, Haggarty concluded to abandon the property until the

next summer, he having already sunk two twelve foot holes upon it in prospecting. He then hired out to a man north of Rawlins as a sheep herder in order that he might make his expenses until spring opened up.

"On May 20th, 1898, Haggarty joined a party going to Battle Lake. After leaving this place some seven miles the snow was found too deep to permit further progress without shoveling and the party went to work and cleared a passage through snow averaging over four feet in depth for nearly five miles. Haggarty packed his outfit near his claims, but could not reach them on account of the depth of the snow. Not until the latter part of June was he able to find a barren place large enough on which to pitch a tent. Haggarty then made locations on four claims adjoining the 'RUDEFEHA' and proceeded to trench on the original vein, finding it in place. He traced it far up the hill, the vein being about five feet in width at the bottom of the trench. He next began to sink a shaft so as to catch the vein on the dip, it pitching a few degrees from the vertical. In this shaft he sunk through 35 feet of quartzite and quartz, cutting two or three very small veins of good looking ore. At a depth of thirty feet he struck the original vein. This was on August 25th, and Ed Haggarty for the first time in his life felt certain that his career of poverty had forever ended. A large part of the vein was still oxidized showing atmospheric action, but the ore was very rich. At this depth a heavy flow of water entered the shaft and Haggarty came to Grand Encampment to get mining supplies, including a whim for hoisting the water. While he was away on this trip, Ferris went into the hills to see the property and he in turn was so elated at the prospect that he instructed Haggarty to cut a wagon road up to the mine and prepare for more extensive operations. Supplies were then hauled in by the wagon load, and eight men on September 17th cut the first logs for the shaft, ore, bunk and mess houses, while by September 25th the work in the mine had been resumed and the whim was hauling out the water.

"Owing to the great depth of snow covering the mountains of the continental divide the mine is now being worked under almost Alaskan difficulties. The ore at present is being hauled on sleds to Grand Encampment and here transferred to ore wagons and sent on to the Union Pacific Railroad 50 miles away. Only a small force of men can as yet be kept at work as the development is still too meager to permit more extensive operations. Improved machinery for the equipment of the mine has been purchased, and great things are practically assured in the future of the 'RUDEFEHA'."

From this bright beginning the "RUDEFEHA" had a rough and struggling career beset on all sides by the ogres of inadequate transportation and financing. In 1898 Willis George Emerson, a mining financier of Wyoming, undertook the management of the Ferris-Haggarty Company and in 1902 the mine was purchased by the North American Copper Company, an eastern mining enterprise. By 1903 the North American Copper Company had purchased and enlarged the Encampment Reduction Works and had built an aerial tramway from the Ferris-Haggarty to Encampment. The report of the State Geologist for 1904 includes the following description of the tramway:

"The tramway is one of the most important works in this region and is sixteen miles in length, divided into four sections with three auxiliary power stations. These stations are equipped with power plants, etc., to facilitate the operation of the line. Three hundred and four towers, with tension stations at intervals, are used to support the cables, which moving at an average speed of four miles an hour, with buckets holding 700 pounds of ore each, are capable of delivering 984 tons of ore per day. The towers are placed at an average distance of 200 feet apart on regular ground, but owing to the rough and varied nature of some of the intervening ground, it had been necessary to use some longer spans, as at the Cow Creek crossings, where the spans are 2,000 and 2,200 feet long and on adjacent summits it was necessary to place a number of towers close together, for obvious reasons. The terminal stations at the mine and smelter are equipped with automatic landing, filling and dumping arrangements, and sufficient storage capacity is provided to insure a supply of ore in case of a breakdown in the mine or on the line."

The same report of the State Geologist in referring to the Ferris-Haggarty mine states:

"This is the main producing property of the district, has produced over \$1,400,000.00 since it was opened up and is the main source of ore supply for the Encampment smelter.

"The vein is a contact deposit between schist and quartzite showing a series of ore bodies varying in length up to 250 feet and in width from fifteen to forty feet; the ore is bornite and chalcopyrite and the grade varies from 35 to 40 per cent shipping ore to a six and eight per cent concentrating ore, the later predominating.

"Originally the property was worked by shaft and hoist, but a working tunnel has been run in at the lowest practicable level (giving about 500 feet depth on the dip of the vein) and complete plant installed at the mouth of the tunnel. The ore is stoped out by machine drills, thrown into chutes, run

to the tunnel level and hauled out by compressed air haulage, seven cars to a train, run directly into the tramway ore bins and thence to the smelter sixteen miles away.

"A hoist has been installed at the tunnel level and a winze sunk below this level, where drifts are being run on the ore and an active campaign opened for the production of ore during the season, which usually opens about May and closes December 15th following."

In April 1905 the Penn-Wyoming Company purchased the North American Copper Company and immediately began plans for the enlargement of the smelter and the construction of a railroad connection with the Union Pacific main line. The first attempt at the short line railroad was made by the Saratoga and Encampment Railway Company, a corporation financed by Wyoming capital and operating with Fenimore Chatterton as its president. The corporation was organized in 1905 and in 1906 the Penn-Wyoming Company with the aid of English capital took over the Saratoga and Encampment railroad. In July 1908 the road arrived at Grand Encampment. By this time the drop in copper prices and the losses suffered by the Penn-Wyoming Company in their smelter fires were having a serious effect on copper production.

On March 28th, 1906, the Penn-Wyoming Company suffered its greatest setback in the complete destruction by fire of the concentrating mill, a loss of \$500,000.00 which was never recouped. Plans were immediately made to rebuild with a modern steam power plant but the delay in construction caused the plant to be closed for an entire year. However, even while the smelter was closed work continued at the Ferris-Haggarty and the ore was carried by the tramway as long as the weather permitted during the fall and winter of 1906-1907, so that a sufficient supply would be on hand when the new smelter was put into operation.

In May of 1907 a portion of the old smelter again burned but the loss was compensated for by a rich strike at the Ferris-Haggarty in July. However, by October the price of copper had dropped to such a degree that operations were slowed down at the smelter for a period of time and finally stopped in December of 1908.

The Penn-Wyoming Company sold all of their holdings including the Ferris-Haggarty mine to the United Smelters, Railway and Copper Company in February, 1909 for \$10,000,000.00, which amount was over and above a \$750,000.00 mortgage still outstanding against the Ferris-Haggarty. By the fall of 1910 the United Smelters, Railway and Copper Company was in bankruptcy and the original stockholders of the Penn-Wyoming Company filed an intervening suit to obtain control of the Ferris-Haggarty and the reduction works. The

litigation was lengthy and the entire plant was idle for a number of years. By the time the suits were settled the price of copper was so low that it was considered inadvisable to commence operations and the "RUDEFEHA" never was given an opportunity to prove she was a second Anaconda.

WHAT ONE DOLLAR WILL BUY

- 3 large china dolls
- 2 boy's tool sets in chestnut box
- 10 velvet frames, nickle trimmed
- 1 ladies Queen Anne rocking chair
- 1 gent's parlor giant chair
- 1 child's veneered folding chair
- 1 boy's or girl's extra good sled
- 2 ladies shopping bags
- 8 all linen towels
- 1 fine plush album nickle trimmings
- 7 silk handkerchiefs
- 2 gent's extra heavy undershirts or drawers
- 2 ladies extra heavy undershirts or drawers
- 4 children's extra heavy undershirts or drawers
- 5 pairs heavy all wool socks
- 3 pairs ladies cashmere winter hose
- 4 pairs children's all wool hose all sizes
- 1 ladies quilted skirt
- 1 child's hand knitted all wool skirt
- 10 yards satin ribbon No. 9
- 7 pounds very good cotton batting
- 25 yards best prints
- 20 ladies handkerchiefs
- 24 children's handkerchiefs
- 1 pair gent's California pants
- 2 pairs boy's pants
- 1 pair girl's school shoes
- 1 pair boy's school shoes
- 1 pair gent's heavy working shoes
- 1 pair ladies buttoned shoes
- 1 gent's fine dress shirt and silk tie
- 1 pair gent's Christmas slippers
- and a million and one other choice bargains, too numerous to mention, to be had only at the AMERICAN BARGAIN HOUSE.

Reminiscences of Fourscore Years and Eight

By MRS. NORA G. DUNN*

In the stillness of the room, the clock on the mantle poured a soft musical chime announcing the quarter hour. In her chair by the window, Mrs. Margaret Hunter moved her head slightly in a listening pose and over her face spread a rapt look. As the stillness settled again she spoke softly, "My son gave me the clock. My grandson comes regularly to wind it."

Silently she faced the window seeing things visible only to herself. Despite her eighty-eight years and the handicap of physical disability, the result of a recent fall, she is agile of mind and keenly interested in the happenings connected with her friends, church, and community. Turning from the window with an ingratiating smile, she began the reminiscences set forth in the following pages.

"As Margaret Thomson, daughter of Thomas Thomson and Martha (Henderson) Thomson, I was born April 20, 1848 at Dalkeith, Scotland. When still a schoolgirl, I fell in love with Colin Hunter, a youth of my own age, and even then we planned our marriage. But youths in Scotland must learn a trade, and in doing so they must serve several years apprenticeship. So Colin, born May 3, 1848, in Fowls Wester, near Crieff, Perthshire, Scotland, worked faithfully and diligently for many months. The end of his apprenticeship was drawing near, when the master of the shop died, and for want of someone to run it, the business was closed. It mattered not that Colin had served the master well. He had not finished his training, and there was no one to sign his apprenticeship papers.

"It was a disheartening situation. To begin all over again in a new shop was the only solution, if he remained in Scotland. When one is seventeen, time passes slowly and he was impatient to begin earning money. Opportunities at home seemed few, but he had heard that America was a land of many opportunities and he longed to try his luck in new places.

*Nora Gattis Dunn was born in Missouri. She received her education in the schools of Campbell, Missouri and married R. L. Dunn in 1912. In 1922 she came to Cheyenne where she has resided since. Mrs. Dunn is actively interested in history and historical writing and while employed by the State Historical Project she conducted the interview with Mrs. Hunter, a portion of which is printed above. She now resides with her one daughter, Mrs. Ernest Nimmo, at their ranch on Little Bear.



Colin Hunter Home

"In 1865, at the age of seventeen, with fifty dollars, all his father could give him, Colin Hunter bade me good-bye and set sail for the United States of America. When leaving, he promised to come back for me as soon as he could make a place for himself in America and to keep me informed of his progress by letter. He landed in New Orleans. His first job there was digging a grave. The climate did not agree with him, and he became sick with malaria. He headed north and then west. He secured work on the Union Pacific Railroad which was being built westward. The work was laying ties, shoveling dirt for the road bed, and helping around the supply wagons.

"Two years after he landed in America, he reached Wyoming Territory. The Union Pacific track forged steadily westward in spite of Indian hazard and other hardships until it reached Cheyenne. Then the workmen were informed that building operations would be suspended for several months due to money shortage. Colin Hunter found himself without a job and facing the long severe months of a Wyoming winter. But opportunities are usually open for those who are on the alert and he obtained employment with Dan McUlván and worked for him until he was ready to go into business for himself.

"Cheyenne in 1867 was a city of tents, but being the terminus of the railroad it held a place of importance. Freight hauling from the railroad to points north, west, and south was a thriving business, and that was the field Colin Hunter entered. In partnership with Cush Abbott, he bought a couple of bull teams, some ponderous wagons, and other equipment necessary for hauling heavy freight. One of these bull teams he drove regularly to Fort Laramie. Usually all trips were made in company with other teams—the more the better—as protection against redskins, but occasionally a driver would find it necessary to make a trip to some point alone.

"On one such occasion, Colin Hunter was out when an unusually severe blizzard came swooping down. It soon became impossible to keep the team in the trail so he wisely decided to make camp. After feeding the oxen and making the customary precautions to keep them from straying, he took refuge under the wagon. The food he had with him he ate cold, for it was impossible to build a fire in such a storm. The following day the storm showed no signs of abating, and he found caring for the oxen an almost impossible task. His own food was giving out, and his place under the wagon was far from comfortable, but to leave its comparative safety would have been foolhardy. The air was so filled with snow that it was impossible to see farther than a few feet. Landmarks were blotted out and all sense of direction was lost. So the second night found him still under the wagon with

only a few scraps to eat. The third day the storm was still raging. Drifts were piled to unbelievable depths, and he was no longer able to care for the oxen. Whether or not they could find feed through the snow, he did not know, but he turned them loose to shift for themselves as best they could. His own food was gone and he considered making an attempt to reach some ranch house but decided finally not to take the risk. So, cold and hungry, he crawled back to his place under the wagon.

"Near the end of the third day the storm lifted and he battled his way through the drifts to the nearest house, two or three miles from the wagons. There he found warmth but very little food; though they gladly shared with him the best they had. Their best proved to be only bread and onions, but even bread and onions are a banquet if one is sufficiently hungry, and Colin Hunter was hungry.

"When Hunter and Abbott had been freighting about three years, they bought one hundred head of cattle and ran them near Chimney Rock on Chugwater Creek. In the beginning the cattle were a sort of side line to the freighting, but later cattle proved to be the best business venture. In time the freighting equipment was sold to John Hunton. The partners then went into the cattle business in a big way and devoted all their time to it. Montana offered plenty of free range so that is where they went. Cattle wearing their YT brand increased steadily.

"Of all these changes and of his plans and hopes, Colin Hunter kept me informed, though the phrases, terms and conditions described were foreign to anything I had ever encountered. His letters bore strange messages indeed. I found it difficult to imagine such snow storms as the one which kept him under the wagon for three days and made him glad to get onions and bread to eat. Also, I saw no reason why he should ride through the long hours of the night and sing to the cattle so they would sleep. Night-herding he called it, but it seemed to me that his own rest was far more important. Though I was told by letter of many incidents in his work and life, it was only after I came to America that I could realize and appreciate the hazards met and overcome.

"Once when YT cattle were on the trail from Montana to market, probably to Omaha, they found the Platte river frozen over. The ice had to be broken before the cattle could cross. Colin Hunter was in the water, or at least in wet clothing for such a length of time that he suffered from rheumatism for months.

"On another occasion when he was stopping at a hotel in Sundance, Wyoming, a cloudburst unleashed so much water in such a short time that everything was flooded. The hotel

was swept away and the occupants barely had time to reach safety. There was no loss of life but property damage was heavy. Mr. Hunter, helping with the salvage, was the last man to leave the hotel. As the building was swept away a dog and cat stood on the porch eyeing the muddy torrent and refusing to brave the cold swift current. He often wondered whether they escaped.

"The cattle business grew steadily but required his constant attention, so, though he knew I waited, and though he wanted me here, it was several years before he could make the trip back to Scotland for me.

"At last the time of the wedding was set for Christmas, 1879. But the wedding did not come off as scheduled, for Martha (Henderson) Thomson became ill and died. The wedding was postponed, for in Scotland nothing is allowed to intrude on the privacy of a family mourning.

"Over there, pall-bearers are selected from among the nearest relatives, and they always walk the entire distance from the house to the burial plot. That is directly opposite to the custom here in America. Also, in Scotland, the women members of the family do not follow the casket to the cemetery, not even when a wife is burying her husband. Neither do friends call on bereaved families before a funeral, considering it an intrusion. Calls of condolence are made later.

"Since Colin Hunter had come such a long way for this wedding and since he could not leave his business in America for too long a period, the ceremony was performed on February 17, 1880. We went to Belfast, Ireland, for our wedding tour. On our return to Edinburgh, the home of my parents, we busily set about preparations for the trip to America. There were wedding gifts to be packed and many other things to be selected that would help to make our new home more comfortable.

"At last, good-byes were said, and we sailed on the S. S. *Anchovia*, under the command of Captain Small. Good weather held all the way over, and the entire fourteen days on the sea were very pleasant.

"In May, 1880, we reached Cheyenne, and none of the tales I had been told quite prepared me for the things I found in this still wild Wyoming. Perhaps it would better express it to say things I did not find; for there were no trees, no birds, no lights, no walks, in fact, no improvements. That is true of any newly settled place, I suppose, but I could not help wondering what the conditions must have been when my husband first came.

"Only one house in town had trees, it was on the corner of Seventeenth Street and Central Avenue and they were not trees as we knew them in Scotland. There were a few nice

houses on Carey Avenue, called Ferguson then, but it all looked very wild to me.

"When someone remarked that due to the purity and thinness of the air, one could see tremendous distances, I replied what good to see long distances if there is nothing to see?

"But I had come here prepared to stay and stay I would, even if one of my first experiences after leaving the train was quite terrifying. We were walking east on Sixteenth street toward rooms we had rented in the five hundred block. As we were passing a small white house, a gun fired and immediately afterward came the most terrifying screams I had ever heard. They were loud enough to carry quite a distance, and in a very short time people came running from all directions. They soon learned that a small boy had accidentally shot himself while playing with a gun, and at sight of the blood and in fear for the child's life, the mother had become hysterical. The boy, son of I. R. Alter, was not seriously injured and soon recovered, but I could hear those screams for days.

"Later Mr. Alter erected a ten room brick house on the site where the small white house had been, (302 East Sixteenth Street). Later still, about 1884, Colin Hunter purchased that brick house, moved his family into it, and for fifty-two years it has been my home. At the time of the purchase of this property, the Burlington Railway Company promised to make a park on the diagonal corner, where the Pacific Fruit building now stands, but they failed to keep that promise.

"The first place we owned in Cheyenne was a small house in the five hundred block east. It was purchased from William W. Corlett, one of the most able lawyers Wyoming has known. Later, Corlett school was named for him.

"I believe I was the first woman to wear a formal dinner gown in Cheyenne. Shortly after my arrival here, a dance was sponsored by the Masonic Lodge. It was hailed as the most festive affair of the season, and immediately I was concerned over the question of what to wear. I consulted my husband, and he, manlike, answered that anything would do. I chose a pale blue cashmere with a long train and a low-cut back. It was not entirely backless as is common today, but as low as was considered proper at that time. Special attention was given to the dressing of my hair that it, too, should do justice to the occasion.

"When we arrived at the ball, Mr. Hunter took one look through the door, then stated anxiously, 'Maggie, you aren't dressed right.' As I stood taking in the fact that every woman present was attired in street clothes—even to hats and in many cases coats as well—Mr. Hunter added, 'We can't go in there.' Of course, that was the very time any

woman *would* go in. And how everyone stared. I was the only bareheaded woman present, but I knew I looked well, so I enjoyed it.

"The very next number was a Highland Schottische, and Andrew Gilchrist asked me to dance it with him. I pulled the train loop over my hand and we swung into the rhythm. Not another person moved from the wall, and we danced through the entire number, the only couple on the floor.

"After that, a regular epidemic of evening clothes swept the town. They were worn at the worst times imaginable.

"Wyoming weather frequently uses the month of May in which to dump snow, in amazing amounts, over the landscape. The May of my arrival was no exception, and during one of these storms my husband became ill. There was no telephone whereby I could call a doctor and no one in the house to send, so while the storm lasted, I used home remedies to the best of my ability. By the time the sun came out my husband was better, but the supply of medicine was exhausted. Too anxious over the matter to await a chance messenger, I donned my heaviest clothing and set off for the nearest drug store, a distance of six or eight blocks. I never forgot that experience. Snowdrifts were piled up almost waist high. In places it was impossible to get around, so I had to flounder through them as best I could. It seemed miles instead of blocks, and I was nearly exhausted by the time I reached home again.

"In making the acquaintance of my husband's friends and business associates, I found that many of them had Indian wives. Among these were E. W. Whitcomb, whom I knew over a long period of years, and John Hunton, business partner of Colin Hunter.

"Aside from my church work, I had very few social activities. I devoted most of my time to my home, husband, and two sons, James Thomson Hunter, born November 19, 1881, and Thomas Thomson Hunter, born August 15, 1883.

"In 1884, I returned to Scotland to visit my family and display with pride my two small sons. Baby Tom was only nine months old and easily kept in hand, but James, being three, was eager to investigate any and all things in sight. However, the trip was being made with Captain Small on the *Anchovia*, with whom the first trip was made, and I felt I was among friends.

"This trip, though mainly for the pleasure of seeing relatives and friends, was used also as a shopping trip. Among the items brought back were two pairs of portieres, guaranteed moth-proof and fadeless, which were purchased in London to adorn the windows and wide door of the front parlor in

the brick house at 302 East Sixteenth Street, which we had recently purchased.

"These portieres hang in the house today, their wine color softened perhaps by their fifty-two years of service, but still intact and still beautiful.

"About 1889, Mr. Hunter sold out his interest in the YT cattle in Montana. Before many weeks, however, he was again in the cattle business. This time his ranch was on Chugwater Creek and he used the brand TY.

"In 1890, the children and I again returned to Scotland for a visit and this time too, passage was booked with Captain Small on the *Anchovia*. The time required for crossing in good weather had, by that date, been cut down considerably, and we looked forward to a speedy trip. However, we encountered stormy weather and the crossing required eleven days. We had to stay below decks the entire time, and due to the difficulty of standing, spent most of it in our cabin. The first night out, our trunk broke from its moorings and through the remainder of the night the tossing of the ship kept it shifting from wall to bunk and back again. Needless to say those were unpleasant hours, but the crew soon had everything battened down and things were made as comfortable as possible for the passengers. It had been six years since my last trip and I looked forward with pleasurable anticipation to a lengthy visit.

"As a young woman I thought the climate and everything else about Scotland ideal. That was because it was home, I suppose. But in 1890, after ten years of Wyoming, I found it far from ideal. There was too much rain and too much fog. It was impossible to drive the dampness even from the house and outside things were soaked.

"Then, too, everything seemed so slow. I tried to speed things up but without success. They had no more patience with me and my speed than I had with them and their lack of it.

"We even seemed to speak a different language, and the children's vocabularies were a source of constant wonder to the folks there.

"One day my father asked, 'What is a buller?' I didn't understand what he meant. He then explained that James, my elder son, spoke of his father as a buller. I laughed and said that James had his expressions mixed. What he meant was that his father was a bullwhacker. But the term *bullwhacker* was foreign to their understanding, so it, too, had to be explained. That was our last visit back there, and when it ended I knew definitely that my future lay in Wyoming.

"A few years later, Captain Small and the *Anchovia* were hit by a storm and swept miles off their course. They were six weeks overdue when they finally made port. Their

food had given out, and the crew and passengers were in a pitiful state from illness and starvation. Captain Small broke under the strain and shortly afterwards became insane. We were much grieved to hear of it, for we were very fond of Captain Small. All our passages had been on the *Anchovia*. We felt an interest in its fate.

“When we reached Wyoming again it had changed its status from territory to state and had approved woman suffrage. All the women were plunged into politics and suddenly questions regarding sheriffs, taxes and politics could no longer be pushed off on to the shoulders of men. A political meeting was scheduled, and when Mrs. Theresa Jenkins stood up to make a speech, she forgot to hand the baby to someone else to hold. Mrs. Agnes Metcalf was that baby.

“When election day rolled around, Mr. Hellman stopped in and asked me to go and vote for him. I was busy making pies and hadn’t intended voting, but after all Mr. Hellman was a neighbor and also a very good friend of my husband’s. So I pushed my pies aside, removed my apron, and tidied myself up a bit. Then I got into the buggy with Mr. Hellman and he drove me to the polls. Well, I voted and as we turned to leave we came face to face with my husband. When I explained to him that I had just voted for Mr. Hellman, I thought he would have a fit.

“You see, my husband was a staunch Democrat and one of the leaders in his party, and there I had just voted for a Republican. He was never so humiliated in all his life, he told me.

“Then I said he should have explained those things to me if they were so important, for he knew I had never done any voting in Scotland. So you see my first adventure in politics was not exactly a success. Mr. Hunter always took his politics very seriously, and once lost his beard on an election bet. He was a member of the last territorial Legislature.

“Then for a few years, it was not only politics that kept the women interested and busy. With Wyoming joining the states, Cheyenne was thrown into the limelight socially. I knew the families of both Governor Warren and Governor Carey quite well. There is far more pomp and display at social affairs in this country than in the old country. I have seen Queen Victoria and Queen Mary many times. They were always plainly and quietly dressed.

“About 1900, the property and cattle on Chugwater Creek were sold and several hundred acres on Little Horse Creek bought. The Hunter brand then was changed to JG and so it remains today.

"When Theodore Roosevelt became President, a bill requiring the fencing of property was passed. Consequently sixty miles of fence had to be built on the Hunter land. Fencing did away with the necessity of covering so many miles at spring and fall round-ups, but it seemed to bring other disadvantages. With the advent of comparative confinement, came such diseases as sleeping sickness and Bangs disease to damage the herds. In the parlance of old timers, ranching was no longer what it used to be. Barbed wire and nesters were ruining the country.

"Though my husband was of necessity an outdoor man and spent most of his time on his different ranches, I never learned to ride horseback or to take any part in ranch life. With the children, I frequently spent a few days on the ranch during school vacations, but such sojourns were always in the nature of visits.

"As the time drew near when young James should enter school, it was decided, on the advice of a doctor, to take him to a lower altitude. James was a delicate child due to some disorder of the heart. A school in San Antonio, Texas, was selected and so for the nine months of the school term, 1898-1899, I was away from Cheyenne.

"Texas seemed to agree with James, so each succeeding year he returned there until his education was completed. He was graduated from West Texas Military Academy. Four years later he succumbed to a heart attack and was buried in Lakeview Cemetery in Cheyenne.

"Tom, my younger son, went to Texas for his first school term, but afterward objected so strenuously to being sent away from home that he was allowed to attend the public school here. Central School was the only one here and only the main body of the building was standing at that time. Later the wings were erected to take care of the added number of pupils. Tom received his entire grade schooling at Central. One of his teachers was Mrs. Anna Tewel, a niece of the late Mrs. Larry Bresnahan.

"After being graduated from the Cheyenne schools Tom attended Colorado College, in Colorado Springs, where he graduated. Then he studied law in Denver University. While in Colorado Springs he met and married Ruhamah Mary Aitken, July 24, 1912. I have two grandsons, James Colin, born January 30, 1915 and Richard Thomas, born December 9, 1921.

"On August 30, 1916, my husband, Colin Hunter, died at the age of sixty-eight. He had been a successful business man and left a substantial estate. Tom assumed all the responsibility connected with his father's estate.

"I still had much of which to be proud and grateful, for Tom was a brilliant lawyer and outstanding for his honesty and sincerity. He was a member of the Cheyenne School Board for many years and a member of the State Legislature for 12 years. He was always interested in the advancement of his state and community and could be counted on to back any worthwhile movement.

"On June 18, 1935, Tom underwent a major operation and did not survive. Now there is left to me my two grandsons and their mother."

These reminiscences were recorded none too soon, for on November 7, 1936, Margaret Thomson Hunter died as she had lived, quietly and in the privacy of her home. She had attained an age when outside interests were beyond her reach as she was physically unable to come and go at will and she had been forced to give up even her beloved church work. She had been treasurer of both the Ladies Aid and the Missionary Society of the First Presbyterian Church for about twenty years. Up to the time when she suffered a fall which resulted in her death she maintained her usual keen interest in the activities of her friends and family.

The splendid old house at 302 East Lincoln Way has been razed to make room for a public garage and service station but most of the lovely furnishings have been preserved for the grandsons of Margaret and Colin Hunter. Time marches on, but these things will serve as reminders of that Scottish heritage in which Margaret Hunter had so much faith and pride.

ACCESSIONS
to the
WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
December 1, 1946 to May 1, 1947

- Kastle, Mrs. T. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one white porcelain doll, found in ruins on north side of railroad track at Carbon, Wyoming. December 12, 1946.
- Bernfeld, Seymour S., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of 15 illustrated letters written by Mr. Bernfeld to his family in N.Y.C. Most of the photographs were taken by Mr. Bernfeld in his travels through the state. December 13, 1946.
- Sells, Claude E. Jr., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one 1845 bible, signed Peter Hipple, 1847, found on French Creek near Silver Lake in Snowy Range in the summer of 1946, and a prayer book dated 1845 given to Mrs. Mary E. Gale. January 21, 1947.
- Bishop, L. C., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a map of Ft. Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, and 2 maps of Platte Bridge Sta., Deer Creek Sta., La Bonte Sta. and Horse Shoe Sta. Sketches copied from originals sent by Caspar Collins to his mother in the winter of 1863-1864. January 21, 1947.
- King, Arthur, Thermopolis, Wyoming; donor of five photographs of Hot Springs State Park, Thermopolis, Wyoming. Views of buildings and springs. January 20, 1947.
- Willson, G. M., Lander, Wyoming; donor of 27 photographs of Wyoming State Training School, Lander, Wyoming. Views of buildings and grounds. January 16, 1947.
- Black, Beverly, Rock Springs, Wyoming; donor of 9 photographs of Rock Springs General Hospital, Rock Springs, Wyoming. Views of buildings and rooms. February 6, 1947.
- Edmonds, Mr. H. D., Ocean Park, Washington; donor of one of the three miniature original Wyoming State Flags, made by Miss Keays of Buffalo, Wyoming. February 11, 1947.
- Bixby, Paul, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one old model Remington Standard No. 6 typewriter, wooden keys. March 8, 1947.
- Uhrich, Adam & Sells, Claude, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one old spur found while digging in a basement in Cheyenne. March 11, 1947.
- Schaedel, Mrs. John M., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a letter from Robert Larson, March 28, 1945, and another dated August 2, 1945, written while he was in service in France & Germany. March 7, 1947.
- Scanlan, Mrs. W. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of one picture of A. (Heck) Reel, Mayor of Cheyenne from 1885 to 1887, and one picture of Mrs. A. (Heck) Reel, Wife of Mayor. Photos by Kirkland. March 11, 1947.

- Murphy, William G., Omaha, Nebraska; donor of one photograph of G. F. Ashby, president of Union Pacific, presenting Lester C. Hunt, Governor of Wyoming, with quit claim deed for railroad property. March 6, 1947.
- Buffalo Bill Memorial Association, Cody, Wyoming; donor of memorial plate, one of a limited edition of 600 plates as a memorial to Buffalo Bill. Made by Spode Mfg. Co., Copeland, England. March 25, 1947.
- Snow, Mrs. William C., Basin, Wyoming; donor of a hand made equal suffrage flag presented to Miss Susan B. Anthony at the first equal suffrage convention after Wyoming was admitted as a state in 1890. Big star represents Wyoming in the field of blue. The other stars were added in order of enacting equal suffrage: Colo., Utah, Wash., Calif., Kan., Ore., Ariz., Nev., and Mont. November 20, 1945.
- Mr. Pollard, Douglas, Wyoming; donor of stirrups from a chinese saddle, and a chinese bridle presented to Fred Messenger while in China with motion picture co., filming "The Good Earth." April 5, 1947.
- McIntosh, William, Split Rock, Wyoming; donor of hand wrought finger links used to connect trail wagons in bull trains. April 5, 1947.
- McIntosh, J. L., Split Rock, Wyoming, donor of pewter wagon skein poured to replace broken skein on Mormon wagon, and wagon irons from Mormon train burned by Indians on the Sweetwater in 1847. April 5, 1947.
- Hansen, Dan, Hat Creek, Wyoming; donor of "Dog House" stirrups. April 5, 1947.
- Rife, Guy T., Rock Springs, Wyoming; donor of hand wrought rough locks attached to body of wagons in bull trains to slide under rear wheels on steep hills. Used by Mr. Rife's father. April 5, 1947.
- Stemler, Hugh; donor of oxen yoke used by Ed Stemler in freighting supplies from Cheyenne and Camp Carlin to Indian Agency, Dakota Territory, 1874. April 5, 1947.
- Fryer, Rusty; donor of silver mounted spurs and bit used by Percente, a Spanish Cowboy who punched cows for Pick outfit on the North Platte near Saratoga (Warm Springs) in early 1880's. April 5, 1947.
- Gordon, Thomas, Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of individual butter chip, small flower with gold edge, belonged to a set of dishes which were bought from a Wyoming rancher in 1882 by John H. Gordon. April 8, 1947.
- Bishop, L. C., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of 2 maps of Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers and their Tributaries—explored by Capt. W. F. Ravnolds, Top'l Engr. & 1st Lt. H. E. Maynadier, 10th Inf., asst., 1859-60. From war dept. April 4, 1947.
- Hanson, Mrs. W. B., Cheyenne, Wyoming; donor of a closeup view of the Overland Stage Coach. Simpson picture. May 3, 1947.

Books—Purchased

- Driggs, Howard R., *Westward America*. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1942. Price \$5.00.
- Trenholm, Virginia Cole and Carley, Maurine, *Wyoming Pageant*. Prairie Publishing, Casper, 1946. Price \$2.34.
- Settle, Raymond W., *The March of the Mounted Riflemen*. Clark, Glendale, 1940. Price \$6.00.
- Richardson, Marvin M., *The Whitman Mission*. Whitman Publishing, Walla Walla, 1940. Price \$3.50.
- Mumey, Nolie, *The Teton Mountains*. Artercraft Press, Denver, 1947. Price \$6.50.
- Davis, John P., *The Union Pacific Railway*. Griggs, Chicago, 1894. Price \$4.50.
- Buntline, Ned, *Buffalo Bill's Last Victory*. Street & Smith, New York, 1890. Price \$7.50.
- Adams, James Truslow, *Album of American History*, Vol. III. Scribner, New York, 1946. Price \$5.00.

Miscellaneous Purchases

- Two used golden oak display cases. Cost \$35.00 each.
- One large saddle display case. Cost \$280.00.
- One special file cabinet for radio transcripts. Cost \$48.00.
- Glass shelf for display case. Cost \$15.00.

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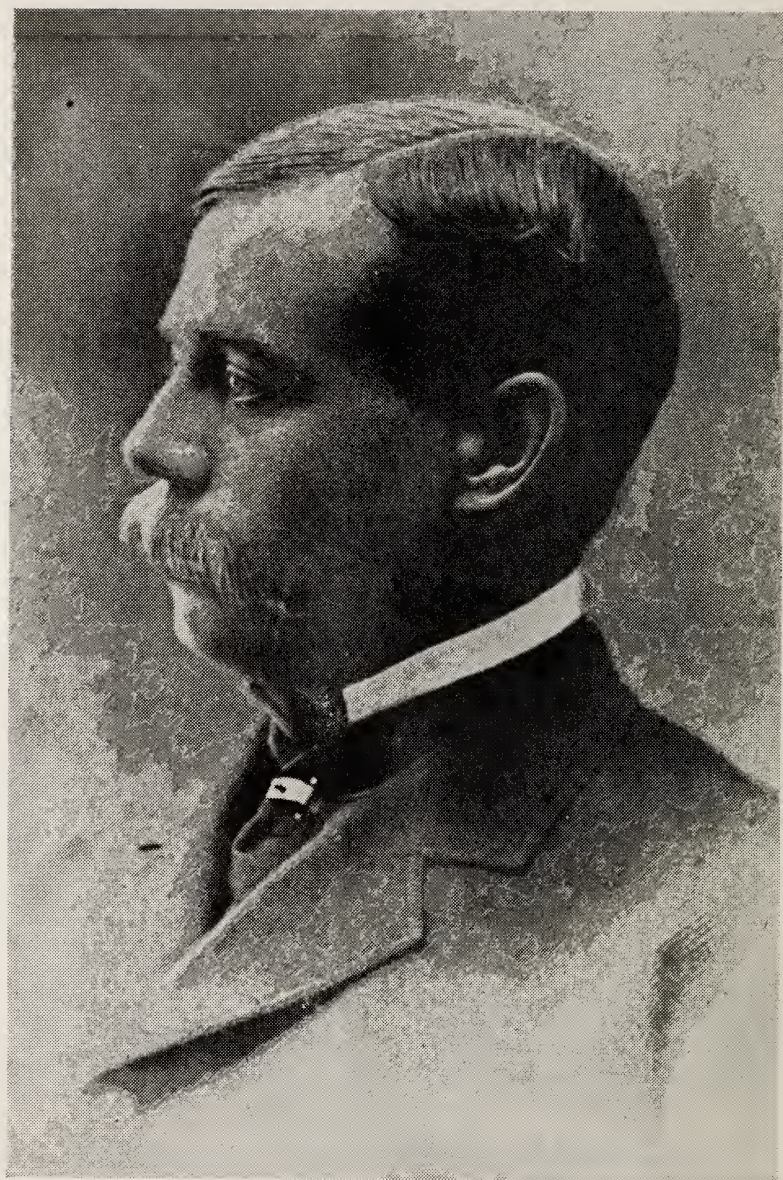
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Francis Emroy Warren

The Congressional Career of Senator Francis E. Warren from 1890 to 1902

By ANNE CAROLYN HANSEN*

Chapter I

WARREN'S EARLY YEARS IN WYOMING

The story of the early years of Francis Emroy Warren in Wyoming is intimately connected with the history of the economic and political development of the state and particularly of Cheyenne, the capital of the so-called Cattle Kingdom. Warren came to Cheyenne in 1868 when the little cattle town was the "end of the track" of the advancing Union Pacific railhead. Years later Warren thus described his first impression of Cheyenne:

Cheyenne was then a city of shanties and tents, camps and covered wagons. The people were migratory. The railroad having built further on, everyone was discussing the probability of a permanent town, and the prevailing idea seemed to be, that in six months hardly a stake would be left to mark the location of Cheyenne . . . There was then not a graded street, ditch, sewer or crossing in the town—nothing but a lot of tents and shanties, dropped down or thrown together on the bare prairie, covering space enough, perhaps, to make a large city.¹

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¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1917. This article gives a sketch of Warren's life and career. It is preserved in the Warren Collection in the University of Wyoming Library.

At the time of Warren's arrival in Wyoming the cattle industry, which was to assume such dominance in the economic life of the state, was already on the point of rapid expansion. The building of the railroad had expanded the market for the cattlemen who previously had been dependent on mining camps and military posts for the sale of their beef. Not only did the construction workers and the inhabitants of the ephemeral railroad town provide a local market for beef, but the railroad meant a means of shipping stock to eastern markets. In the seventies, herds of Texas long-horns stocked the Western Plains. In *The Day of the Cattleman*, Osgood presents this table to illustrate the increasing number of cattle shipped from Wyoming ranches in the seventies;²

Year	Carloads
1873	286
1874	738
1875	975
1876	1,344
1877	1,649

Cheyenne, the capital of the new territory of Wyoming, was the headquarters of the cattle business and the center of the large supply trade being conducted with the range country. By 1890, when Warren became the first governor of the newly created state of Wyoming, Cheyenne had a population of over eleven thousand.

Warren was born in Hinsdale, Massachusetts, on June 20, 1844, the son of hard working New England farmers, descendants of Arthur Warren who emigrated from England about 1635. At the age of fifteen he left home to work on a neighboring farm. Later he became foreman of a dairy farm, and by means of the wages he saved, he succeeded in securing for himself two years of study at Hinsdale Academy. Warren was seventeen years old at the time the Civil War began, and in the following year, on September 11, 1862, he enlisted in Company C of the 49th Massachusetts Infantry. By the next spring he was advanced to the rank of corporal. At Port Hudson, Louisiana, he was one of a group of volunteers sent ahead to carry timber and fascines to fill up a ditch in front of the earth works of the fort, so that the artillery and other troops might cross for a storming attack. The mission was a dangerous one, and although many of his comrades were killed,

²Ernest Staples Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929), p. 51.

Warren escaped with a scalp wound. For this act of bravery Warren was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.³

Warren was honorably discharged from the army at the close of the war and he returned to his home in Hinsdale where he resumed his former occupation of farming. Here he remained until the spring of 1868 when he went west to Des Moines, Iowa, to accept a position as foreman of a construction crew on the Rock Island railroad line. He had been working in Iowa for several weeks when he received a letter from A. R. Converse, a former resident of Hinsdale, who had a mercantile business in Cheyenne. Converse was ill and begged Warren to come to Cheyenne to help him in managing his business. In accordance with the wishes of his friend, Warren left Iowa and arrived in Cheyenne in May 1868.

Warren soon became interested in almost every phase of the economic development of Cheyenne. In 1878 he acquired the stock and mercantile interests of Converse, and in 1883 the Warren Mercantile Company was organized. His real estate interests included the building of the Warren block, the First National Bank Building, the Commercial Building, the Union Block, Phoenix Block, and the station of the Cheyenne and Burlington Railroad. Some idea of Warren's early investments in Wyoming may be gained from this partial list of stock holdings:

Date of Purchase		Number Shares
1881	Keystone Gold Mining and Milling	250
1883	Cheyenne Carriage Company	20
1885	Crow Creek Ditch Company	38
1885	Cheyenne Messenger and Telegraph Company	25
1888	W. Va. and Wyo. Petroleum and Natural Gas Company	100
1889	Cheyenne Investment Company	100
1889	Wyoming Phonograph Company	250
1893	Cheyenne Street Railway Company	528
	Cheyenne Opera House and Library Company	400

³In May 1892, Senator Hale introduced in the Senate a bill to authorize the Secretary of War to issue medals of honor to the survivors of the Port Hudson storming party of June 15, 1863. Warren, now United States Senator from Wyoming, offered an amendment to include the survivors of the Port Hudson storming party of May 25, 1863 of which he had been a member. Senator Cockrell objected because, he said, the latter were already provided for under the statutes. Warren's amendment was rejected by the Senate. *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., May 23, 1892, p. 4541. In 1916 Warren received a certificate entitling him to a pension of twenty-nine dollars a month. After June 30, 1919, he was entitled to receive thirty-two dollars and fifty cents a month. Pension certificate No. 1,171,725. Warren Collection.

The Cheyenne Investment Company, which was incorporated in 1889 with Warren as one of the trustees, had a charter which gave it a right to lend money; construct ditches, canals, pipe lines, etc.; conduct a slaughter house business; deal in livestock; construct railways; construct and maintain water and lighting works; maintain a mercantile business; and many other diverse activities. During the year ending December 31, 1890, the company had sold \$20,525 worth of real estate. The Cheyenne Street Railway Company was incorporated for \$500,000 and obtained a franchise from the city to maintain and operate a street car line in Cheyenne. In 1892 the company had a total deficit of \$8,500.

The Brush-Swan Electric Company was incorporated August 2, 1882, with a capitalization of \$100,000. The trustees were Morton E. Post, Francis E. Warren, Thomas Sturgis, Joseph M. Carey, and William C. Irvine. The purpose of the company, according to the charter was "to establish and maintain a system of electric lighting." Warren was elected president, and a contract was made with the city of Cheyenne to provide twenty-two electric arc lamps for five thousand dollars a year. Cheyenne is supposed to have been the first city in the world to use the incandescent electric-lighting system from a central station. Warren was also president of the Cheyenne Gas Company, and in 1888 he negotiated a merger between the two companies. In 1900 the merger was completed to form the Cheyenne Light, Fuel, and Power Company. At that time Warren controlled 947 of the total one thousand shares of stock of the Brush-Swan Company.⁴

Warren was greatly interested in the development and construction of railroads in Wyoming. He proposed and affected the organization of the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad Company, becoming its president.⁵ This road was built northward one hundred and fifty-three miles from Cheyenne to make a connection with the Wyoming Central, a branch of the Northwestern system. The assessed valuation of the road in 1898 was \$599,352.⁶ In 1891 Warren was one of the trustees of a railroad project to run a line through

⁴An article in the *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, September 6, 1890, claimed that the city of Cheyenne paid Warren \$225 per year for each light used in the public streets while Denver paid \$120 for each light; Boston, Massachusetts, paid \$180; and in Decatur, Illinois, where the plant was municipally owned the cost per light was sixty dollars.

⁵*Salt Lake Tribune*, loc. cit.

⁶*State of Wyoming*, compiled by Charles W. Burdick, (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1898), p. 110.

the center of the state to the Big Horn Basin.⁷ For some reason this project was never carried out.

Warren's biggest investment in Wyoming was his ranch and livestock business. When the firm of Converse and Warren dissolved in 1877, Warren bought the sheep and ranch interests of the company. At different times he was a partner of the firms of Guiterman and Warren, engaged in cattle raising; Miner and Warren, engaged in sheep raising; and Post and Warren, engaged in horse, cattle, and sheep raising. He soon became one of the largest sheep growers in the country. Senator Dolliver once called Warren "the greatest shepherd since Abraham."⁸ The Warren sheep ranges rapidly grew to include large sections of land in Wyoming and Colorado. Osgood gives the following picture of the ranches of the Warren Livestock Company as described in the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* of March 28, 1889:

Like the cattle growers, the sheepmen began to combine the summer pasturage of the open range with the winter feeding of hay, raised on privately owned or leased land. One Wyoming sheep company reported in 1889 its holdings as follows:

	Acres
Land in fee simple	96,000
Leased University and school land in Wyoming and Colorado	23,000
Range rights	150,000
Government land	15,000
Total	284,000

The portion of this ranch lying south of the Union Pacific was described as being twenty-five miles long and seven miles wide, all fenced, partially irrigated by thirty miles of main ditch and sixty-five miles of laterals. Eighteen hundred tons of hay were being cut yearly to feed the flocks, which numbered about seventy thousand head. The company maintained thirty-eight ranch houses and sheep stations scattered over this area, connected one with the other by telephone.⁹

As the Warren ranges spread, the little ranchers were crowded out. There was considerable ill feeling toward

⁷Newcastle News, October 2, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. The Warren Collection, which is preserved in the University of Wyoming Library, contains many scrapbooks.

⁸Laramie Weekly Boomerang, June 10, 1909.

⁹Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 229-30.

Warren in southern Wyoming and the extreme northern part of Colorado because the small cattle ranchers felt that they were unfairly treated. Newspapers frequently told of conflicts between Warren's herders and the small cattle men in the vicinity. The *Cheyenne Leader*, in 1891, carried stories told under oath of "Senator Warren's sheepherders driving out the small settlers in the neighborhood of his vast range or forcing them to sell out at ridiculously low figures."¹⁰

During the Roosevelt administration, Warren became involved in charges of illegal fencing. In 1912 a House Committee was appointed to investigate the charges that the Warren Livestock Company was illegally fencing Government land. The Committee accepted as correct an investigation made in 1906 by E. B. Linnen, Special Land Inspector for the Interior Department. Linnen concluded that the Warren Livestock Company had 46,330 acres of Government land unlawfully and illegally inclosed by barbed wire fences in Laramie County, Wyoming, and 1,120 acres unlawfully fenced in Weld County, Colorado.¹¹ Linnen said in his report that practically the whole southern portion of Laramie County, Wyoming, was unlawfully inclosed by fences which had been standing for fifteen to twenty-four years.¹² Linnen further stated on the basis of depositions taken from certain settlers in southern Wyoming:

Persons who have settled on lands within said unlawful inclosures have been harassed by said stockmen and their employees and agents; their stock has been driven off; their pastures eaten out by the stockmen's sheep and cattle; their fences cut; windows broken in their houses. They have been threatened and intimidated and everything has been done by the owners of said illegal fences and their agents and employees to make it uncomfortable and a hardship for such settlers who filed within their pastures to continue to live there. They have forced them to abandon the lands so filed upon or to sell out.¹³

A further charge was made that employees of the company had filed on desert claims without complying with the land laws, and, that these lands when secured, had been deeded

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 245.

¹¹*House Reports*, 62 Cong., 3 Sess., 1912-13, I, No. 1335, "Unlawful Fencing and Inclosures of Certain Lands," p. 4 (Serial number 6334)

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹³*Loc. cit.*

to the company. According to the reports, special agents of the land office had disregarded the protests of the settlers against the activities of the Warren company. Linnen further asserted that:

There is at this point a strong coterie of politicians with Senator F. E. Warren at its head. This combination controls the Federal office holders. It seems hardly likely that honest prosecution can be had with the present machinery in this State, and I believe it will be found as necessary to make radical changes here, as was the case in the States of Oregon and Nebraska.¹⁴

Warren denied the truth of these assertions. He admitted that the Warren Land and Livestock Company had purchased sections of land from the Union Pacific Railroad Company and that, by inclosing these railroad sections had inclosed government land. He further claimed that when such fencing had been declared illegal the company had removed its fences.¹⁵

Many livestock companies in addition to Warren's had resorted to the practice of fencing their sections of railroad land in such a way as to inclose alternate sections of government land to secure large blocks of grazing land at a low cost per acre. This practice was made possible through the policy of the United States government of granting land to railroad companies to aid in the financing of the construction of new lines. Alternate sections of lands along the lines were granted to the companies as soon as the roads were completed adjacent to those lands. Later the railroads adopted the policy of selling their lands to settlers at prices low enough to allow purchase for grazing lands. In the eighties the Union Pacific Company began to dispose of their arid sections for grazing and ranch lands. In 1884 the company sold 2,081,130 acres in southern Wyoming.¹⁶ A law was passed in 1885 declaring illegal the practice of inclosing government land by fencing railroad lands. But in 1888, in the Douglas, Willian-Sartoris case, the Supreme Court of the Wyoming Territory declared such fencing to be legal.¹⁷ Finally, in 1895 the United States Circuit Court

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁵In a letter to President Roosevelt dated October 5, 1906, Warren wrote, "To the best of my knowledge and belief I do not personally own a foot of illegal fence." *Ibid.*, p. 20ff.

¹⁶Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 213. Osgood discusses the decision of the court at some length.

of Appeals upheld the validity of the law of 1885, and declared this practice of inclosing government lands illegal.

President Theodore Roosevelt seems to have been unwilling to believe that the charges made against Warren were correct. In 1901 and again in 1903 Roosevelt visited in Wyoming and on several occasions was a guest at Warren's ranch. During one visit Roosevelt wrote from Cheyenne to his friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, "Sunday afternoon . . . I had another 30 mile ride—riding up to Senator Warren's ranch; where we dined and rode back by moonlight."¹⁸ Apparently Roosevelt and Warren had become quite friendly toward each other for as early as 1907 Lincoln Steffens, in a letter to Roosevelt, intimated that the president was "impatient" with the gossip about Warren.¹⁹ In a letter to Secretary Hitchcock, Roosevelt called certain accusations made by Linnen against Warren "loose" and "scurrilous."²⁰ Warren believed that he had convinced Roosevelt of his innocence when he wrote:

. . . I had blown the charges to atoms and convinced the President, Attorney General and all hands except Hitchcock and his henchmen that we were free from any illegal fencing or fraudulent land entries.²¹

Warren was associated with Thomas Sturgis²² in an attempt to bring about a combination in the cattle business. The cattle industry in Wyoming suffered a major catastrophe during and following the winter of 1886-87. Drought conditions during the summer were followed by a winter of unusual severity. The cattle, their vitality already lowered because of a lack of sufficient feed, were unable to withstand the deep snow and bitter cold. Herds were wiped out, many cattlemen became bankrupt, and a general unloading of stock on the Chicago market caused cattle prices to fall ruinously. One of the failures following the winter of 1886-87 was that of the Union Cattle Company.

¹⁸*Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 23.

¹⁹*The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1936), I, p. 183.

²⁰*House Reports, op. cit.*, p. 33.

²¹Letter from Francis E. Warren to Hiram Sapp, January 25, 1909. Warren Collection.

²²Thomas Sturgis was elected Secretary of the Laramie County Stock Association in 1876 and served in that capacity until his resignation in June 1887. He was a man of excellent judgment and great executive ability, and was recognized throughout the country as a leader in the cattle industry. John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (Chicago, 1924), p. 245.

The president of the company, Thomas Sturgis, went to New York where he organized the American Cattle Trust. This was apparently an attempt to ward off by combination a disaster similar to that of the previous winter. The purpose of the Trust, as well as Warren's attitude toward big business, is summarized in a letter to Sturgis:

In the Cattle Trust we cannot represent the same monopoly of product, nor the same combination to force prices on the entire product, as can the Oil Trust, Whiskey Trust, etc. About our only claims, so far, must be combination with the slaughtering interest, economy of range handling on account of combination, and an insurance of a partial nature by combining various ranges which will not all suffer severe winters together. The most attractive feature of Trusts of all kinds, in my mind, is that of controlling the production or controlling the selling price, or both.²³

Warren, who was appointed to represent the Trust in Wyoming, held \$20,000 worth of certificates in the Trust. The enterprise was probably short-lived as there is no mention of it in accounts of the cattle industry.

Warren was one of the bondsmen of Otto Gramm, Wyoming State Treasurer in 1896, when the Kent bank of Cheyenne, in which Gramm had deposited \$44,147.31 of the state funds, failed. John W. Lacey and Josiah Van Orsdel were the attorneys for the defendants in the case brought against the bondsmen by Attorney General Fowler.²⁴ The Supreme Court decided that the provision of the law which said that the state funds "should be received and kept by the State Treasurer" did not mean that they should be safely kept.²⁵ Justice Corn, the only Democratic member of the court, dissented, claiming, "In the case of money if it is kept at all and is forthcoming when required it is kept safely."²⁶ He further maintained that,

²³Letter from Warren to Sturgis, August 18, 1887. Warren Trust Book. (This letter book is preserved in the Warren Collection, University of Wyoming Library.)

²⁴John W. Lacey was brother-in-law of Willis Van Devanter who was appointed to the Supreme Court bench by President Taft. Josiah Van Orsdel became one of the judges of the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia.

²⁵*Cheyenne Tribune*, March 11, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁶*Cheyenne Tribune*, March 11, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

"There is no issue in this case which makes such a distinction between keeping safely important or relevant."²⁷

Warren had a long and varied political career in the territory and state of Wyoming. He was elected to the City Council of Cheyenne in 1883 and 1884. He was elected a member of the territorial legislature and was president of the upper branch council in 1884. Also in 1884 he was elected mayor of the city of Cheyenne and was made treasurer of the territory of Wyoming. President Arthur appointed Warren governor of the territory a few days before the inauguration of President Cleveland. Cleveland was disposed to let Warren remain in office in preference to a carpet bagger but removed him in 1886 when disturbing rumors reached him that Warren was a "land grabber" and a "cattle baron."²⁸ In his place was appointed George W. Baxter, who became involved in charges of illegal fencing and he, too, was removed.²⁹ Warren claimed that his opposition to the policies of Land Commissioner Sparks and his protest to the Secretary of the Interior about the regulations which Sparks imposed upon the entries for public land were the reasons for his dismissal.³⁰ President Harrison reappointed Warren as governor of the territory in 1889.

Warren was still holding this appointment when on July 10, 1890, in the presence of Joseph M. Carey, delegate to Congress from the territory of Wyoming, President Harrison signed the bill making Wyoming a state. Warren called the first state election for September 11, 1890. He was given the Republican nomination for candidate as governor

²⁷*Ibid.* Warren in 1896 had introduced a bill in Congress intended to relieve the bondsmen from paying the indebtedness of Postmaster Masi incurred by the failure of the Cheyenne National Bank. The similarity of the two cases is interesting. *Daily Sun-Leader*, June 11, 1896. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁸Theodore Knappen, "The West at Washington," *Nation*, 105:411, October 11, 1917.

²⁹George W. Baxter became a resident of Wyoming in 1881 where he entered the cattle business. He was appointed governor of Wyoming Territory in November 1886, but resigned in December of the same year by request of President Cleveland. Baxter had previously purchased 50,000 acres of land from the Union Pacific Railroad. He sold 20,000 acres and fenced 30,000. In order to fence his own land it was necessary to inclose the alternate sections which belonged to the public domain. Before fencing, Baxter had consulted United States attorneys as to his right to do so. In 1885, however, the President had issued an order that government land could not be fenced for range purposes. Baxter was a Democrat and in order not to embarrass the administration, it was considered advisable for him to resign his office. Francis Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming; from Territorial Days to the Present*, (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1933) I, p. 391.

³⁰*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, April 10, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

while his Democratic opponent was Baxter. The campaign was intensely bitter and both sides descended to personal animosities and slanderous accusations. The Republican position was particularly strong because that party claimed the distinction of having secured Wyoming's statehood.

The Democratic press resorted to publishing stories of Warren's alleged misconduct in office and his use of political position for personal profit. He was accused of misrepresenting the value of the sheep held by the Warren Livestock Company for purposes of assessment, of renting office room in buildings privately owned by him when there was sufficient room in the capitol building, and of buying equipment for the governor's office from his own mercantile store. Warren was further criticized because in 1885, when he was governor of Wyoming, he had called for federal troops to suppress the Chinese riot in Rock Springs. This action had aroused the ill feeling of the miners in Sweetwater County. Warren was portrayed in a cartoon as protecting the Chinese while driving the white miners from their work with the aid of armed police, while a printed circular signed "Organized Labor" was distributed in the mining camps accusing Warren of trying to pack a jury in order to secure conviction of the miners. Joseph Young, United States marshal in Sweetwater County at the time of the Chinese riot, had signed an affidavit to the effect that Warren had approached him with the purpose of securing a jury unfavorable to the miners.³¹ This affidavit was used extensively as campaign material by the Democrats. In spite of the efforts of the Democrats to defeat him, Warren was elected the first governor of the state of Wyoming by a majority of 1,726 votes over his rival.

The first state legislature convened at noon on November 12, 1890, and six days later Warren was elected the second United States senator from Wyoming on the fifth ballot with twenty-nine votes, two more than necessary.³² After the ballot at noon, Warren had given his consent to use his name, "believing," he said, "it would either result in my election or crystallize the situation so that a final result would be reached."³³ On November 24, eight days later, Warren sent his resignation as governor to Amos W. Barber, Wyoming's secretary of state. On the same day he sent a letter to the State Legislature accepting the senatorship. He had been invited to address the Legislature

³¹*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 18, 1890.

³²*Ibid.*, November 19, 1890. Joseph M. Carey was elected the first United States senator from Wyoming several days earlier.

³³*Evanston Register*, November 22, 1890. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

but declined on a plea of a previous engagement. Warren's opponents claimed that he had no constitutional right to accept the position as a provision of the Wyoming state constitution stated that the holder of the office of governor could not accept any other office. His supporters refuted this argument on the grounds that a state has no right to prescribe the qualifications of a United States senator. In Congress, on December 1, the credentials of Senators-elect Carey and Warren were presented by Senator Hoar and the oath of office was administered.³⁴ Drawing by lot to determine their respective terms, Warren drew the short term expiring March 3, 1893, while Carey drew the longer term.

Warren was not reelected in 1892. Throughout the campaign the Republicans were on the defensive for the cattlemen's invasion of Johnson County had aroused the antagonism of the settlers and the small ranchmen and spelled the defeat of the Cheyenne political machine.³⁵ In fear for the annihilation of the cattlemen's army, Governor Barber wired President Harrison for troops, stating that a revolt was in progress and law and order must be restored. Harrison authorized troops from Fort McKinney to be sent to the scene of the trouble. According to an article in the *Chicago-Herald*, Barber also telegraphed to Senators Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren at Washington, D. C., asking them to get quick action from President Harrison. Late at night, the two senators immediately called upon Secretary of War Grant and General Schofield. Schofield was a personal friend of Major Wolcott, a leader of the invasion. The president was aroused from his bed for a consultation.³⁶ Warren denied that he had any knowledge of the invasion, but popular feeling undoubtedly connected him with it. Charles Bingham Penrose, who accompanied the expedition into Johnson County, felt confident that both Carey and Warren knew about the plans.³⁷ Clay wrote, "Behind them [the cattlemen] they had the moral influence of the two senators, Warren and Carey."³⁸

³⁴*Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., December 1, 1890, p. 1.

³⁵Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 254. The Johnson County war was an armed conflict between the settlers of the northern part of Wyoming and the cattlemen. The cattlemen claimed that the settlers were harboring "rustlers" or cattle thieves. A force of armed men, recruited from other states by the cattlemen, left Cheyenne for Buffalo, April 5, 1892.

³⁶Robert B. David, *Malcolm Campbell, Sheriff*, (Casper, Wyoming: Wyomingana, Inc., 1932) p. 260.

³⁷*The Johnson County War: The Papers of Charles Bingham Penrose*, edited by Lois Van Valkenburgh, p. 33. (University of Wyoming thesis.)

³⁸Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

The Populists, or "People's party," took up the cause of the settlers. At their first national convention, held at Omaha, on July 2, 1892, a resolution was adopted by a special committee which condemned "the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by federal officials."³⁹ In Wyoming fusion between the Populists and Democrats was successful in electing John E. Osborne as governor and Henry A. Coffeen to the House of Representatives.⁴⁰ The first state legislature had made no special provision for a board to canvass the returns from the election. No attempt was made to canvass the returns, until finally on December 2, Osborne took the oath of office. Acting Governor Barber protested at this "usurpation of office" and claimed that all the election returns had not been received. On December 3, Osborne issued a proclamation asserting that the "delay was due to a conspiracy for the purpose of changing the results in the election of certain members of the Legislature, and thus insure the election of a certain aspirant for the United States Senate."⁴¹ Osborne was obviously referring to the election of Warren. Democratic papers asserted that the delay in canvassing the returns was an attempt to keep Warren in office.⁴²

³⁹The Populist party had especial significance for the settlers. Their national platform demanded the free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one, an increase in the amount of circulating medium to not less than fifty dollars per capita, a graduated income tax, establishment of postal savings banks, a government ownership of railroads and communication facilities. They denounced the monopolization of lands by corporations and railroads and demanded the return of the land to the government to be held for actual settlers. Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), p. 509.

⁴⁰Harrison, the Republican candidate for president, received 8,454 votes in Wyoming while Weaver received the combined Democratic-Populist vote of 7,722. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

⁴¹Beard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 495.

⁴²The canvassing board finally chosen consisted of Governor Barber, State Treasurer Gramm, and Auditor C. W. Burdick. A dozen guards were posted to keep order. The board decided not to count the Hanna precinct (in Carbon County) which meant a loss of seventy votes for the Republican electors and one hundred thirty-three for the people's party electors. Chapman and Bennett, the defeated Democrats, brought a mandamus proceeding to compel the state canvassing board to canvass the vote of the Hanna precinct. A demurrer was filed by Judge Van Devanter, attorney for the Republicans, on the plea that the nomination of Bennett was not properly certified to and that there was an irregularity in the printing of the ballots and the voting. In the case of Chapman, the additional plea was made that he was not a citizen of the United States. The Supreme Court over-ruled the demurrer filed by Van Devanter and rendered a decision to compel the state board to canvass the vote. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, January 4, 1893.

In the Wyoming legislature twenty-two Republicans, twenty-one Democrats, and five Populists gave the balance of power to the Populists. A deadlock occurred in an attempt to elect a senator to succeed Warren and the legislature adjourned February 18, having failed to elect a senator after the thirty-first ballot. Governor Osborne, who had succeeded in keeping the governorship, appointed A. C. Beckwith to the Senate position. In the debate in the United States Senate on the legality of the appointment, Senator Vest of Missouri argued against the right of a governor to appoint a senator when the state legislature is in session.⁴³ After prolonged debate in the Senate, Beckwith sent in his resignation before the Senate had ruled, with the result that Wyoming had only one senator, Carey, in the period 1892-1894.

Warren was reelected to the Senate in 1894 and served continuously until his death on November 24, 1929, at the age of 85. He served for the longest term on record in the Senate—a total of thirty-seven years. He held many important committee positions. He was chairman of the Committee on Claims in the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth Congresses, during which time he secured the enactment of two omnibus claims acts carrying an aggregate appropriation of \$4,165,203 for payment of claims against the government. This represented an inestimable amount of work, for the claims involved numerous items of various kinds. He also was chairman of the Military Affairs Committee and of the powerful Committee on Appropriations. He distinguished himself for his legislative ability on these committees. He served on each of the committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, and Public Buildings and Grounds.

The purpose of this thesis is to follow in some detail Warren's career in the Senate from 1890 to 1902. His career in Congress can best be understood in the light of his experiences as a stockman and a promoter in the economic development of a frontier state. He played a prominent part in this development and was unusually aware of the problems which confront a frontier community. The remaining pages of this thesis deal specifically with legislation in which Warren played a prominent part. Warren's chief interest lay in his own state, so the problems are largely limited to those particularly pertinent to the far West. An attempt has been made to interpret Warren's attitudes and activities on the basis of Wyoming's political and economic history. Only on this basis can Warren's work be properly judged and evaluated.

⁴³*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 10, 1893.

Chapter II

WARREN AND THE WESTERN DEMAND FOR
FREE SILVER

When Warren entered the Senate one of the most pressing questions facing the country was the demand of the Western states for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. In 1873 the Congress of the United States had failed to make any provisions for the coinage of the silver dollar. Shortly after, when new silver mines were opened up in the West, the production of silver had steadily increased at the same time that the demand for its use as money, at home and abroad, decreased. The price of silver in terms of gold dropped rapidly to the alarm of the Western mine owners. In 1878 the Bland-Allison Act, passed as a "sop to the silver miners,"⁴⁴ required the Secretary of the Treasury to buy each month for coinage purposes at the market price not less than two, nor more than four, million dollars worth of silver. The act had little effect on the decline of the price of silver, and in 1890 a compromise was made between the silver men of the West and the protective tariff men in the East which resulted in the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Senator Teller of Colorado was the only silver Republican opposed to the compromise. He thought that the silver men should not accept anything less than free coinage.⁴⁵ The Sherman Act required the government to purchase fifty-four million ounces of silver per year. This was enough to absorb the entire domestic product. Legal tender notes, to be issued in payment for the silver, were redeemable in gold or silver coin. In spite of this huge purchase of silver, the price of silver did not go up and the silver interests still clamored for free coinage.

Many Wyoming Republicans as well as Democrats believed that the prosperity of the state was dependent on the silver issue. An editorial in a Wyoming Republican newspaper maintained that "Wyoming has more at stake in the silver bill than in admission as a state."⁴⁶ The Republican State platform of 1890 endorsed the Sherman Act and declared for the "restoration of parity of value between the two money metals and the free coinage of silver."⁴⁷ Warren's attitude on the silver question was never clear out.

⁴⁴John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press, 1931), p. 305.

⁴⁵Elmer Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941), p. 189.

⁴⁶*Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, June 28, 1890.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, August 23, 1890.

His interest in the issue seems to have been slight, although he often aroused the antagonism of the pro-silver element. He was usually at variance with such silver senators as Teller of Colorado and Stewart of Nevada. In public statements he made to the press he seemed to be unwilling to go on record as favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Perhaps because he was aware of the strength of the silver movement he often straddled the main issue.

Warren frequently said that he favored the free coinage of silver only if it were limited to the product of the United States. During the next session of Congress the silver senators tried to get through a bill providing for free coinage. Teller called the new purchase act "Wall Street's bill"⁴⁸ and Senator Stewart had attached to the financial bill a proviso calling for free coinage. In Congress on January 5, 1891, on the motion of Stewart, the Senate voted to lay aside the election bill and to take up the financial bill on the calendar at that time. Stewart's motion prevailed with the help of twenty-six Democratic votes supplemented by eight from the Republican side. Twenty-nine republicans voted in the negative sustaining Senator Hoar who was leading the fight for the elections bill. Warren and Carey did not vote. The eight silver Republicans who voted for the motion were Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Stewart and Jones of Nevada, Shoup and McConnell of Idaho, Stanford of California, and Washburn of Minnesota.⁴⁹ Stewart's amendment which provided for free coinage and the remonetization of silver was agreed to in the Senate, January 14, by a vote of forty-two to thirty. Carey, Warren, Dolph, Moody, Pettigrew, Casey, and Pierce were the Western senators who voted against it.⁵⁰ Warren stated that he was in favor of coinage of the American product and that he voted against the amendment because it opened our mints to make America the dumping ground for the silver of the world.⁵¹ Senator Stewart in a letter to the *Salt Lake Tribune* charged that Carey and Warren were "intimately associated with Eastern business interests" and that while the bill was pending they refused to agree to vote favorably if the amendment was limited to the coinage of American silver.⁵² Warren demanded a retraction of Stewart's statement and the silver senator immediately complied.⁵³

⁴⁸Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁴⁹*Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., January 5, 1891, p. 912.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, January 14, 1891, p. 1229.

⁵¹*Cheyenne Tribune*, February 6, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁵²*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁵³*Washington Post*, February 20, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

In the next session of Congress Stewart introduced a bill providing for the free coinage of gold and silver bullion.⁵⁴ Warren submitted an amendment to Stewart's bill providing that foreign silver and all bullion from any other country should be excluded from the provisions of the act, but the amendment was rejected.⁵⁵ On July 1, the Stewart bill passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-five. Carey and Warren voted against the bill. A storm of criticism descended upon them for their votes against free silver. Throughout the West their conduct was considered detrimental to the interests of the Western states. In Ogden their effigies were hung in front of the Grand Opera House. A placard was hanging to Senator Warren's effigy which read, "This is Senator Warren who voted against free silver in the United States Senate."⁵⁶

Warren was not reelected to the Senate in 1892, and so was absent when the Sherman Act was repealed in 1893. The determination of the administration to redeem the silver certificates provided for under the Sherman Act resulted in a steady drain of gold from the United States Treasury. Fear that the Treasurer would not be able to keep a reserve of gold caused a general hoarding of that metal. Hard money men blamed the uneasiness of business conditions on the Sherman Act. President Cleveland soon after his election in 1892 demanded of Congress the repeal of the act. The movement for repeal immediately encountered the opposition of the silver men. Those senators who had objected to the Purchase Act because it had not provided for free coinage united against repeal. Senators from the South and West began a filibuster against the repeal bill. Senators Dubois of Indiana, Power of Montana, Wolcott of Colorado, Carey (Wyoming's only senator at the time), Daniel of Virginia, Jones of Nevada, Kyle of South Dakota, Peffer of Kansas, and Shoup of Idaho, filibustered for eighty days. At last, in a desperate move, on October 7, the repealists led by Voorhees of Indiana attempted to hold a continuous session until a vote was achieved. An article in the *American Historical Review* says, "These nine men (the leaders of the filibuster) deprived the majority of sleep through the night of Wednesday, and the daylight

⁵⁴Stewart's bill provided that owners of silver bullion might deposit the bullion at any mint of the United States to be coined for his benefit. It was to be the duty of the proper officers to coin such silver bullion into standard silver dollars which should be a legal tender for all debts, public and private. This bill was intended to repeal the act of July 14, 1890. *Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., December 10, 1891, p. 23.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, June 3, 1892.

⁵⁶*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 8, 1892.

hours of Thursday, and on into Thursday night."⁵⁷ In spite of the efforts of the opposition the repeal bill passed and was signed by the President.

Free silver continued to be a question of political importance in Wyoming for some time. A severe agricultural depression continuing into 1894 and 1895 forced the prices of farm products to unheard of lows. The distraught farmers, believing that free silver would bring up the price level, joined the mine owners in their demands. In 1894 Warren and Clarence D. Clark were elected to the Senate on a Republican state platform which recommended "the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, with full legal tender functions accorded to each in payment of public and private debts."⁵⁸ In the campaign of 1896 the silver question was a foremost political issue in the state. Throughout Wyoming enthusiasm for silver ran high and everywhere in the state Bryan free silver clubs were organized. Sheridan boasted a club with a membership of one hundred and fifty.⁵⁹ A silver club was organized in Laramie with three hundred members.⁶⁰ W. H. Holliday and C. P. Arnold were respectively chairman and secretary of the first meeting. At a picnic at Centennial Valley, a little mining settlement west of Laramie, a huge bonfire was built in honor of free silver.⁶¹ The Democratic state platform adopted at Laramie demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into primary redemption money at the rates of sixteen to one without waiting for the action or approval of any other government."⁶² The Republicans endorsed the platform of the national convention which declared itself in favor of the gold dollar as the standard of value. During the campaign Democratic newspapers accused Warren of being on the side of the "hard money" men. One paper said, "Warren was not sufficiently a friend of the silver cause to stand with Teller, Dubois, and Mantle when the test came whether there should be a silver bill or a tariff bill."⁶³ The editor was referring to an attempt made by Senator Morrill of Vermont to secure the consideration of the tariff bill. The silver senators were determined to defeat Morrill's motion and succeeded by a vote of twenty-one to twenty-nine.⁶⁴

⁵⁷Jeanette Paddock Nichols, "Silver Repeal in the Senate," *American Historical Review*, 41:39, October 1935.

⁵⁸*Denver News*, January 5, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁵⁹*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 5, 1896.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, August 24, 1896.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, July 7, 1896.

⁶²*Ibid.*, July 14, 1896.

⁶³*Ibid.*, August 5, 1896.

⁶⁴*Congressional Record*. 54 Cong., 1 Sess., February 13, 1896, p. 1691.

Senators Warren and Clark voted for the motion. In the final election the combined Democratic and Populist vote gave Bryan, the silver candidate for President, 10,655 votes as against 10,072 for McKinley, the Republican candidate.⁶⁵

After 1896 Warren's attitude toward silver legislation became more favorable. In the next Congress Senator Teller offered a resolution declaring that all bonds of the United States authorized under certain acts of Congress were payable, principal and interest, at the option of the government of the United States in standard silver dollars. On January 28, when the resolution was voted upon, Warren declared his intention of voting for the resolution, but maintained that he was so voting in order not to commit himself to gold monometallism, and asserted his faith in international bimetalism.⁶⁶ He alluded to the Black Friday gold panic and argued that it would be safer in times of panic if the United States had reserved the privilege of paying either in gold or silver. He then made this reservation, "I am not committed by my vote to the extreme and extravagant pro-silver position assumed by some of the senators."⁶⁷

During the debates Warren and Clark both voted against the following amendments; one offered by Senator Nelson declaring for maintenance of parity between gold and silver; by Henry Cabot Lodge, "to make any other payment of principal or interest than in gold or coin or its equivalent without the consent of the creditor a violation of public faith"; and one by Quay of Pennsylvania, "to make bonds, principal, and interest payable in the highest money of the world." All these amendments, designed to defeat the silver provision, were defeated and the resolution was agreed to by a vote of forty-seven to thirty-two.⁶⁸ The State Treasurer of Wyoming, Henry G. Hay, resigned as chairman of the Republican Central Committee for Laramie County because of Warren's vote on the resolution, declaring that Warren proposed to "force the Republicans of the state into a position antagonistic to McKinley, the National

⁶⁵Stanwood, *op. cit.*, I, p. 567.

⁶⁶In April 1897, President McKinley had chosen Edward O. Wolcott of Colorado, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, and Charles J. Paine of Massachusetts as commissioners to visit Europe in the interests of International bimetalism. The English Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, stated the refusal of the English government to open her mints to the free coinage of silver, and the French government expressed unwillingness without the mutual action of England. Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (New York; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916) I, p. 355.

⁶⁷*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., January 28, 1898, p. 1163.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 1173. This resolution was defeated in the House of Representatives.

Republican Party, and the St. Louis platform.”⁶⁹ In February a similar resolution was introduced as an amendment to the tariff bill and Warren and Clark voted against it. Warren explained that he voted against it because he did not want it to jeopardize the tariff bill.

During the same session Warren and Clark voted for Senator Wolcott’s seigniorage bill. This bill authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to coin into silver dollars \$4,000,000 worth of silver per month until the sum of \$42,000,000 should have been issued. As said silver was coined the Secretary was to issue silver certificates to the amount of the seigniorage derived from the purchases of silver bullion by the Treasury under the Sherman Act.⁷⁰ These silver dollars so coined were to be used for the redemption of the certificates issued under this act. Wolcott’s bill was agreed to in the Senate by a vote of forty-eight to thirteen.⁷¹

By 1900 prosperity had returned and interest in silver as an issue had waned. The problems of imperialism had replaced silver in popular interest. In that year Senator Teller led the fight against the bill which established the gold standard in this country. Teller offered amendment after amendment to defeat the bill, but the Senate rejected them and accepted the single gold standard by a majority of seventeen votes. Warren was not present when the bill was passed but he had previously announced his intention of voting for it.

Warren’s contribution to the silver cause was essentially negative. His interest in free silver seems to have been primarily political for his votes on the various silver bills reflect the political tendencies of the day. From 1890 to 1892 Warren voted for the defeat of the several coinage bills which were introduced. In 1893, when the Sherman Act was repealed, Warren was absent from the Senate but

⁶⁹*Washington Post*, January 31, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. The St. Louis platform opposed free coinage of silver except by international agreement. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

⁷⁰“Seigniorage, which the silver men were anxious to coin, was the difference between the actual cost of the bullion purchased monthly and its nominal value if coined into dollars at ‘16 to 1.’ Of course the Treasury was not minting all its compulsory purchases into dollars each month. Instead it was coining only enough silver dollars to match the amount of the paper money, ‘treasury notes,’ issued to pay for the bullion. As bullion fell in price, the government needed to issue smaller and smaller numbers of silver dollars to match the notes. This left an excess of uncoined bullion lying in the vaults steadily depreciating as the market price fell. If this seigniorage were coined . . . it would automatically double in value by virtue of the government stamp; and the silverites thought this would help to turn the price of bullion upward.” Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁷¹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., June 3, 1898, p. 5458.

Senator Carey was one of the leaders in the movement against repeal. As Warren and Carey usually voted alike on questions, Warren, had he been in the Senate, might have voted against repeal. In 1896, when the silver element had defeated the Republicans in Wyoming, Warren for the first time voted in favor of silver. His interest in silver was subordinate to his interest in the tariff and he consistently voted in favor of the tariff when the two questions claimed precedence. On this point it is interesting to compare Warren's attitude with that of Senator Teller of Colorado. Both were Republicans from Western states and both had long and distinguished careers in the Senate. On foreign policy Warren and Teller inclined toward imperialism and in regard to the tariff both were high-protectionists. But to Teller silver was the paramount issue while to Warren silver was merely incidental to the maintenance of a protective tariff on wool. In 1900 Warren definitely turned away from silver and supported McKinley and Hanna in establishing the single gold standard. Warren's lack of interest in the silver cause may be attributed to the fact that Wyoming was not a silver producing state. Wilbur C. Knight, State Geologist of Wyoming, wrote in 1898;

While Wyoming may have as good lead and silver camps as any other state, it is a hard matter to interest capital in a proposition ranging from fifty to two hundred miles from the railroad. The production of either of these metals is very small indeed.⁷²

While silver as an issue was popular in Wyoming, this popularity was not based upon any important vested interest. It was natural that Warren, who represented the vested interests of the state, should have been more concerned with wool than silver.

⁷²*State of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1898), p. 65.

Chapter III

WARREN'S FIGHT IN THE SENATE FOR A PROTECTIVE TARIFF ON WOOL AND HIDES

Warren was once called the most notorious special interest representative in the West.⁷³ He was the leading representative of the sheep industry in Wyoming. Sheep had been introduced in Wyoming in the early seventies and by 1890 sheep raising had become an important factor in the economic life of the state. It was estimated that in 1892 the number of sheep in Wyoming was 639,205 with a value of \$1,204,787. By 1896 their numbers had almost doubled to 1,308,063 valued at \$2,317,084.⁷⁴ In 1901 the Warren wool clip amounted to 750,000 pounds,⁷⁵ while in 1902 thirty-one million pounds of wool were sold in Wyoming.

Warren became well known for his determined fight in the Senate for a protective tariff on wool. In 1895 he was elected vice president of the American Protective Tariff League for Wyoming and in 1897 he was elected national president of the League.⁷⁶

Warren was favorably disposed towards the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 which raised the duties on wool, especially on the lower grades, or carpet wools. He claimed that one of the benefits of the act would be the encouragement of the domestic production of wool in this country making it unnecessary to import wool from Australia. He further claimed that the McKinley Act was not responsible for the low wool prices at that time and that, rather the act had kept prices from falling lower than they had.⁷⁷ As the act of 1894 put wool on the free list, Warren blamed the failure of the Warren Livestock Company on the low prices of wool which he attributed to the Wilson Act.⁷⁸

⁷³Editorial in *Collier's Weekly*, August 27, 1912, p. 8.

⁷⁴*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 25, 1896.

⁷⁵*Cheyenne Tribune*, July 6, 1901. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁷⁶*New York Sun*, January 22, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁷⁷Interview printed in *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, August 16, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁷⁸In 1894 the Warren Livestock Company went into bankruptcy but subsequently resumed operations. Most economists do not attribute the low prices of wool following 1894 to the Wilson bill. For example, an expert on the wool tariff says:

The tariff issue came to the forefront in the campaign of 1892, and, with the election of President Cleveland, revision downward was regarded as a foregone conclusion. The new tariff act was passed in 1894, and wool was placed upon the free list for the first time since 1861. The compensatory duties on woollen goods were swept away, and in place of the old system of compound specific and ad valorem duties, a schedule of

Following the depression after 1893 wool prices had declined from a top price of twenty-three cents a pound in 1890 to a top price of twelve cents a pound in 1894.⁷⁹ A general decline in numbers of sheep throughout the country did not extend to Wyoming. From 1890 to 1894 the number of sheep in Wyoming had increased from approximately 500,000 to 870,000, an increase of seventy-four per cent.⁸⁰

After the election of McKinley in 1896 the wool interests were determined to prevent the retention of wool on the free list. Warren fought vigorously any attempt to keep wool on the free list in the act of 1897. The crisis in the sheep growing industry gave Warren a point of attack against the Wilson Act. In January, soon after the convening of Congress, Warren introduced this resolution in the Senate:

In view of the late unprecedented shrinkage in numbers and values of farm animals throughout the United States as shown by the last published reports of the Department of Agriculture, the attention of the Committee on Agriculture is hereby especially directed to this subject, with the request to consider and report, by bill or otherwise, what legislation,

purely ad valorem rates was instituted. The duty upon the classes of goods which were most largely imported was placed at fifty per cent, which was the same as that of the McKinley act of 1890. The woolen manufacturing industry, therefore, was not subjected to a drastic cutting in its protection.

The domestic wool growing industry suffered by reason of the tariff change, but the crisis in the industry was not caused entirely by the removal of the wool duty. There had been a decline in wool prices ever since the middle eighties, and the market had taken another downward turn not long before the era of free wool began. The enactment of the new law followed the panic of 1893, and was accompanied by industrial depression to which several causes contributed.

The number of sheep was reduced rapidly in all sections of the country except the northern Rocky Mountain area (Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana). The decrease in numbers between 1893 and 1896 amounted to about 10,000,000, and the fall in value was so great that many flocks were butchered for the pelts and tallow. The low prices led to such neglect of the sheep that many were carried off by disease. The situation should not be regarded as having been principally caused by the tariff; it was rather the culmination of a series of events which had been lessening the profit of sheep raising. The new situation led to a readjustment in agricultural methods and in animal husbandry to correspond with changed conditions.

Mark A. Smith, *The Tariff on Wool* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 116.

⁷⁹These figures are taken from a speech made by Warren when the wool schedule of the Dingley bill was under consideration.

⁸⁰Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 230. These figures are based upon a report of the Wyoming State Department in 1926.

if any, is necessary to preserve our herds and flocks.⁸¹

In support of this resolution he gave a long speech in which he attacked the Wilson bill and attempted to show that the Wilson bill was directly responsible for the decline in numbers of livestock in this country. He also argued that importation of wool had increased and that prices of wool had greatly declined since 1894 as a consequence of putting wool on the free list.⁸² In conclusion Warren made this appeal:

Total Value of Farm Animals

Year	Values in Dollars
1890	\$2,418,766,028
1891	2,329,787,770
1892	2,461,755,698
1893	2,483,506,681
1894	2,170,816,754
1895	1,819,446,306

Imports of Wool in Pounds

	Ten months ending October	
	1894	1895
Class 1	25,807,462	113,672,709
2	2,841,422	16,731,985
3	54,574,386	80,652,544
Total	83,223,270	211,057,238

Market Prices of Utah and Wyoming Wool

October	1890	14-23 cents
April	1891	14-23
October	1892	14-23
April	1893	14-21
December 29	1894	9-14
January 26	1894	9-12
February 23	1894	9-13
June 22	1894	7-12
September 28	1894	8-13
January 1	1895	7-13
April 1	1895	7-13

Will the Congress of the United States duly weigh and consider the deplorable condition of our livestock interests? Shall we not "about face" and

⁸¹*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., January 20, 1896, p. 785. Warren was subsequently appointed on a subcommittee to investigate the conditions of cattle shipments to foreign markets and report legislation necessary for reciprocal benefits to this traffic. *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, February 21, 1896. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 898-905. In support of his contention that the numbers and values of farm animals had greatly decreased since 1894 Warren presented the following figures taken from the Report of the Agricultural Department, No. 123, Division of Statistics.

change our un-American, unpatriotic policy of especial protection to foreign stock growers and manufacturers to that time honored American policy of protecting the interests of our own citizens and institutions?⁸³

The making of a wool schedule was always complicated by the conflict of interests between the wool growers and the woolen manufacturers. A protective tariff on wool increased the cost of the raw material for the manufacturers. Before the rates could be agreed upon the differences had to be compromised, as both interests had powerful backing in Congress. In a conference held on February 9 and 10 at Washington between representatives of the woolen manufacturers and the woolgrowers, Warren was appointed one of the conferees for the National Woolgrowers Association. The woolen manufacturers presented the following as the highest rates they would aid in securing duties:

Class one. Wools of the value of sixteen cents per pound or less, a duty of eight cents per pound; on wools over sixteen cents per pound, ten cents duty; doubled on washed, trebled on scoured. The rate in the McKinley Act of 1890 was eleven cents per pound, without any dividing lines as to value; doubled on washed, trebled on scoured.

Class two. Wools of the value of sixteen cents per pound or less, nine cents per pound; on wools over sixteen cents in value, eleven cents per pound duty; trebled if scoured.

Class three. The ad valorem rates of the Act of 1890, on wools valued at thirteen cents per pound or less, thirty-two per cent, and fifty per cent over that value.⁸⁴

The conference failed to reach any agreement as the woolgrowers rejected the rates offered by the manufacturers, demanding as the lowest rates they would accept:

On wools of the first and second class a duty of twelve cents per pound; doubled on washed, and trebled on scoured.

On third class wool, sometimes called carpet wool, but largely used in manufacturing of clothing

⁸³This speech was reprinted by the American Protective Tariff League. *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, July 17, 1896.

⁸⁴*Senate Documents*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., Document No. 36, pp. 82-83.

goods, a duty of eight cents per pound; doubled if washed, trebled if scoured.⁸⁵

Warren led the fight in the Senate for protection on low grade wools. Warren was particularly interested in the low-grade or carpet wools, because more of that grade of wool was grown in the West than in the East. The Ohio farmer because of his higher costs of production could not afford to grow low grade wool. In the West where production costs were relatively low such wool could be grown profitably. An article in the *Philadelphia Press* accused Warren of "fighting for a tariff on wool to enrich his own pockets."⁸⁶ In March Warren went before the Finance Committee asking for further changes in the classification of wool; so that certain wools allowed to come in as third class under the House bill would be transferred to a class paying a higher rate of duty.⁸⁷ Warren explained that although not very much third class wool was grown in the West, the sheep industry suffered through the importation of wool as third class, ostensibly to make carpets, but which was made into clothing, and displaced domestic first class wools.⁸⁸

During the debate on the wool schedule Senator Allison of Iowa submitted the following amendment designed to impose an additional duty on scoured wools of the third class:

The duty on wools of the third class, if imported in condition for use in carding or spinning into yarns or which shall not contain more than eight per cent of dirt or other foreign substance, shall be three

⁸⁵*Loc. cit.*, The wool schedule as finally adopted in the Dingley Tariff provided that the duty upon all wools of the first class was eleven cents per pound, and upon all wools of the second class the value of which was twelve cents or less per pound the duty was four cents per pound. The duty on shoddy was twenty-five cents per pound. The duty on wools of the first class imported washed was to be twice the amount of the duty on unwashed wools; the duty on wools of the first and second classes which were imported scoured was three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed. "Unwashed wools" have had no cleansing whatsoever; "washed wools" are washed only on the sheep's back or on the skin. Wool washed in any other manner than on the sheep's back or on the skin was considered as "scoured wool." See *United States Statutes at Large*, Volume XXX, p. 183.

⁸⁶*Philadelphia Press*, July 10, 1897. Clipping in Warren scrapbook.

⁸⁷Warren also asked for higher duties on soda, asbestos, graphite, and hides. In 1896 some mines near Buffalo were producing asbestos. Some samples of a superior quality of asbestos were reported to have been discovered near Hyattville. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 2, 1896.

⁸⁸*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, June 23, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

times the duty to which they would otherwise be subjected.⁸⁹

Warren defended the amendment on the grounds that the importation of wool in an unwashed state gave more opportunity for labor in preparing the wool and consequently more employment for laborers in this country than its importation in a washed state. Senator Gray of Delaware was one of the leaders against Allison's amendment. During the debate between Warren and Gray, both senators argued bitterly and descended to the use of personal remarks. In answer to Warren's argument Gray replied:

. You invite, then, the dirty fleeces from Australia and from the Argentine Republic, and put, as I said, a premium upon dirt, because you get protection on the dirt and because you get a duty on the dirt.⁹⁰

Gray stated further:

It is certainly a fraud upon the carpet manufacturers, and in order to subsidize one industry you are going to paralyze numberless industries. . . . Its inevitable effect is to enormously raise the price of manufactured woolen goods to the consumer.⁹¹

Warren argued that the per capita consumption of wool was comparatively small and that each consumer would not be taxed over forty to seventy-five cents for the added duty on wool. He said, "A great hullabaloo is made here upon this floor now and always about the consumer of wool and the vast amount that it is costing him."⁹² To which Gray made a personal allusion to Warren's sheep interests; and continued:

Nobody objects to paying the tax, even though it may be a heavy tax, if it all goes into the Treasury; but I think a great many people object to paying taxes, not into the Treasury, but into the pockets of a class of people who claim that use of the taxing power for their own benefit.⁹³

⁸⁹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., June 22, 1897, p. 1907.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 1908. Gray maintained that the clothes which "the millions wear are more than forty per cent cheaper than they were prior to 1894."

Ibid., p. 1955.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 1908.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 1954.

⁹³*Loc. cit.* A common criticism of the Dingley bill was its extreme sectionalism. An editorial in *Harper's Weekly* for May 22, 1897, said, "It's weak point is its sectional spirit, and this may in future laws

Senator Allison's amendment passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-six and was finally incorporated in the act as signed by President McKinley. Both Senators Warren and Clark voted for it.

A further argument used by Warren was that the Wilson bill had encouraged the importation of shoddy into this country:

I suppose that those who supported the Wilson bill based their arguments, then as now, on the grounds that they were trying to protect the wearers of woolen goods. How did they protect them? They made a tariff that increased the importation of that unclean, contemptible article, shoddy, and they made a tariff under which shoddy could come into this country more freely and delude the poor who bought that character of clothing. Shoddy importations increased 1700 per cent, if my figures are right, in ten months after the passage of that law. That is what the Wilson law did. Under it old rags from all countries, hair and refuse were brought over here and worked into clothing, because under the operations of the Wilson law the workingmen of this country were made too poor to buy decent clothing, and they sought to buy the cheapest thing they could get. The Wilson law had opened the door to that adulterant just as it opened the door to every other adulterant and fraud from abroad.⁹⁴

Senator Mills of Texas strenuously objected to Warren's assertion and declared that the protective tariff was no protection to wool as against shoddy and the Wilson law

open up a wide field for contests. The 'West' has demanded certain duties, notably on hides, fruits, lead, and cheap wools, that threaten to disturb and even to destroy important interests in the 'East.' Free hides have built up an immense export trade in leather manufactures, amounting to more than \$20,000,000 a year. Cheap wools have placed our domestic manufactures upon an equality with their foreign competitors, and given them the choice of wools produced throughout the world—a choice necessary to the production of fine-grade goods." p. 506.

⁹⁴*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., June 23, 1897, p. 1955. As to shoddy, Miss Tarbell says, "The demand of the wool-growers that the prohibitive duties on all kinds of wool substitutes be restored was imperative. By raising the cry of 'shoddy' they could wrest a duty from Congress on any material no matter how valuable to the manufacturer. Perhaps no word has been more unjustly degraded in the history of industry in this country. The world has never produced enough raw wool to meet the demand for woollens. It has always been necessary and probably always will be necessary to use wool waste and wool rags." Ida M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), p. 248.

had not stimulated the importation of shoddy. He continued that it was American ingenuity that had stimulated its use in manufactures because it was cheaper than wool. He asserted that the manufacturers "can put shoddy over the eyes of our wool growers instead of wool and fool them with the argument they make here and make them believe that they are getting the benefit of it."⁹⁵

Warren introduced an abortive amendment to the wool schedule calling for a sixty-six per cent retroactive tariff on all wool imported into the United States before the passage of the act which was not manufactured nor in process of manufacture. According to an article in the *Boston Transcript*, the Supreme Court several years previously had decided against retroactive duties.⁹⁶

Warren was interested in a tariff on hides as well as on wool. In the Senate in 1897 Warren admitted to Senator Smith that he was in favor of a duty on hides. In June of that year he introduced an amendment to the tariff bill imposing duties on raw skins and hides including sheep skins, goat skins, chamois, calfskin, and kangaroo skins. The amendment proposed a thirty per cent rate on all tanned but unfinished skins.⁹⁷ In 1903 when Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment to place hides on the free list, Warren retaliated by offering an amendment to put leather manufactures such as shoes, belts, saddles, and harness on the free list.⁹⁸ An incident related by Archibald Butt, a friend of President Taft, is interesting because it reveals a little of Warren's relations with Taft as well as his attitude toward the tariff. According to Butt, Taft opposed Warren's fight against free hides. Butt wrote that Taft had been "trying to get hold of Senator Warren on the wool and hides schedules" and that he had served notice on Warren that if he did not withdraw his fight on free hides, "he would force an inspection of the wool schedule which would be worse than anything the Senator could anticipate."⁹⁹ Butt thus quoted Taft, "I have tried persuasion with Warren and if that does not do he can go to hell with his wool schedule and I will defeat him without compromise."¹⁰⁰

Warren led the fight of the Western stock interests

⁹⁵*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., June 23, 1897, p. 1957.

⁹⁶*Boston Transcript*, June 11, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁹⁷*Philadelphia Times*, June 11, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁹⁸*Denver Republican*, December 18, 1903. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

⁹⁹Taft and Roosevelt, *Intimate Letters of Archie Butt* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company), I, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰*Loc. cit.*

against the reciprocity treaty with Argentina. The Republican National Platform of 1896 had a plank advocating the renewal and extension of the reciprocity arrangements begun under the McKinley Tariff. It declared, "Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand."¹⁰¹ The Dingley Act, in line with the policy enunciated in the platform of the Republican party, made provisions for negotiating reciprocity treaties with foreign countries. The president was authorized, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to enter into commercial treaties with other countries allowing a twenty per cent reduction on goods imported as specified in the treaty.¹⁰² A treaty signed July 10, 1899, with Argentina proposed a twenty per cent reduction on sugar, hides, and wool.¹⁰³ Both Senators Warren and Clark opposed the treaty. Clark was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs which had the reciprocity treaties under consideration. Warren, in speaking of the treaty said that the "semi-barbarous and half civilized South Americans" would keep wages at "starvation rates."¹⁰⁴ In an interview Warren declared that approval of the treaty would be ruinous to the sheep industry. He stated further:

Our treaties with Great Britain give her equal advantages with those which we grant to the most favored nation. If we should ratify the Argentine treaty—which in my opinion, will not be done—what will prevent Great Britain from demanding the reduction on wools from Australia which we grant to Argentina?¹⁰⁵

The treaty with Argentina was one of eleven (the others being with Great Britain, France, Nicaragua, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador) which were defeated by the opposition of the ultra-protectionists and the special interest groups. By their own terms the treaties were allowed to expire without ever having come to a vote in the Senate.¹⁰⁶

By 1896 the Western states had sufficient votes in the Senate to exert considerable influence on legislation. By

¹⁰¹Stanwood, *op. cit.*, I. p. 534.

¹⁰²*United States Statutes at Large*, XXX, p. 204.

¹⁰³*Senate Documents*. 56 Cong., 1 Sess., Volume 4, Document No. 21. (Serial No. 3846)

¹⁰⁴*New York Press*, February 12, 1900. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁰⁵*Iron Age*, (New York City) February 1, 1900. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁰⁶W. Stull Holt, *Treaties Defeated by the Senate* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1933), p. 198.

working in a body they succeeded in putting wool on a high protective tariff basis. Warren, as a recognized leader of the wool interests, undoubtedly determined to a large degree the character of the wool schedule of the Dingley Act, one of the highest protective tariffs in the history of this country. His popularity among his constituents was due in large part to his fight for the wool schedule. Sheep men in Wyoming were generally agreed that free wool meant the destruction of the sheep growing interests in the West. It is true that the sheep raising industry was built on a protective tariff basis and the removal of the tariff meant a temporary dislocation. But the Wilson Act was not in operation long enough to make it possible to determine the effects of free trade. The low price of wool during these three years was only a phase of the general depression throughout the country. Conditions were already beginning to improve when the Dingley bill was passed. Warren's attitude toward free trade and his opposition to the reciprocity treaties reflect the sectional character of the protective tariff. Few legislators are sufficiently mindful of the economic welfare of the people as a whole to be forgetful of the economic interests of their constituents. It is not necessary to condemn or condone Warren for his fight for a protective tariff on wool. He was an integral part of the economic group which he represented and as such acted as he thought best for the welfare of that group.

Chapter IV

OTHER LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE SHEEP AND CATTLE INDUSTRIES

Congress in 1891 provided for the inspection of live cattle and hogs, carcasses, and meat products in interstate and foreign commerce.¹⁰⁷ Warren tried to have the provisions of the act modified and he opposed measures designed to extend its operation. In 1901 he supported a proviso, attached to the agricultural appropriation bill, providing that the Secretary of Agriculture, at his discretion, might waive the requirement of a certificate with beef and other products which were to be exported to countries that did not require such inspection. In the debate on the proviso Warren said:

I will say that the clause was originally inserted because there are certain small canners of meat who

¹⁰⁷*United States Statutes at Large*, XXVIII, p. 269.

sell their brands to foreign Southern countries and others. They are not large and are scattered throughout the country, and they sell their product entirely under the guaranty of their brand. Those countries so buying do not require this inspection and it would be a very considerable expense to the Agricultural Department.¹⁰⁸

Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota, objected to Warren's assertion and reminded Congress of the rotten canned meat which had been palmed off on the American soldiers during the war with Spain. Pettigrew continued, "It seems to me that here is a provision to open the doors to the palming off of this miserable stuff upon the people of those countries who do not create a row about it."¹⁰⁹

A further argument between Warren and Pettigrew took place when it was discovered in the process of framing the meat inspection act that some horse meat was canned in this country for exportation without being labelled as such. Warren objected to Pettigrew's statement that such meat should be truthfully marked. Warren said during the course of the debate with Pettigrew:

Now does the Senator think it would be well to ingraft in our statutes a provision saying we are manufacturing horse meat and sending it to other countries, and we are going to brand it horse meat and thereby bring attention to something that I understand is a dying industry, because these horses were slaughtered and canned at a time when horses on the range were worth from three dollars to five dollars a head, and the advance in the price of stock has since carried them up above the market for slaughter.¹¹⁰

At the same time in Congress there was an attempt being made to regulate the sale and manufacture of oleomargarine. Warren did not approve of the bill that was introduced for this purpose. He presented a memorial of the National Livestock Association remonstrating against the bill.¹¹¹ Warren declared that he had no evidence to

¹⁰⁸*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., February 12, 1901, p. 2301 ff. This provision was finally adopted. See *United States Statutes at Large*, XXXII, p. 289.

¹⁰⁹*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., February 12, 1901, p. 2301 ff.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 2302. Live horses and products thereof were subjected to inspection. *United States Statutes at Large*, XXXII, p. 289.

¹¹¹*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., February 4, 1901, p. 1877.

indicate that the manufacturers of oleomargarine were seeking to color it so that they could sell it for butter, and that he believed that the provisions were too stringent.¹¹²

In contrast to his attitude on the meat packing and oleomargarine bills, Warren supported a measure known as the "Anti-Shoddy" bill which provided that manufacturers of mixed goods (goods or garments made in imitation of woollens but not composed wholly of pure wool) should be marked so that the constituent fibers and the relative portion of each should be plainly shown, and that likewise all imports of clothing or cloth should be similarly marked. The bill provided for the imposition of a penalty for the offense of selling or offering for sale cloth or clothing not properly labelled. Warren wrote about the bill:

Wool growers take the ground that adulterated woolen goods, when sold as "all wool," as is often the case, disappoint the wearer and serve to drive customers away from woolen and toward the use of cotton or other substitute fabrics, thus causing distrust of honest woolen goods and a disuse of the good as well as the bad in woolen wear. Excepting from the standpoint of the desire to protect the public health, wool growers have no serious objection to the use of adulterated woolen goods, if the degree of adulteration is made known to the purchaser. The use of shoddy in the manufacture of clothing is claimed by many to be a constant menace to the public health. Shoddy is the fiber of woolen cloth separated and rearranged for spinning by machinery. The best is made from the sweepings of tailor shops and the emptyings of rag bags in civilized countries. The worst comes from no one knows where, but it is reasonably certain that much of it is made from the rags gathered by rag pickers in the slums and alleys of European cities and shipped to America under the term, "re-used wool fiber." Disease is, of course, liable to lurk in this product, and it is asking little of the national legislature that it may be marked so that it may be avoided by those who do not wish to use it.¹¹³

¹¹²An act was passed May 9, 1902, to make oleomargarine subject to the laws of any State into which it was transported, and imposed a tax on the manufacture of imitation and adulterated butter. It further provided that such butter must be plainly labelled as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue might prescribe, and for the inspection of such manufacturing plants by the Secretary of Agriculture.

¹¹³Francis E. Warren, "Honest Clothing by Legislation," *Independent*, 54:1598-99, July 3, 1902. Part II.

Warren tried to explain the discrepancy of his attitude toward the Anti-Shoddy bill and the oleomargarine bill on the grounds that the oleomargarine bill sought "to cripple an industry and practically put an end to the manufacture of a food product not injurious to health, through the exercise of the taxing power."¹¹⁴ This statement does not satisfactorily explain his opposition to the meat inspection acts. The real explanation seems to be that he feared that the meat inspection acts and the oleomargarine act would injure the livestock interests, while the Anti-Shoddy bill was obviously designed to aid the wool growers. As Warren fought for a protective tariff on wool to protect the sheep industry, so he opposed the oleomargarine and the meat inspection bills because he was the representative of the stock growing interests. Stockmen objected to the oleomargarine bill because a large percentage of the materials used in its manufacture was animal fat, and they joined with the meat packers against an effective meat inspection act.¹¹⁵

Chapter V

WARREN'S WORK FOR IRRIGATION OF THE ARID LANDS

Irrigation began in Wyoming along the Overland Trail and around military posts. The oldest ditch in Wyoming was built in 1857, and others were constructed in the early sixties.¹¹⁶ Early methods of irrigation were very primitive.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1599.

¹¹⁵In 1906 President Roosevelt directed Secretary of Agriculture Wilson to appoint a committee who would confer with Upton Sinclair, whose *Jungle* had revealed shocking conditions in the meat packing plants, to begin an investigation. Senator Beveridge introduced the administration's meat inspection bill. Beveridge's biographer says, "The packers and cattlemen of the western plains made common cause against the bill. . . . Senator Warren . . . replied for the packers and served notice that they would pass the cost of inspection on to the consumer and the cattlemen. Bitter and in jeering mood, he made a personal attack on Beveridge, who ignored the personalities and sought in vain to pin him down as to the date upon the cans." Claude T. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (New York: The Literary Guild, 1932), pp. 229-232.

¹¹⁶Elwood Mead, *Irrigation Institutions* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 49. Mead was a recognized authority on irrigation engineering. At various times he was chief of Irrigation Investigations of the United States Department of Agriculture, Professor of Institutions and Practice of Irrigation in the University of California, and Special Lecturer on Irrigation Engineering in Harvard University. He spent fifteen years in Colorado and Wyoming as assistant State Engineer in Colorado and territorial and State Engineer in Wyoming. Through his efforts Wyoming developed one of the finest systems of water rights and irrigation laws in the West.

By means of a simple plowed furrow, water from a stream would be diverted to the low-lying lands near the stream. Dams were temporary, consisting of bags of sand and head-gates were an exception. The early irrigator made money selling garden produce to the emigrants and soldiers. In Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Nevada the need of a winter feed supply for cattle and sheep led to the construction of ditches for the purpose of bringing water on near-by meadows. Elwood Mead thus describes the development of early irrigation in the West:

Returns from irrigation were large. Owners of gardens along the Overland Trail sold their cabbages for \$1 a head and their potatoes for 50 cents a pound. Flour sold in Alder Gulch, Montana, for \$100 dollars a sack. With such returns following irrigation, ditches were built wherever men settled, in the vicinity of mining camps, around the stage stations of the Santa Fe and the Overland Trails, in the Mormon colonies of Utah, around transplanted New England at Greeley, Colorado, or on a sheep or cattle ranch in Montana.¹¹⁷

Later when it was desired to irrigate the lands farther from the stream it was necessary to build larger and costlier ditches. Partnerships and cooperative ditches were undertaken but met with unforeseen difficulties. The Greeley Colony in Colorado was a cooperative enterprise which for a while suffered because of a lack of knowledge and capital. The construction of ditches proved to be more costly than anticipated, and one ditch which cost \$30,000 to construct watered only 2000 acres rather than 120,000.

The next step was the formation of corporations which furnished capital for the construction of large irrigation works. They expected to make a profit by selling water rights to settlers. In Wyoming the Wyoming Development Company, located sixty-five miles north of Cheyenne, was the earliest corporative enterprise. Joseph M. Carey was the leading promoter of the colony. The reservoirs of the company were built on the Laramie River, a branch of the North Platte River in southeastern Wyoming. These reservoirs were capable of storing the entire year's discharge of the Laramie River. A publication of the Secretary of State of Wyoming in 1898 thus described the Wheatland Colony which was founded by the company:

¹¹⁷*Loc. cit.*

There are three large canals of a total length of forty-four miles, having a capacity equal to the irrigation of 60,000 acres of land. It is proposed to extend the system so as to water 120,000 acres. Over \$500,000 was expended in the original construction of these works. The soil is a rich sandy loam, and when irrigated, is well adapted for raising wheat, oats, barley, rye, potatoes, turnips, flax, beets, certain varieties of corn, etc., without other fertilization than comes from the application of water for irrigation.¹¹⁸

One of Warren's chief desires as Senator of the United States was to get legislation favorable to reclamation of the arid lands. From experience Warren was aware of the hazards involved in winter feeding of cattle and sheep on the open range, and the necessity of raising forage crops to supply hay for winter feed. Also the sugar beet industry was becoming of increasing importance in the economic life of the Western states and demanded an increase in irrigable land for its fullest expansion. The publication quoted above spoke thus about the growing of sugar beets in the Wheatland colony:

One of the crops which promises to bring money to the Wheatland farmer is the sugar beet. The amount of saccharine matter in most sugar beets ranges from 12 to 16 per cent, but the Wheatland beets, according to the official reports of the Government chemist, showed 22 per cent of saccharine matter.¹¹⁹

In an article written for the *Illustrated American* Warren wrote:

In cultivating and curing sugar beets a large amount of sunshine is necessary. There should be much moisture in starting and growing the beet, but the percentage of saccharine matter is always greatest when the beet is finished under a very high percentage of sunshine and a very low percentage of moisture. Sunshine and drought with moisture applied occasionally at will, through the artificial

¹¹⁸Charles W. Burdick, *The State of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Sun-Leader Printing House, 1898), p. 32.

¹¹⁹*Loc. cit.*

application of water, furnish exactly the condition required.¹²⁰

Soon after his election to the Senate Warren introduced a bill proposing to cede the arid lands to the states and territories within which they were situated and to provide for irrigation and the utilization of pasturage lands.¹²¹ The bill, introduced late in the session was never reported out of committee, but in the next session on March 9, 1892, Warren introduced the same bill. Warren's bill was not the first of this sort to be introduced into Congress, for as early as 1869 Utah had asked for land to be used in promoting irrigation projects. At frequent intervals bills were introduced asking for land to aid in irrigation.¹²² On July 21 in defense of his bill Warren gave a long speech reviewing the history of irrigation in different countries and the

¹²⁰Francis E. Warren, "The Splendid Riches of Our Arid Lands," *Illustrated American*, 22:585-7, November 6, 1897.

¹²¹*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., July 21, 1892, p. 6486. Following is the text of Warren's bill summarized:

Section 1. To provide for the cession of all public land except mining lands to the states west of the ninety-ninth meridian under the following conditions:

1. That each state shall proceed to divide its area into irrigation districts and the construction of canals, reservoirs, etc.
2. After ten years if any State has not complied with the provisions of the bill the lands shall be reclaimed by Congress.
3. Each state may mortgage, pledge, or sell any lands hereby granted for the purpose of raising requisite funds to accomplish reclamation.
4. Any lands so reclaimed shall be sold to actual settlers in tracts not exceeding 160 acres of irrigable land in addition to which each settler shall be entitled to grazing land provided that his total holding shall not exceed 320 acres at a price not exceeding one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre and the states shall enact laws for disposal of lands under homestead entries not exceeding 320 acres. No settler is to enter more than 160 acres of irrigable land.
5. All grazing lands may be apportioned or leased to actual settlers. Each settler may be entitled to rent the pasture lands which lie nearer to the lands of such settler than to those of any other settler excepting when bounded by natural barriers as mountains, canons, hydrographical basins, etc.

Section 2. Timber lands and reservoir sites shall remain the property of the State or territory. Timber needed for domestic, manufacturing, or mining use may be so used subject to laws enacted by the legislature thereof. Each state shall have authority to provide by statute for sale of surplus timber, protection of forests, planting of trees, etc.

Section 3. Report is to be made to the President of the United States annually.

¹²²Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *History of Public Land Policies* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 424.

benefits to be derived from a system of irrigation for the arid states. Warren attempted to show the value of irrigation as an aid to agriculture and the necessity of giving serious and helpful consideration to the subject of irrigation of the arid lands of the West.

Warren's bill aroused considerable discussion in the Wyoming newspapers. In the discussions pro and con the question arose as to what agency could best be intrusted with control of an irrigation program. Warren in an interview quoted in the *Washington Post* claimed that "Present federal land laws are defective and inapplicable to the arid region. Each state can best frame the laws suited to its peculiar conditions."¹²³ Arguments advanced against state control were to the effect that cession to the states meant that there would be more chance for land graft and fraud, and the frauds connected with the disposal of the swamp lands of the East were cited. Senator Power of Montana charged that Warren and Carey were anxious for the segregation of arid lands to increase their private holdings.¹²⁴ Warren denied this and said that he was trying to carry out the endorsements as expressed in the various irrigation conventions. The Trans-Mississippi Congress, held at Denver, had endorsed Warren's arid land bill,¹²⁵ and at the next meeting held at Omaha, at which Warren took a prominent part, the representatives declared themselves as favoring cession of the arid lands.¹²⁶ Another argument against state control was the increased expense to the state and the added burden on the taxpayers. Still another argument was that irrigation was purely a local problem and could best be handled by local irrigation districts. The Wyoming Democratic State Platform of 1892 carried a plank condemning Warren's bill and voiced the general suspicion with which the bill was regarded:

We favor the cession of government lands to the states only under such constitutional or congressional restrictions as will prevent final disposal of them by the states until they are fully reclaimed; and prevent the control of large tracts by corporations or individuals and that all unreclaimed grazing lands shall forever remain unleased, an open common upon which all citizens may graze their flocks and herds. We also demand that the accept-

¹²³*Washington Post*, December 21, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹²⁴*Omaha Bee*, January 20, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹²⁵*Denver Republican*, May 23, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹²⁶*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, October 23, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

ance of any lands donated by the general government to the states shall be by vote of the people of each state.¹²⁷

Elwood Mead wrote thus about Warren's bill:

The measure introduced in Congress by Senator F. E. Warren, of Wyoming, in 1892, which provided for the union of land and water, for the classification of the public lands into irrigable, grazing, and forest areas through a comprehensive economic survey, and for the location of ditches according to a prearranged plan having for its object the most economical use of the water supply would, if adopted, have saved to irrigators many water fronts which have now passed into the hands of speculators.¹²⁸

Warren never succeeded in getting his bill to become a law, and it remained for his colleague, Senator Carey, to introduce the bill which became the first act to cede the arid lands to the states.¹²⁹ That even as late as 1897 there was considerable sentiment favorable to state control is shown by a petition which Warren presented to Congress from the Legislature of Wyoming asking that all unoccupied public lands within the state be ceded to the control of that state.¹³⁰ In 1899 the Senate Committee reported favorably on Senator Stewart's amendment ceding five million acres of land to each of the public land states. In each session until the Newlands Act was passed there were several bills introduced for cession to the states.

The first step toward national control was the Chittenden report of 1897 made by Hiram M. Chittenden of the Engineers Corps. Warren secured the appropriation in the

¹²⁷*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, July 30, 1892.

¹²⁸Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹²⁹The Carey Act, which was passed August 18, 1894, provides for reclamation by cooperation between the nation, state, corporation, and individual. Under this act the states of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming were each given 1,000,000 acres of land, provided they complied with the conditions of the act. To Wyoming and Idaho, each, in 1908, there were an additional 1,000,000 acres granted. The method of development is similar to that of the irrigation district. A company forms a project. This is submitted to the state authorities. If approved by the state, the government at Washington is requested to withdraw the land from entry, and give control of it to the state. These two things done, the individual owners enter into contracts with the water company for the water rights, and they have a perpetual interest in the irrigation works. Charles Richard Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 193.

¹³⁰Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67.

river and harbor bill of June 3, 1896, which provided \$5000 for a preliminary survey of reservoir sites in the states of Colorado and Wyoming. Chittenden made a careful study of the whole problem of reservoirs, and in his report stressed the importance of a system of storage reservoirs in the West for purposes of flood control and irrigation. He stated in his report:

In no other part of the United States, nor anywhere else in the world, are there such potent and conclusive reasons of a public as well as a private nature, for the construction of a comprehensive reservoir system as in the region here in question.¹³¹

He recommended governmental construction of reservoirs because the work was necessarily interstate in character, as the government owned the larger part of the land area of the West, and because of the greater financial resources of the national government. As a first step he recommended the construction of a reservoir on Piney Creek in Johnson County in northern Wyoming with an appropriation of \$100,000 and the South Platte site in Colorado with an appropriation of \$200,000.¹³²

In accordance with the Chittenden report, Warren in February 1899, introduced an amendment to the river and harbor bill proposing to appropriate \$100,000 for the construction of a reservoir system on Piney Creek, Wyoming, and a reservoir on the South Platte in Colorado with an appropriation of \$150,000.¹³³ The Senate committee dropped the provision for Colorado but provided for the construction of a reservoir in Wyoming at a cost limited to \$215,000. On February 24, Warren gave a long speech in support of his bill. His chief opponent was Senator Gray of Delaware who objected to a measure which taxed one section of the country to enable the western section to raise crops which would enter into competition with the Eastern agricultural products. Warren countered this argument by pointing out that the river and harbor bill without the reservoir amendment provided nothing for the western mountain states but benefited only those states of a commercial nature.¹³⁴ The House refused to accept the amendment and the conference committee dropped the item. Warren aided by other Western senators, including Carter of Montana and

¹³¹*House Documents*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 141, p. 50, (Serial No. 3666)

¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹³³*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 8, 1899, p. 1595.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 2268.

Wilson of Washington, began a filibuster on the last day of Congress when the river and harbor bill came up for consideration. Warren's intention was to force the incorporation of his item in the bill. He began at eight-thirty in the evening, and with minor interruptions continued until three o'clock in the morning. He quoted at length from Chittenden's report to take up time. At last, seeing that the House conferees refused to give in, he finally agreed to let the bill pass without his amendment.¹³⁵ In March the *Irrigation Age* said:

No one is better fitted to speak on the subject of irrigation than Senator Warren and no one deserves more praise than he for the manner in which he has worked for the irrigation industry. Thoroughly posted on all phases of the subject practically as well as theoretically he has "borne the heat and burden of the day" and worked constantly and faithfully in the interest of irrigation and the state which he represents.¹³⁶

Warren was anxious to arouse interest in the subject of irrigation of the arid lands and to get information before Congress as to its desirability. In 1892 he introduced an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to make a study of artesian and underflow irrigation; on March 3, he introduced an amendment appropriating \$10,000 for collecting and publishing information as to the best methods of cultivating soil by irrigation; and a third amendment appropriating \$5000 for the purpose of enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to continue the collection of information as to the best methods of reclaiming arid lands and the cultivation of land by irrigation.¹³⁷ In 1895 he secured agreement to the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate, That the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture be requested to furnish such information as may be had in their respective departments concerning the existing legislation relative to irrigation as far as it concerns the Executive Departments, the operations of each bureau and office, in any way concerned with irrigation, the principles which govern the sub-

¹³⁵*New York World*, March 4, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. By his filibuster Warren endangered the \$1,000,000 appropriation for an investigation of the Panama and Nicaragua Canal sites.

¹³⁶Quoted in *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, March 17, 1899.

¹³⁷*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, March 8, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

division of work among the various offices wherever the law allows latitude, and such other facts as will serve to show clearly what has already been accomplished . . . in this line.¹³⁸

In 1896 Warren introduced a resolution providing for printing ten thousand copies of a report on irrigation in the Western part of the United States which was prepared for the Eleventh Census.¹³⁹ In March he introduced an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill authorizing the United States Geological Survey to continue the collection of information as to the best modes of irrigation and appropriating \$15,000, five thousand dollars of which was to be immediately available to enable the Survey to continue the work of gauging streams and determining the water supply of the United States.¹⁴⁰ In 1897 Warren introduced a bill providing for the entry of land for reservoir purposes.¹⁴¹ On June 13 of that year he presented documents and letters pertaining to irrigation which were ordered to be printed.¹⁴² In 1898 he submitted an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill providing for an investigation of the methods of building and operating irrigation canals.¹⁴³ Another amendment provided for the creation of a division of irrigation and reclamation of arid lands—the employees to include an irrigation engineer and his assistant.¹⁴⁴ He justified his amendment on the grounds that such a bureau, to which several Senators objected, meant “life and death to nearly one half of the area of the United States” and that it required the expenditure of only \$20,000 out of a total appropriation of between two and three million dollars.¹⁴⁵ Senator Stewart of Nevada in the debate on the amendment declared that “If there is anything that the Agricultural Department can do which would be more beneficial than any other particular thing, it seems to me this is the one.”¹⁴⁶ The conference committee reduced the total appropriation to \$10,000.

In 1899 Warren introduced an amendment providing \$50,000 for preliminary surveys or examinations to be made of one or more reservoir sites in each of the arid and semi-

¹³⁸*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., December 20, 1895, p. 253.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, January 21, 1896, p. 815.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, March 3, 1896, pp. 2377-2378.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67.

¹⁴²*Senate Documents*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 818. (Serial No. 3562)

¹⁴³*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., Jan. 17, 1898, p. 672.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, February 2, 1893, pp. 1349 and 1394.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1395.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 1395.

arid states.¹⁴⁷ On February 13, Warren spoke in favor of his amendment which was reported favorably from the irrigation committee:

Irrigation and reclamation of land is the most important economic subject or problem that we have before us today and is capable of yielding the largest returns to us as a problem. . . . Last year the friends of irrigation urged an increased appropriation and the Committee on Irrigation of this body reported an amendment providing for \$27,500. The Committee on Appropriations of the Senate consented to \$20,000. That amount was cut down in conference to \$10,000. With that \$10,000 the Secretary of Agriculture commenced this work. He became so much interested in it as did others who gave it attention that he estimated for and requested this year \$50,000 for the purpose, \$10,000 to be made immediately available. . . . The appropriation will really stand \$20,000 for the fiscal year 1899 and \$25,000 for 1900. . . . Gauging of streams furnished information useful for a great many purposes. Immigration hereafter must naturally be from our large cities into new country for those wishing to engage in agricultural pursuits. We have very little ground left that can be occupied except by irrigation. If there could be information for a would-be farmer which could be laid before him as to what amount of water is necessary to raise a certain crop, it would be very valuable. Much of the settlement made and work done along these lines have been primitive and generally wasteful as to the appropriation and use of water, and with but little more than an experimental knowledge of the kind of crops to grow, the amount of water necessary, and the most beneficial time and manner to apply it.¹⁴⁸

In August 1899, Secretary of Agriculture Wilson made a trip through the West. While in Wyoming he made a special study of the proposition to build storage reservoirs by government aid.¹⁴⁹

The river and harbor bill of 1901 as passed by the Senate carried an appropriation for the building of several reservoirs in the arid West. The House refused to incor-

¹⁴⁷*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, February 14, 1899.

¹⁴⁸*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 13, 1899, p. 1792.

¹⁴⁹*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, August 10, 1899.

porate these items in the bill and conference committees appointed by each house were unable to reach an agreement. On March 2, Warren gave a long speech in support of the appropriation. During his speech he said:

The State of New York with her great delegation, can, if she chooses, in combination with other States with large delegations secure the passage of a bill with so much so-called pork in it that they can divide it around among such States and districts as they decide upon and in the arrogance of their power can say, "this great Western empire shall not have a dollar to develop a national industry in which every poor man, every family seeking a home, every pioneer struggling with the hard conditions of frontier life, may have a share"—the oleaginous pork obtruding from every pocket fore and aft, that can snap their fingers at us if they will.¹⁵⁰

Senator Carter from Montana led a successful filibuster against the river and harbor bill, and the last few minutes of the session expired before the bill came to a vote. Bit by bit Carter read the bill commenting at length on each provision. He was aided by Senator Wellington of Maryland, who said, "... In this bill, the most meritorious items, to my mind, are those that go toward the new plan—that of irrigation for our arid lands. . . ." ¹⁵¹

During this session Warren also tried to amend the Carey Act to extend the time for reclamation from the date of approval by the Secretary of the Interior of the State's application for segregation. This bill also provided that the Secretary of the Interior, at his discretion, might extend the period for five years. Warren presented a letter from Secretary Hitchcock endorsing the amendment.¹⁵²

In 1902 a compromise was worked out. Those senators interested in irrigation agreed that they would not add any provision to the river and harbor bill concerning irrigation in the West if those senators primarily interested in the river and harbor bill would agree not to obstruct any irrigation bill that might be adopted. Accordingly the Senate passed a bill providing for the building of dams and reservoirs.¹⁵³ At the same time a bill was passed in the House providing for reclamation. The year 1902 witnessed a great

¹⁵⁰*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., March 2, 1901, p. 3544. Warren had introduced the amendment. See *Ibid.*, January 21, 1901, p. 1247.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, March 2, 1901, p. 3548.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, March 1, 1901, p. 3295.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., April 21, 1902, p. 4474.

triumph for the irrigation interests. President Roosevelt lent his influence to the reclamation program. Roosevelt in his first message to Congress on December 31, 1901, said:

It is as right for the national government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the head waters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.¹⁵⁴

The Reclamation Act was signed by President Roosevelt on June 17, 1902. This bill provides for national aid for reclamation purposes. It provides that the national government shall set aside the money received from the sale of land for a "reclamation fund" to be used in developing irrigation projects.

The Reclamation Act was commonly called the Newlands Act in honor of Representative Newlands of Arizona, the chairman of the Irrigation Committee in the House. Wyoming newspapers were unwilling to grant all honor to Newlands for the success in passing the bill. One Wyoming newspaper gave Representative Mondell the credit for getting the bill through the House and continued, Wyoming's delegates—O. D. Clark, F. E. Warren, and F. Mondell, all have stood nobly by this act.¹⁵⁵

Warren's most positive achievements in Congress during the years 1890 to 1902 were in securing legislation favorable to reclamation. He reflects the shift from private to state and from state to national control of the irrigation program. His efforts, along with the work of other Western senators, to secure national legislation and aid in the reclamation undoubtedly helped arouse the interest of President Roosevelt in the problem. Elwood Mead worked constantly with Warren to secure public recognition of the question. This work was hindered by the opposition of the Eastern interests to thus subsidizing the West. The farmers of the more eastern sections of the country had no desire to allow a flood of agricultural products from the West to force down the prices of their own produce. Ethan Allan Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, in his report to the President,

¹⁵⁴Frederick Haynes Newell, *Irrigation in the United States* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company, 1902), p. 394.

¹⁵⁵*Star Valley Pioneer* (Afton, Wyoming) June 27, 1902. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

November 12, 1901, felt it necessary to thus reassure the Eastern farmer:

There need be no fear of competition of Western products with Eastern agriculture, since the Asiatic markets now opened will absorb the surplus of the Western farms. The character of these is also such that the staple crops of the East cannot now go to the remote West, nor those of the West come East, excepting in the case of semi-tropic and dried fruits.¹⁵⁶

By June 30, 1909, the reclamation fund had reached the sum of \$58,582,000 and \$45,750,000 had been spent in reclamation.¹⁵⁷ Water had been supplied to 424,549 acres. In 1908 two large projects were contemplated in Wyoming. The North Platte project involved the construction of the Pathfinder Dam fifty miles from the town of Casper and was intended to have a storage capacity of one million acre feet of water. The proposed Shoshone Dam in Big Horn County was intended to provide a storage capacity of 456,000 acre feet.¹⁵⁸

William E. Smythe in *The Conquest of Arid America* thus sums up the contributions of Mead and Senators Warren and Carey to the reclamation of the West:

Aside from the great work accomplished by Mr. Mead in reforming the irrigation laws and customs of the West, Wyoming has made another contribution of large importance to the country's progress along this line. Two of her United States Senators, Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren, have identified themselves conspicuously with great measures calculated to create homes for millions. Senator Carey was the author of the Act of 1894, commonly known as the Carey Law, which gave one million acres to each of the western states upon condition that the land be reclaimed and settled within ten years. Senator Warren is the leader of new and growing movement which aims at Federal appropriations to be used in the construction of great reservoirs beyond the reach of private enterprise. With signal ability and devotion these two Wyoming statesmen have labored for years to open the arid public domain to settlement; to solve the vexed questions arising from the unrestricted use

¹⁵⁶Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

¹⁵⁷Van Hise, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁵⁸Burdick, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

of the open range; and to provide enlightened legislation for the protection of the forests so important in connection with irrigation.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹William E. Smythe, *The Conquest of Arid America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1900), p. 220.

(Continued Next Issue.)

When General Crook led the Big Horn Expedition in March 1876, the thermometer was reported at 22° below zero. The food had to be thawed out before it could be eaten. "Much of the time," Crook wrote, "the column looks like a procession of Santa Clauses, so heavily are beards and mustaches covered with ice."

In 1897 E. Buckley & Sons opened a woolen factory at the mouth of Swift Creek in Star Valley. Two sets of machinery were installed for the manufacture of yarns, blankets, quilt batting and the like.

In 1897 there were five charcoal kilns at Piedmont, then on the main line of the U.P.R.R. in Uinta County. After the construction of the Aspen Tunnel, Piedmont became practically a ghost town.

One of the entertainments of note held in the old Root's Opera House in Laramie, was an exhibition fight between John L. Sullivan, the heavyweight champion, and Norman Selby, better known as "Kid" McCoy.

Old timers claim that in the early days when the M. D.'s, (which stands for mule drivers) were freighting on the plains, and one of their long-eared nightingales got too musical and kept the boys awake with its braying, they would tie a stone to the offender's tail. This had the effect of shutting off the music.

In the summer of 1877 the Union Pacific replaced the iron rails on its Nebraska Division, (which included the line between Pine Bluffs and Buford), with steel rails. The replacement work progressed at the rate of one mile a day.

Stage Ride from Rawlins to the Wind River Boarding School, 1897

By COLONEL RICHARD HULBERT WILSON*

A description of the road by which the Wind River Boarding School is reached from Rawlins, its nearest railroad point, together with an account of the means of conveyance used, various points of interest along the route, the scenery and other points that may be of interest or advantage to the traveler is here presented. Few of all those who have traveled this road can fail to have all these indelibly stamped upon their minds, but as many have yet to make the trip for the first time, it is possible that these notes may meet the eye of some who will find them useful and beneficial. The teacher or other employee who is ordered for duty at our school will be directed to proceed to Rawlins, Wyoming. On arriving at that place and getting off the cars he will find himself in a little railroad town of about one thousand inhabitants and situated in a country, bare, rocky and treeless—in fact, not at all prepossessing in appearance.

The town is, however, quite a business center. The principal industries being those of freighting supplies to points to the north and south and the wool shorn from the numerous herds of sheep which can be seen almost anywhere on the prairie.

It is also an important railroad point being the end of a division of the Union Pacific Railway. No one can claim any great excellence or an ample supply for the water of Rawlins; it is drawn from artesian wells and the newly

*Colonel Richard Hulbert Wilson was born at Hillsdale, Michigan, on June 10, 1853. In 1873 he was appointed to the Military Academy at West Point from which he graduated in 1877, receiving his commission as a second lieutenant. He served as assistant instructor in the Infantry and Cavalry School until 1891, after which he was stationed at Ft. McKinney, Wyoming. From 1895-1898 he was the Indian Agent at the Arapahoe and Shoshone Agency, Wyoming.

Colonel Wilson participated in the battles of El Caney and San Juan, Cuba, and the siege of Santiago in 1898; he was recommended for brevet as a major "for Gallantry" at the battle of El Caney. He was commander of Fort Michael, Alaska, 1902-1904, commander of the Puerto Rico Provisional Regiment of Infantry, 1908-1909, and on duty on the Mexican border, 1917. He was retired on June 10, 1917.

On June 25, 1895, he was married to Grace A. Chaffin of Cheyenne, Wyoming.

arrived sojourner is respectfully advised to be chary in using it. The wind generally blows a gale and carries with it clouds of the soil which is of a loamy nature and well adapted to keep everything as dirty as possible.

The Depot Hotel, situated close to the railroad tracks, is a very well kept and comfortable hotel and there the traveler for this school is advised to betake himself so as to get a good night's sleep and fortify himself for the thirty odd hours of stage travel on the morrow. He had better first engage a seat in the stage, which he can do at the stage office, a few steps distant from the hotel. Then he is advised to devote all the rest of his spare time to sleeping. His slumbers will doubtless be disturbed by the rumbling of cars and the bells and whistles of the switch engine which seems to be kept busy all night. The next morning at about 8 o'clock the stage will be seen standing at the depot platform. The passenger will have plenty of time to take his seat and after loading on the mail and express matter the stage will get under way. The fare from Rawlins to Shoshone Agency is \$18.00 with a rate of 7 cents per pound for all baggage in excess of 40 pounds. Small children are carried free and passengers are allowed to carry without charge, a reasonable amount of wraps, bundles, etc.

The stage itself is not at all imposing in outward looks, nor, it must be confessed, the most comfortable carriage to ride in that can be imagined—still by staying in it one arrives at his destination, and what more can be asked?

Sometimes a band of antelope will be seen skimming over the ground with wonderful swiftness but these animals like all the large game of the west are becoming very scarce and wild. Of the feathered race few specimens will be seen. There is a little owl which seems to live in the dog towns and to inhabit the burrows of the rightful owners—the prairie dogs. Sometimes they can be seen perched upon the mound of earth by the side of a burrow or lazily flying near by. A hawk or an eagle may perhaps be noticed soaring high in the air, or a flock of blackbirds chattering about a piece of cultivated ground or a stable, but the song birds, which are so numerous in more favored regions, will neither be seen nor heard. The horned toad is often seen sunning itself in the sage brush and the passenger can sometimes look out of the window and get a view of a rattlesnake dragging its long, spotted body along hunting for something to eat, or coiled up under a bush. The stage driver, following the universal custom of the dwellers of the plains, never fails to stop for the purpose of killing this reptile, although when unmolested, it is quite harmless and has as much right to live as perhaps some of us have.

All of these members of animated nature can or may be seen, if the journey is made in summer, but in winter, that is from November until May, it is far different; then for many a mile no living thing will be met; on parts of the route during the winter, snow of almost any depth will be traveled over or through, and frequently the whole face of the country will be covered with a dazzling expanse of the fleecy element, covering sage brush and everything else not more than a foot in height. In spring, the melting snow will sometimes fill the road with soft, tenacious mud. This condition, however, will not last as the fierce blasts of the desert soon dry the mud and convert it, in most places into deep beds of dust.

About ten miles out from Rawlins, a chain of low hills of a bright red color will be noticed off to the right or eastward. It is one of the walls of the small canon in which Bell Springs, the first stopping place is situated, and in about three hours and a half after leaving Rawlins, the stage will dash up in front of the station. The altitude of the place is 6950 feet, and the distance traveled is 14 miles. The station is composed of a dry stone stable with a dirt roof and has an attachment consisting of one room, in which the man in charge (called the stock tender) eats, sleeps and lives. One or two other low stone buildings, more or less in ruins, will be noticed. The spring from which the station takes its name is about fifty yards to the left or westward. It is covered with a wooden curbing and from it a small stream trickles out through a lateral canon and runs down to the vast plain, which can be seen below. A halt of about 15 minutes is made here for the purpose of changing the horses, and a fresh pair having been harnessed the journey is resumed.

At this point, if the weather is fine, and the traveler has not already done so, he should take a seat outside beside the driver. The drivers are generally experienced plainsmen and not at all averse to filling the ears of the tenderfoot with tales of numerous exploits and adventures in the Far West, such as fights with Indians and wild animals, stage robberies, etc., which, though deserving to be taken with many grains of salt, are at least novel and entertaining and serve to make the tedious trip less irksome.

After leaving Bell Springs the stage descends a rather long hill, and after having passed over a distance of about a mile, leaves the canon and emerges upon a vast level tract, known as "Separation Flat." Although fully five miles wide, it seems to the eye to have only a fraction of that width. The road runs directly across it passing over

Separation Creek on a small bridge. By the way, the writer has never seen any water in this so-called creek.

To the right and left the immense flat extends as far as the eye can reach; to the west it expands into the well known "Red Desert," an immense, bare, broken and waterless plain, the soil and rocks of which in many places are reddish in color, and in the most inaccessible recesses of which a small band of wild buffaloes is said to be occasionally seen, the last survivors of the millions of these animals, which but a few years ago roamed unmolested over the plains. To the east it extends with a gentle and imperceptible slope to the North Platte. In unusually wet seasons the flat has been known to be covered with water to the depth of several inches, but generally the road across it is quite good, especially for a bicycle, the soil being for the most part what is known as "gumbo."

On leaving the flat, the road, always leading to the northwest, becomes more sandy and the aspect of the country, if possible, more dreary and desolate. It is quite uneven too, and the stage laboriously toils up hill after hill, and rolls slowly down into the intervening gullies, in a thick bed of fine sand.

In dry weather, the sand being whirled up by the wheels, and raised by every gust of wind, soon covers stage horses, driver and passengers with a thick coating of dust. Huge reefs of sandstone, tipped up at a high angle, are seen in almost every direction. For several hundred yards the road passes along the base of one of these, which would furnish building stone enough for the City of Greater New York. About ten miles out from Bell Springs, the down stage is met and the drivers both rein up and spend a moment in the exchange of news, after which, each rolls slowly along again on its way. At two o'clock or a little earlier the second station, known universally as Bull Springs, is reached and a halt of about half an hour is made for dinner.

Bull Springs station consists of a log house and a stable of the same, placed each on one side of the road. There is a well here from which moderately good water is drawn for the horses and for household purposes, but the spring from which the station takes its name is about two miles to the west, at the base of a range of hills and the road does not go near it. The station is kept by a man and his wife, the former attending to the horses and the latter keeping the house and preparing the meals for the drivers and passengers; a more desolate and dreary place than Bull Springs station would be hard to find anywhere. It is placed on a sandy plain, fronting east with a low range of hills

about two miles behind it and the desolate, level, sage brush covered plain extending in front.

The Ferris mountains are on the eastern horizon—a chain of quite lofty mountains, black, bare and forbidding but along their base streaks of dazzling white, having the appearance of snow, will be noticed; they are banks of light, shifting sands; the sides of the mountains are gashed and seamed with ravines, along the walls of which scattered clumps of stunted pine and cedars stand out on the rocks behind. These mountains seem to be only a few miles away, such is the clearness of the atmosphere of the desert but in reality they are twenty miles distant from the station.

The meal that will be set before the hungry traveler will be found rather substantial than elaborate—the standard dishes of the plains, beef, bread, and canned vegetables will be served with but little attempt at display, and a cup of strong coffee or tea will terminate the repast. Water from the well will be seen on the table but even the seasoned aborigines pronounce it not good and the passenger had better not drink of it. A charge of fifty cents is made for the meal and the stage (the horses having again been changed) is soon under way again. Bull Springs is twenty-seven and one-half miles from Rawlins and has an elevation above the sea of 6700 feet.

From this station to the next, Lost Soldier, the road gradually nears the mountains and is an almost continuous rise, about fifty feet to the mile. The country becomes more sandy and occasionally for quite a long distance the coach will rumble over a bed of ground covered with smooth pebbles. Black desolate looking hills with steep sides will be noticed in the distance. The plain's name for these is "buttes" and the traveler will seldom be out of sight of several of them during this journey. None of the immense reefs of sandstone will be seen; the road bears still closer to the hills, and after having passed over a distance of twelve miles in about two hours and a half the buildings of Bohack's Ranch will be reached. The stage will make no stop here but passes close to the house. Poor Bohack! We knew him well! Many are the times that we have feasted at his bounteous board and reposed upon his beds of soft down. His cooking might not have suited Lucullus, but his fare was abundant and appetite made it equal to the best. 'Tis now about six months since he fell from a loaded wagon and was instantly crushed to death. Peace to his ashes!

A small stream trickles from the mountains here and runs a short distance out into the desert before it is swallowed up by the thirsty sand. On its banks the ranch buildings are placed. They consist of a good log house,

barn, corrals, sheep shearing pens, etc. If the traveler has time he can well employ a few moments in visiting a fine spring which is situated a hundred yards down the creek. The water gushes out filled with some kind of gas, the large bubbles of which rise through the water and burst on the surface. There is a vein of unusually good coal near the ranch and some day will be found valuable, although at present it is too remote from the railroad to admit of its being mined to any extent. At shearing time Bohack's ranch is a busy place—many sheep are deprived of their fleecy covering there by hands of shearers who travel from ranch to ranch in wagons. The sheep are dipped in a strong liquid to eradicate scab. These industries and the entertainment of transient visitors for a reasonable consideration form the means of support of Mr. Herman Bohack.

It may be said also, in passing, that indications of mineral oil have been discovered in this vicinity, as yet undeveloped but possibly they may be in the future.

Leaving Bohack's, the road veers slightly to the left or north and ascends the little Lost Soldier Creek towards the depression known as Crooks Gap, in which the next stage station, called Crooks is situated. This gap gives a low crossing of the water shed or summit in the Green Mountains which separate the waters of the Sweetwater from those of the North Platte. The Green Mountains, so called, are merely hills of no very great elevation and the summit is a wide flat with gently rolling sage covered hills on each side.

In the gap are situated the buildings of Crooks station—the stable to the left of the road and the house of the stock tender to its right, both built of logs. The stage will arrive there at about 6:00 o'clock p. m. and the traveler can get his supper there if he so desires, the stock tender being the holder of all the offices, viz., hostler, housekeeper and cook; the food will be found substantial but absolutely destitute of all frills. After a stay of perhaps half an hour the stage goes on, now descending a gentle slope towards the Sweetwater. Distance from Rawlins about forty-five miles.

Just as night is falling Mrs. Fisher's ranch will be seen to the right about a quarter of a mile from the road. Mrs. Fisher has quite an establishment of log buildings, corrals, etc., in the midst of a large pasture enclosed by a wire fence. In case a belated traveler finds it necessary to take refuge there he will find it a very comfortable place to pass the night. The stage is now following a small stream called Crooks Creek, a tributary of the Sweetwater, which is crossed on a bridge about two miles beyond Mrs. Fisher's. About four miles beyond Mrs. Fisher's the road crosses a

small tributary of Crooks Creek—there is no bridge and if the journey is made in winter and the creek is frozen, the crossing will be difficult.

Seven or eight miles farther on the buildings of Rongis, otherwise known as "The Home Station," situated on the north bank of the Sweetwater River, will be reached. Here is a building of two stories, a post-office, a store and a blacksmith shop, quite a settlement. A man named Signor once lived here and the place got its name by taking his name and turning it backwards. The Sweetwater is here at usual stages, about twenty feet wide and running with a good current. All around is a rolling, sage covered plain with the Green Mountains several miles to the west and the low hills bordering the river to the east.

Back up against the mountains, a ranch can be seen, which has a thriving appearance—it is said that a man named Hoppin or Hopper, lives there, and one of the men at the Home Ranch thinks that the stage route from that point to Rawlins should be changed so as to cross the Green Mountains somewhere near Hoppin's and meet the old road at Bull Springs, leaving Lost Soldier to the left and thus saving several miles of distance.

The old emigrant route to Oregon which was used so extensively in the 1840's, followed the course of the Sweetwater up stream and with frequent crossings, in a north-westerly direction to South Pass, where it crossed the Rocky Mountains. At the Home Ranch the road leaves the river and cuts across a bend in it, meeting it again at Sweetwater Bridge or Gate's Ranch about 7 miles distant from the Home Ranch. The bridge is a solid structure made of logs with abutments of the same and plank flooring supported on posts or piles driven in the stream which is here about 30 feet wide. Gate's Ranch has a rather unsavory reputation—liquor is sold here and generally several tough characters, more or less drunk, are hanging about the place. The stage horses are not changed here, but after crossing on the bridge, the stage goes on to the next station, called Meyersville, about 3 miles up the river on its northern bank. At Meyersville the road turns north towards the next station, called Hailey. For about five miles it leads across the sage covered plain to the brink of the tremendous descent of Beaver Hill, down which the road leads to Hailey. This hill (most people would call it a mountain) is about five miles long and very steep, especially at the top. From the summit a fine view can be had of the mountains to the left and of the valley of Beaver Creek. A strong wind is usually blowing and it is necessary to exercise great care in driving down the hill. Crossing the creek on a bridge, the stage

arrives at Hailey on its northern bank. A road ranch is kept by Mr. Signor, (the same who gave his name to Rongis), with all the appurtenances—saloon, bunk house, etc.

Mr. George Berry, proprietor of the stage line, has a stock tender here to attend to his spare stock and change the stage horses—so that there is quite a group of buildings in the station. Hailey is a place much visited by the sheep men to shear and dip their sheep and at the proper season many of them assemble there. Much wool is shipped by bull team from here to Casper along the road leading down the creek. Not far up the creek from Hailey is a fine hot spring which affords a good hot bath to anyone desiring it.

It may be stated also, that from Rongis, a road leads down the Sweetwater to Casper and that a stage called the Cannon Ball traverses it between these places once or twice a week.

From Hailey, the road, still in a northwesterly direction, keeps on toward the next station, Derby, through a different sort of country—the road is heavy with red clay mud in winter and red clay dust in summer. Up along hill and over divide to Hall Creek, a small stream. Thence over another divide to the Big Bend of Twin Creek which it follows down to Derby and the east bank of the creek, which here runs through a valley bordered by steep grim rocks on the east. Near here are many indications of oil and some prospecting for it has been done as shown by a tall derrick that has been left standing—they say that the oil is there but the well has been sealed and held in reserve until such time as transportation, etc., necessary for working it, shall be provided. The ranch at Derby is owned by an Englishman named Birkumshaw and the people living in it are all English and only recently arrived from the old country.

About five miles beyond Derby the road crosses the Little Popo Agie River on a good bridge and continue on towards Lander. The water of the Little Popo Agie is pure, clear mountain water, the first really good drinking water found since leaving Rawlins. A few miles down the river is a well known oil spring which is believed to be the one mentioned by Captain Bonneville in his account of his travels in the west in the early part of this century. The oil oozes out of the sand rock and is a heavy oil of good quality much used by ranchers as a lubricant for horse powers, reapers, etc. The spring is the property of eastern parties, who intend to develop it in the future. At present it is under the charge of Mr. Michael Murphy as caretaker. The road is now good but apt to be heavy in wet weather. A fine ranch owned by Mr. Reed is situated about ten miles

from Derby and on the west side of the road. Mr. Reed can furnish comfortable entertainment to any traveler needing it.

The road leads on generally between wire fences and over a low divide to the main Popo Agie River, about fifteen miles from Derby. It is crossed on a bridge just at the southern edge of the village of Lander, the county seat of Fremont County. Lander is an attractive little town of about 1000 inhabitants located in a fertile and productive country, although not very large, and being so far from any railroad, it shapes its manner of living according to its own resources without much heed to any others. Communication with the outside world is generally made by the stage road to Rawlins, although there is some travel to and from Casper. On the bank of the Popo Agie at the entrance to the town is the flour mill of Mr. J. D. Woodruff, one of the leading citizens, and continuing up the main street, which is also the stage road, several other large mercantile establishments, the banks of Noble and Lane and of Mr. Amorette, the Lander Hotel owned by Mr. Jerry Shehan, the court house and jail—fine brick buildings—are passed. If court is in session, Judge Jesse Knight will be the presiding judge and Mr. Richard Morse, the sheriff with Messrs. E. H. Fourn and J. S. Vidal, the leading lawyers, generally opposed to each other.

From Lander to the Shoshone agency the road continues on nearly northwest for about fifteen miles over a moderately rolling country but with no steep hills and with the lofty foothills of the Rocky Mountains several miles to the left. Two small creeks, Squaw Creek and Baldwin Creek, tributaries of the Popo Agie, will be forded and finally about six miles from Lander, the North Fork of the Popo Agie will be forded. This creek forms the southern boundary of the Shoshone Indian Reservation—sometimes called the Wind River Reservation—of the Shoshone and Northern Arapahoe Indians. It is an immense track with limits not very accurately defined but containing something like 2500 square miles of land, mostly rolling sage covered upland but also the valleys of the Big Wind and Little Wind Rivers, which form some of the best agricultural land in Wyoming.

After fording the North Fork, and following the road for about six miles the buildings of the agency, and the Wind River Boarding School will be seen, situated in the valley of Little Wind River with the little military post of Fort Washakie a mile farther on. The Agency buildings are located on the banks of a small creek called Trout Creek. To the right are the agency stone houses and offices, an Episcopal Church conducted by the Reverend John

Roberts, the trade store of Mr. A. D. Lane and other buildings occupied by agency employes. To the left is the agency saw and flour mill, the blacksmith shop, and farther up the creek, the agent's house, with a flag pole in front of it from which the Stars and Stripes are waving. Arranged in a line are the log houses occupied by agency employes. The employes consist at present of Mr. Thomas R. Beason, Ass't Clerk, Col. John W. Clark, Allotting Agent, Dr. F. H. Welty, Agency Physician, Mr. F. G. Burnett, Farmer of the Shoshones, Mr. G. W. Sheff, Engineer, Mr. L. S. Clark, Issue Clerk, and Mr. J. F. Ludin, Chief Clerk.

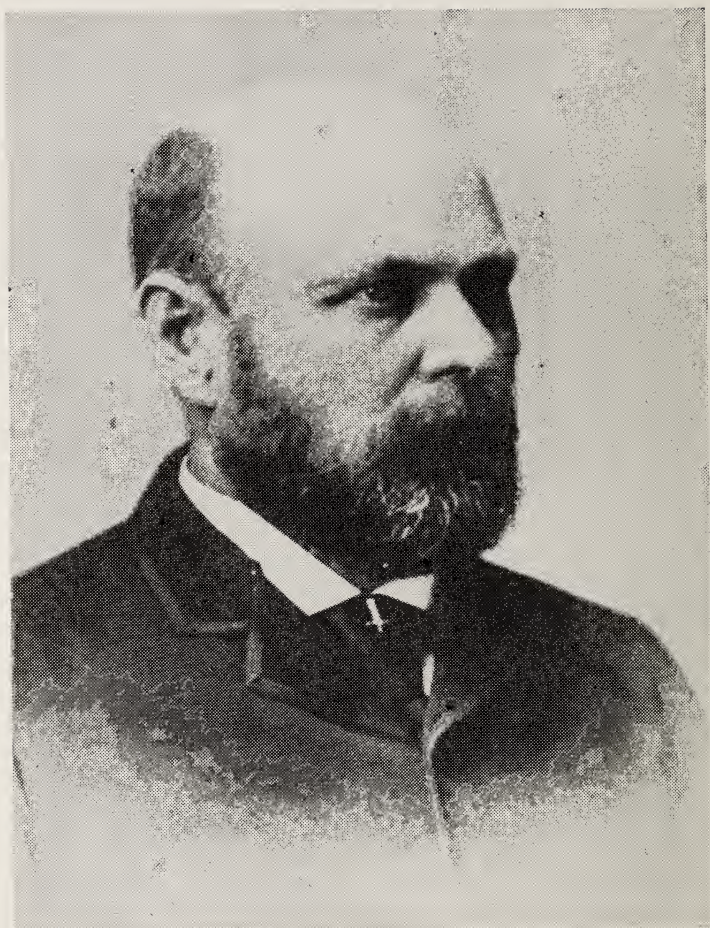
Most of the Shoshones live in log cabins located on their allotments along the base of the mountains and in the vicinity of the agency. The Arapahoes live farther down the valley of Little Wind River, below the mouth of Trout Creek and their Sub-Agency is located on Little Wind River, near the mouth of the Popo Agie, where Mr. J. C. Burnett, Indian Trader has a store. St. Stephen's Mission for Arapahoe girls and boys is about five miles farther down. It is conducted by the Rev. Balthasar Feusi, S. J., and about ten sisters of the order of St. Francis. An Episcopal mission for Shoshone girls about three miles above the main agency is conducted by the Rev. John Roberts. The Wind River Boarding School for boys and girls of both tribes is a government school conducted by Mr. W. P. Campbell and is located three miles below the agency. It accommodates about 250 pupils. There are about 1700 Indians in the two tribes, about 850 in each.

The distance from Rawlins to the Agency has been roughly estimated at 133 miles and the stage traverses it ordinarily in about 24 hours—at all times a very fatiguing and uncomfortable trip and in winter it is a positive hardship.

The annual output of charcoal at Piedmont, Wyoming, in 1877 was 300,000 bushels.

The first homestead entry in Wyoming to be filed with the Land Office, is said to have been made by Walter D. Pease on December 6, 1870 on the NE¼ Sec. 20, Tp. 14 N, R. 67 W. Pease received his patent seven years later.

During highwater time in the early days of Wyoming, Frank Earnest and Ed Bennett often collected \$300.00 a day from their ferry at the North Platte Crossing below Saratoga. Their charge was \$5.00 a wagon.



Joseph M. Carey

The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Political Power in Wyoming Territory 1873-1890 *

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON**

Of all the states and territories in the "Cattle Kingdom" Wyoming was the most typical. The ranchers in that frontier society of the 1870's created a powerful association known as the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association for the protection of their economic and political interests. Through its large membership and closely knit organization this group became the official spokesman for the cattle business.¹ Moreover, the laws of the range and the social pattern of the area were prescribed so completely by the decisions of the association that Wyoming has commonly been referred to as the "Cattleman's Commonwealth."² The association never could have exerted such influence in territorial Wyoming if it had not entered the field of politics. It was inevitable that the association should become a power in lawmaking because the leading men of the territory were among its members.³ The territorial legislature during the

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**For Professor Jackson's biography see *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 15:2:143. During the summer of 1944 Prof. Jackson taught at the University of Michigan, in 1945 at the University of Wyoming, in 1946 in the Institute of American Studies at the University of Minnesota and in 1947 at the University of Texas. He has recently been appointed Assistant Professor of American History at the University of Chicago. He will take up residence at the University of Chicago in the spring, where his work will be in the field of the Trans-Mississippi West.

¹Ernest S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), 135-37, 154-58; Louis Pelzer, "A Cattleman's Commonwealth On the Western Range," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XIII (June, 1926), 30-49. This survey of the organization and activities of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, with editorial revisions, was reprinted as a chapter in Louis Pelzer, *The Cattleman's Frontier: A Record of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Industry from Oxen Trains to Pooling Companies*, 1850-1890 (Glendale, 1936), 87-115.

²Pelzer, "Cattleman's Commonwealth," loc. cit., 30-49.

³*Ibid.*, 47.

decade of the 1880's did reflect the will of the association, but important territorial officials, such as the governor and secretary, who were sent to the "Cattleman's Commonwealth" by the federal government, were in a position to delay legislation, if not prohibit it, long enough to thwart the desires of the executive committee of the stock growers. Therefore, during the territorial period the cattlemen not only had to send their spokesmen to the legislative assembly to get laws passed or amended, but also to encourage tactfully the support of the chief executive's office in recommending and approving stock legislation. In both of these activities they were so successful, through the association, that the organization was generally considered the *de facto* territorial government. It will be of interest to survey the nature and extent of this political control.

Fortunately for the ranchers, John A. Campbell, the first territorial governor of Wyoming who served from 1869 to 1875, recognized the importance of the cattle business. He declared before the first assembly of lawmakers, "it would seem superfluous to say anything in relation to our advantages as a stockgrowing country, or the wisdom and propriety of passing such laws as will give protection to herds and flocks."⁴ During May, 1871, Campbell sponsored the first organization of cattlemen in the territory and became the president of this Wyoming Stock Grazier's Association. When the second legislature assembled at Cheyenne in November, 1871, the Governor called a simultaneous meeting of the stock growers, and a joint session was held in the hall of the house of representatives.⁵ After several addresses upon the subject of the livestock industry and its importance to Wyoming, the association adjourned its meeting and the legislators passed a bill for the "Protection of Stock in Wyoming Territory, and to Punish Certain Offenses Concerning the Same."⁶

The Governor's cattle organization soon went out of existence, but on November 29, 1873, there was held in Cheyenne the initial meeting of the Laramie County Stock Association which became the nucleus of the Wyoming

⁴Message of Governor Campbell to the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, October 12, 1869 (Cheyenne, 1869). The University of Wyoming Library has a bound volume of messages of the territorial governors, published contemporaneously in pamphlet form.

⁵Agnes W. Spring, *Seventy Years Cow Country* (Cheyenne, 1942), 21-22. The files of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* provide the source material upon which this account of the first Wyoming association is based.

⁶*General Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the Territory of Wyoming, passed at the Second Session of the Legislative Assembly* (Cheyenne, 1872), 89-91. Title varies; cited hereafter by appropriate short title.

Stock Growers' Association. At this first session, the association revealed that one of its primary purposes was political because the entire minutes deal with legislative matters. "On motion of T. A. Kent it was resolved to present a Bill for the better protection of the stock and stock interests of Laramie county," and on the motion of William L. Kuykendall a committee of five was appointed to draft a law to present at the session of the legislature which had just convened.⁷ The Governor delivered a keynote address to the third assembly recommending legislation to aid the cattle industry and reminded the representatives that "It is our duty to foster this great and growing interest by every means in our power, and we cannot afford to permit it to be crippled."⁸ The lawmakers responded by passing a comprehensive act "Regulating the Branding, Herding, and Care of Stock." Cattle and horses were not to run at large, and any person driving stock through Wyoming was to keep his cattle from mixing with those of resident stockmen. Moreover, a drover responsible for driving stock from its accustomed range against the will of any owner was liable for indictment for larceny.⁹ This law, with subsequent amendments, provided the basic legal requirements for the handling of stock on the Wyoming range.

The stock growers' association was well represented in the subsequent territorial legislative assemblies that convened between 1875 and 1890. These lawmaking bodies were never large. The number of representatives attending the fourth through the eleventh sessions of the house fluctuated between twenty and twenty-seven;¹⁰ thirteen councilmen composed the upper chamber in 1875 and 1877, but after that date the membership was stabilized at twelve until the close of the territorial period.¹¹ Although the

⁷Proceedings, November 29, 1873-November 9, 1883, Laramie County Stock Association Minute Book (University of Wyoming Library). Miss Lola M. Homsher, archivist, assisted the writer in making available this and other material in the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers, deposited in the University of Wyoming Library.

⁸*Message of Governor Campbell to the Third Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 4, 1873* (Cheyenne, 1873).

⁹Wyoming *General Laws*, 1873, pp. 223-26.

¹⁰This estimate is based upon the membership lists published in *House Journal of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Wyoming, Convened at Cheyenne, November 2, 1875* (Cheyenne, 1875), and succeeding assemblies through the eleventh. Cited hereafter as *Wyoming House Journal*.

¹¹*Council Journal of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Wyoming, Convened at Cheyenne, November 2, 1875* (Cheyenne, 1875). Cited hereafter as *Wyoming Council Journal*. Membership lists were checked in the *Journal* of each session of the council.

Laramie County Stock Association had become an active political organization in the first two years of its existence and several leaders secured seats in the legislature of 1875, its influence was not dominant prior to 1882. Cheyenne, which was the headquarters of the stock association as well as the territorial capital, provided the essential core for organization within the legislature. Three of the four Laramie County councilmen of 1875 were from this city and were among the founders of the stock association.¹² In the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions of the house of representatives, 1875-1879, the association had at least one spokesman who had either served on the committee establishing the cattleman's organization or held a high position in its councils.¹³

At the annual association meeting in Cheyenne, March, 1879, the Laramie County organization assumed the name of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and announced a program whereby its influence would be extended throughout the territory. Between 1879 and 1882 its membership increased from 85 to 195. These were the years of rapid expansion in the range cattle business, and when the seventh legislative assembly convened in 1882 the association had reached its maturity as a political pressure group.¹⁴ The association members elected from Laramie County now obtained support from other sections of the territory. Fifty per cent of the councilmen in 1882 were stockmen and at least a third were members of the Wyoming association.¹⁵ Ora Haley, who represented Laramie City, was a founder of the Albany County Stock Growers' Association which remained separate from the larger organization until 1883, but his concern in passing adequate stock laws was identical with that of the other five. In the house the range industry was represented by five association members from

¹²Hiram B. Kelly, William L. Kuykendall, and G. A. Searight. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1875, p. 4.

¹³Alexander H. Reel in the 1875 house; John F. Coad in 1877; William C. Irvine in 1879.

¹⁴Wyoming legislatures before 1879 convened in November of odd numbered years; for uniformity the session date was changed to January of even years starting in 1882. This practice continued to the close of the territorial period. Legislatures of the state of Wyoming convene in odd years.

¹⁵Irvine, Reel, Thomas Sturgis, Ora Haley, Perry L. Smith, and William W. Corlett. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1882, p. 3; *By-Laws, Secretary's Report, Resolutions and List of Members in the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and Laws of Wyoming to Protect the Stock Growers* (Cheyenne, 1882). The membership of each council and house has been compared with the association's published membership lists to determine the legislators belonging to the stock growers' organization.

Laramie and Carbon counties.¹⁶ In the eighth legislative council, 1884, the association retained 50 per cent of the seats through the election of cattlemen from Laramie, Carbon, and Uinta counties.¹⁷ There was no reduction in the number of organized stock owners in this session of the house, and the delegation representing Laramie County was particularly active and influential.¹⁸

When the ninth legislative assembly of the territory convened in January, 1886, the legislators belonging to the stock association were fewer than in the 1882 and 1884 assemblies. This may be explained by the fact that the association was not sponsoring a major piece of legislation as in the two previous sessions.¹⁹ In place of the six cattlemen formerly in the council there were only three.²⁰ If the stock interests were growing complacent concerning the need for political action to preserve their power, the disastrous years of 1885-1887 revealed the necessity for unity. Two severe winters destroyed most of the herds on the open range and greatly reduced the wealth of the association's membership. In the tenth legislative assembly, association members again claimed half the seats in the council, and six places in the house were held by representatives from the stockmen of Laramie, Carbon, and Sweetwater counties.²¹ The last Wyoming legislature of the territorial period assembled in January, 1890, and association members were more numerous than ever before. Eight of the twelve councilmen were affiliated with the territorial stock association;²² Laramie, Albany, Carbon, Uinta, Fremont, and Sweetwater counties included stockmen in their delegations.

Between 1873 and 1890 the most active ranchers in the Wyoming cattle industry and leaders in its organization were called upon to serve in the legislature. Three council-

¹⁶Harry Oelrichs, Andrew Gilchrist, William C. Lane, J. S. Jones, and E. W. Bennett. *Wyoming House Journal*, 1882, pp. 3-4.

¹⁷Irvine, Bennett, Philip Dater, A. T. Babbitt, Francis E. Warren, A. V. Quinn. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1884, p. 3.

¹⁸From Laramie County there were Coad, Hubert E. Teschemacher, and J. Howard Ford. Two Carbon County members, L. Quealy and William H. Weaver, brought the total membership to five. *Wyoming House Journal*, 1884, p. 3.

¹⁹Quarantine bill of 1882; "Maverick" bill of 1884.

²⁰Teschemacher, Ford, and Charles W. Wright. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1886, pp. 3, 10.

²¹Kuykendall, W. S. Weaver, Thomas B. Adams, Edward T. Duffy, Charles E. Blydenburg, and James C. Scrivener. *Wyoming House Journal*, 1888, p. 3.

²²Reel, Colin Hunter, John McGill, Tim. Kinney, Charles A. Campbell, Robert M. Galbraith, Andrew B. Liggett, Mike H. Murphy. *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1890, pp. 3, 5.

men of 1875, Kuykendall, Hiram B. Kelly, and G. A. Seairight, were all instigators of the cattleman's organization. Kuykendall had served as secretary and treasurer of the association since its inception, had been a member of the committee to draft its rules and regulations in 1873, and had signed the organization agreement the following year. Two more association founders, Alexander H. Reel and John F. Coad, had extended legislative careers. Reel served in the house of 1875 and moved to the council for the sessions of 1879 and 1882;²³ Coad was a member of the house in 1877 and again in 1884. Alexander H. Swan, while president of the stock association, was an active councilman in 1877.²⁴ In the following council Swan was succeeded by his brother Thomas with whom he was associated in the Swan Land and Cattle Company; and in the house of representatives of this session stock interests were promoted by William C. Irvine, a newcomer to the association who was destined to have an important future role as its roundup foreman, a member of the executive committee, a trustee, treasurer, and president. Irvine also served as councilman in 1882 and 1884. Thomas Sturgis, association secretary and one of the paramount organizers of the cattle interests in the United States, directed the association members in the council of the seventh legislative assembly, 1882, and the delegation in the house of this year was advised by C. W. Riner, a member of the law firm of Corlett, Lacey, and Riner, legal counsel for the association. A wealthy stockman of the territory who was to become governor and senator, Francis E. Warren, sat in the council of 1884. Hubert E. Teschemacher, a member of the executive committee of the association between 1883 and 1892, was a representative in 1884 and a councilman in 1886.²⁵ Thomas B. Adams, who followed Sturgis as association secretary, was elected to the house of representatives in 1888 and promoted to the council in the final territorial session of 1890. Many other association members followed these leaders in promoting laws to preserve the prosperity of the stockmen of Wyoming.

As in most lawmaking bodies, the Wyoming territorial assemblies referred all bills introduced into the council or house to standing committees for review and recommenda-

²³Reel was to serve as treasurer of the association, 1876-1889; on the executive committee, 1891-1900; and as trustee, 1884-1885.

²⁴Membership Book, 1874-1881, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. This record includes an alphabetical list of the earliest members of the Laramie County Stock Association, recording the dates of their elections, positions held, and dues paid.

²⁵*By-Laws, Secretary's Report, Resolutions and List of Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association and Laws of Wyoming to Protect the Stock Growers*, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1886.

tion. Association members secured appointments to committees which were to scrutinize all stock legislation and thereby were more effective than their numbers would have warranted. From 1875 to 1890 the council committee on stock, stock laws, and brands had an association member as chairman. Association men comprised a majority of its membership in the 1882 session; in 1890, all five members of the committee were organized stockmen. Searight, Swan, Sturgis, and Teschemacher were among those who served as committee chairmen, and it was seldom that legislation adverse to the association was presented to the council for final consideration. Association-sponsored measures were invariably and speedily endorsed. In the house the cattlemen had a similar control over the committee on stock raising and stock laws; only in the session of 1886 was a nonassociation member named as chairman.

The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association encouraged the passage of all laws that would foster the range cattle industry. Although all cattlemen in Wyoming were affected by much of the legislation which it sponsored, the primary object of the association was to maintain the prosperity of its own membership. To achieve this end, the organization proposed the enactment of legislation that would place it in an advisory position to county and territorial officials. Furthermore, the association's executive committee became a bill-drafting agency for stock laws, its legal counsel prepared the final draft of many bills introduced into the assembly, and the members of the association's legislative committee, appointed from time to time, were likewise members of the territorial legislature.

When the 1875 assembly convened, the act "Regulating the Branding, Herding, and Care of Stock," enacted two years earlier, was amended to permit county commissioners to appoint detectives to discover violations of the stock laws and to pay them from the county treasury. These detectives were to be selected only upon the *recommendation* of the county cattle organizations.²⁶ The advisory role of the stock association was further recognized in the 1877 legislature when jurisdiction over the recording of brands was transferred from county clerks to a committee of three, two of whom were to be representative stockmen. These new committees were to review all previously issued brands and in case of duplication to determine the lawful user.²⁷

Discussion at the annual meeting of the stock growers in 1879 revealed a concern in expanding the range cattle

²⁶*Compiled Laws of Wyoming*, 1876 (Cheyenne, 1876), Chap. 105, p. 542.

²⁷*Wyoming Session Laws*, 1877, pp. 125-26.

industry through further territorial legislation as shown by the following excerpt from the minutes:

Resolution Sturgis. That our Executive com [mittee] is instructed to obtain from the Legislature at its next meeting an enactment making it obligatory upon any man who shall hereafter turn out female neat cattle within this Territory to place with them at the time when turned out not less than 5 servicable bulls . . . for every 100 head of female cattle two years old and upwards

Further that there shall be attached to such Act a substantial penalty for each violation.

Further that this is the unanimous sense of this Asso. Adopted.²⁸

Two years later at the spring meeting of the association the primary interest was in the protection of the range from contagious cattle diseases which had broken out in the East. A resolution was adopted providing that the executive committee should appoint a special committee to draw up a bill providing for the extermination of pleuropneumonia and other contagious diseases to be presented to the 1882 session of the territorial legislature.²⁹ Sturgis took a prominent part in the discussions which followed, was named on the committee, and in counsel with legal advisers drafted the so-called quarantine bill. Shortly after the legislative session was organized, Sturgis and Andrew Gilchrist, chairmen of the council and house committees on stock law, reported identical bills out of their committees with the recommendation of immediate passage. "An Act to Suppress and Prevent the Dissemination of Contagious and Infectious Diseases among Domestic Animals" was soon on the statute books.³⁰ This legislation was laudatory in its attempt to check the spread of disease among the cattle of the territory. The association, however, made certain that the desires of its organization would be respected in the enforcement of the law because the territorial veterinarian who was to investigate cases of disease, inspect cattle arriving in the territory, and quarantine infected areas was to be named by the governor upon the *recommendation* of the association. When there was evidence of disease outside the territory, the association was

²⁸Minute Book, March 29, 1879.

²⁹*Ibid.*, April 4, 1881

³⁰C. F. No. 9 was introduced by Sturgis, January 23, 1882, and H. B. No. 3 by Gilchrist, January 24, 1882. Governor John W. Hoyt signed the bill on March 8, 1882.

to inform the governor who was required by the law to issue a proclamation excluding cattle from states or counties infected.³¹

The association began to make plans in the summer of 1883 for the meeting of the eighth legislative assembly which was to convene in January of the following year. A legislative committee to recommend amendments to the stock laws again was appointed. At a special meeting in November the report of the committee was discussed and a series of resolutions adopted by the cattlemen, one of which instructed the executive committee to draft a bill for the proper distribution of stray neat cattle and mavericks. The association unanimously went on record as opposed to the branding of calves on the range between the first day of January and the commencement of the general spring roundup and called upon the legislature to carry out the spirit of this resolution. The members further authorized the executive committee to prepare any statements about the annual roundup which it felt desirable to submit to the lawmakers, and referred to it for action all amendments to the stock laws as recommended by the legislative committee.³²

All three members of the legislative committee of the stock growers' association named in July sat in the eighth council. A. T. Babbitt, chairman of the committee, was likewise chairman of the council committee on stock laws and brands, but he possessed the good taste to permit a nonassociation member to present the "Maverick Bill" to the council with his committee's approval.³³ This law proposed to give the association complete responsibility for supervising the roundup of cattle. All mavericks were to be branded by the association, sold to the highest bidder, and proceeds turned over to the association's treasury with the understanding that it was to be used to pay cattle inspectors. The law provided also that all persons directly interested in the business of raising cattle and who could meet the qualifications established by the association's by-laws should be admitted to membership. The association was thus to become a quasi-official institution with legal control over the stock industry and the power to enforce its will. If this law passed, there was to be virtually a merger of the territorial government and the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association for the regulation of the range.³⁴

³¹*Laws of Wyoming Territory*, 1882, pp. 81-88.

³²Minute Book, July 2, November 9, 1883.

³³C. F. No. 2, *Wyoming Council Journal*, 1884, p. 19.

³⁴*Wyoming Session Laws*, 1884, pp. 148-52; Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, 135-37; Pelzer, "Cattleman's Commonwealth," loc. cit., 39-41.

All members of the Wyoming association did not approve of such drastic action because it would have been next to impossible for a stockman to operate successfully as a non-member. Every rancher would be forced into the association and any recalcitrant member could be disciplined by the organization. Word was received by Sturgis that Alexander H. Swan opposed the legislation and the Secretary wired him about this report and questioned his loyalty to the plans of the association.³⁵ Swan wired an emphatic reply:

I never agreed to support the Maverick Bill. Never read it until after leaving Cheyenne. Am ready to give full support to any measure which will give justice to cattle owners. Do not consider present bill just in its provisions, and if passed will be unsatisfactory in results. Have not changed my mind as to the bill in its present form.³⁶

The association men were sufficiently numerous in the council to pass the bill as drafted by their legislative committee but the division in the house of representatives was so close that a "substitute bill" was introduced incorporating minor changes. During the discussion a representative from Sweetwater County displayed in the house a shrouded miniature coffin, sent to him by constituents, containing a copy of the bill with the message, "The Wyoming Stock Growers' Association made it. We have confined it. Now let the eighth legislative assembly bury, and woe, woe, woe to those who shall resurrect it."³⁷ When the bill came up for final passage the association had the necessary majority, and Governor William Hale, already committed to the organization, approved of this measure which was of paramount importance in the history of Wyoming.

Upon the convoking of the ninth legislature in January, 1886, the executive committee of the association called a special meeting to discuss the stock legislation which should be pushed through the session. J. Howard Ford and Charles A. Guernsey, association men from the council and house of representatives, were invited guests. Amendments to

³⁵Robert Marsh to Sturgis, March 2, 1884, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. Incoming correspondence is filed in letter boxes alphabetically according to the names of correspondents. There are from one to six letter boxes for each year. Outgoing communications of the secretary are kept in letter press books and arranged chronologically. All correspondence is available in the Archives of the University of Wyoming Library.

³⁶Alexander H. Swan to Joseph M. Carey or Sturgis, March 2, 1884, *ibid.*

³⁷C. W. Crowley, John Lee, and David J. Jones to Herman G. Nickerson, February 29, 1884, *ibid.*

the veterinary bill were agreed upon and the legal counsel instructed to embody the substance into a bill for presentation to the legislature. Two days later the executive committee assembled again to endorse this legislation, and it was further agreed to draft a bill legalizing the assessments levied by the association. Several other laws were prepared and the association members in the legislature were instructed to inform their colleagues that the executive committee of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association wanted the territorial stock laws codified during 1887. Before adjournment Teschemacher was named a committee of one to supply the cattlemen's headquarters with printed copies of all stock laws introduced into either branch of the legislature.³³ This meeting of the executive committee perhaps demonstrated to the fullest extent its bill-drafting activities.

Those outside the association protested such procedures in vain; the editor of the Cheyenne *Daily Sun* whose leading editorial of January 24, 1886, had criticized the actions of the association was requested to appear before the executive committee at once to make explanation and he complied with the request. Committees were appointed to call upon editors of the Cheyenne *Daily Leader* and the Laramie *Daily Boomerang* in regard to their policies toward the association. The executive committee recorded its regret at this feeling of antagonism toward the association by both Republican and Democratic editors, and was apparently prepared to stifle criticism.³⁹

In its enthusiasm for fostering the cattle business, the association at times antagonized other economic interests in the territory by prescribing limitations and establishing requirements on their activities. An example is provided by the legal restrictions on the railroads. As early as 1875 the legislature had made railroads liable for all stock killed by trains. If the owner of the animal was known, the railroad was to notify him within ten days after his cattle were killed; if he was unknown, a record of the cattle brand was to be filed with the county clerk. Railroads failing to give such notification were liable to double indemnity. Moreover, any person who had stock killed was to notify the railway agent of its value, and the railroad had to pay two-thirds of the value to be released under the act.⁴⁰

³³Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, July 14, 1885, to April 5, 1911, January 23, 25, 1886, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. Cited hereafter as Minutes of the Executive Committee.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Compiled Laws of Wyoming*, 1876, Chap. 105, p. 544.

A continuous fear of the stock association was the possibility of an outbreak of fires on the range, and the legislature of 1886 made the railroads responsible for plowing a six-foot strip along their tracks to serve as a fireguard. County commissioners were to determine where it was essential to construct a fireguard and notify the railroad by June 1 of each year. The work was to be completed by September 1. The railroads were liable for a \$100 fine for every mile or fraction thereof not properly plowed; in case of fire caused by failure to comply with the law the railroads were liable for the entire damage caused.⁴¹

The influence of the stock growers' association in securing the enactment of laws to protect the cattle business was not confined to Wyoming. Having obtained a powerful voice in the territorial legislature by 1882, the association voted in its annual meeting to extend its influence to near-by states and territories and instructed its president to appoint a committee of one or more members to go to Nebraska, Colorado, and Iowa during the next sessions of the state legislatures to work for the passage of quarantine bills similar to that passed in Wyoming.⁴² Sturgis corresponded with the Iowa State Agricultural Society and with the Iowa Improved Stock Breeders Association relative to legislation in that state. It was reported that the 1882 Iowa legislature considered a quarantine measure, but the bill was "lumbered up" with so many details and extraneous provisions that it failed of passage.⁴³ The next session was to meet in January, 1884, when a committee from Wyoming would be welcome to assist in securing the law. John A. McShane, a Nebraska member of the Wyoming association, wrote Sturgis requesting copies of the veterinary bill to distribute among the Nebraska legislators who were to meet in extra session during May, 1882. No general legislation could be considered at this special session, but Sturgis forwarded 150 copies to McShane to acquaint the Nebraska lawmakers with the type of legislation desired during the next regular session in January, 1883.⁴⁴ Dakota members of the association appealed to Sturgis in 1887 for legal advice in drafting suitable stock laws to be presented to the Dakota legislature, and he suggested that they request the services of W. H. Parker, association attorney in Deadwood, who was

⁴¹Wyoming *Session Laws*, 1886, Chap. 50, pp. 106-107.

⁴²Minute Book, April 4, 1882.

⁴³Sturgis to John W. Porter, Iowa City, vice-president of the Iowa State Agricultural Society; Fitch B. Stacey, secretary of the Iowa Improved Stock Breeders Association, to Sturgis, March 31, 1882, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁴⁴John A. McShane to Sturgis, April 8, 16, 22, 29, 1882, *ibid.*

employed on retainer.⁴⁵ Later in the year, Secretary Adams wrote to a member of the board of directors of the Bank of America in New York for an introduction to political powers in St. Paul who could assist the association in securing a Minnesota law to facilitate cattle inspections by the Wyoming and Montana stock associations in that city.⁴⁶ Through the correspondence of its secretaries and the work of its visiting committees the Wyoming association continued to exert political influence outside the territory in the decade of the eighties.

In the election of 1884, the executive committee of the cattle growers became interested in the selection of the congressional delegate. Stockmen had sought the position prior to this year, and individual members had participated actively in the campaign, but the association had never officially endorsed a candidate. In 1880 the Republicans had nominated Alexander H. Swan and in spite of the fact that he refused to campaign extensively he came within 147 votes of election. Morton E. Post, the victor, was likewise interested in cattle and, although he was not an association member, his business activities were intertwined with those of two Republican members, Warren and Joseph Carey. Before the election of 1882 Post joined the association and won a decisive victory at the polls.⁴⁷ Toward the end of his second two-year term, he resolved not to seek re-election, but his business associate Carey, who had been defeated for the same position in 1874, was seeking the Republican nomination. Carey had joined the association in the seventies, served on its executive committee, and by 1883 had been chosen its president. He secured the Republican nomination in 1884 and after defeating William H. Holliday, the Democratic candidate, began his tenure as congressional delegate which was to last until the end of the territorial period.⁴⁸ Although the association did not endorse Carey officially for fear of dividing its membership into two political camps, some members of the executive committee campaigned for him so actively that they were accused of using association funds to secure Carey's election. At the meeting of the executive committee on July

⁴⁵Sturgis to Seth Bullock, January 5, 1887, *ibid.*

⁴⁶Adams to E. W. Corlies, August 18, 1887, *ibid.* The Wyoming association influenced legislation in at least eight states and territories, secured administrative decisions in Washington, D. C., through the congressional delegate, to aid the ranching interests, and was largely instrumental in proposing the national legislation creating the Bureau of Animal Industry.

⁴⁷Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 750.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

14, 1885, a "statement [was] made to Com[mittee] that O. C. Waid had publicly stated in Rawlins to R. B. Conner, Joe Rankin, and others that the funds of the Assoc. had been corruptly and illegally used by the Exec. Com. during the last political campaign & especially to aid in the election of delegate."⁴⁹ Waid, a member of the association, was instructed to appear personally before the committee or to write an explanation regarding the charge. The case was closed by a reprimand to Waid for making statements which would bring discredit upon the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, but many continued to believe that the cattleman's organization had played too active a role in the election of the Republican candidate.

Between 1884 and 1887 Carey continued in his dual position of Wyoming's delegate to Congress and president of the territorial stock growers' association. He returned to Cheyenne on occasions to attend to personal and association affairs and as late as the campaign of 1888, after he had resigned the presidency of the association, the secretary of the organization was writing articles for the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* stating that the cattle business could best be served by Carey's re-election.⁵⁰

The territorial governors who followed Campbell continued to realize the importance of stock growing to Wyoming and through them the association obtained greater political recognition and influence. John M. Thayer succeeded Campbell in 1875, and although he failed to demonstrate the enthusiasm for ranching of his predecessor, he was by no means antagonistic to the cattlemen. Speaking before the legislative assembly of 1875, he emphasized the agricultural and mineral potentialities of the territory and the need of capital for manufacturing, but admitted that Wyoming was to "become one of the largest stockgrowing states in the Union."⁵¹ By the time the fifth legislature convened in 1877, Governor Thayer was indoctrinated by the cattlemen and, as is revealed in his message to the lawmakers, was an enthusiastic supporter of the stock interests. After admitting that stock raising was the leading economic activity of the territory, praising the advantages of the open range for fattening cattle, quoting statistics to point out the expansion of the industry and increased cattle ship-

⁴⁹Minutes of the Executive Committee, July 14, 1885.

⁵⁰James L. Smith to Adams, November 27, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers. Newspaper clippings attached to this correspondence in the incoming files of the association record the remarks of Adams.

⁵¹Message of Governor Thayer to the Fourth Legislative Assembly, of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 2nd, 1875 (Cheyenne, 1875).

ments, he concluded, "This, certainly, is a good exhibit for a portion of what was once regarded as the Great American Desert."⁵²

John W. Hoyt arrived in Wyoming the following year to serve as governor and the stockmen obtained another ally. In Wisconsin, Hoyt already had shown a tremendous interest in agricultural education and had edited the first significant agricultural journal in that state.⁵³ At the annual association meeting in 1879 he was the principal speaker and following his address was elected to honorary membership in the association.⁵⁴ His message to the legislative assembly a few months later indicated that he was well informed on the territorial cattle business and the specific, detailed recommendations relative to legislation revealed that he had received advice from the association's executive committee and lawyers.⁵⁵ Speaking before the 1882 legislature, Hoyt mentioned the "acknowledged supremacy of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association" which had a membership that "for numbers, high character and amount of capital employed is believed to be without rival in this or any country."⁵⁶

At the close of 1882 William Hale of Iowa replaced Hoyt as governor. The following year while in Washington he was called upon by the association to present before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the complaints of cattlemen that the Indian tribes from reservations near the northern and eastern boundaries of Wyoming were killing stock. Hale received assurances from the Commissioner that, if necessary, the military would be used to prevent further depredations.⁵⁷ At the annual meeting in April, Governor Hale and the territorial secretary, Elliott S. N. Morgan, were unanimously elected to honorary membership in the stock growers' organization. In the absence of Hale, Morgan made the speech of acceptance,⁵⁸ and throughout his term the Secretary attended the annual meetings of the cattle-

⁵²*Message of Governor Thayer to the Fifth Legislative Assembly, of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 6, 1877* (Cheyenne, 1877).

⁵³Joseph Schafer, *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1922), 108-109.

⁵⁴Minute Book, March 29, 1879.

⁵⁵*Message of Governor Hoyt to the Sixth Legislative Assembly, of Wyoming Territory, Convened at Cheyenne, November 4, 1879* (Cheyenne, 1879).

⁵⁶*Message of John W. Hoyt, Governor of Wyoming, to the Seventh Legislative Assembly, January 12, 1882* (Cheyenne, 1882).

⁵⁷Spring, *Seventy Years Cow Country*, 75. The Arapahoes and Shoshone were located to the west, Crows on the north, and Sioux on the east.

⁵⁸Minute Book, April 3, 1883.

men and officially offered the assistance of his office to its executive committee.⁵⁹

In 1885 the Wyoming governorship was given for the first time to a resident of the territory when Warren, wealthy association member, was selected by President Chester A. Arthur. During Warren's administration there was complete cooperation between the territorial executive office and the stockmen's headquarters; the alliance was made complete by using Carey, the Governor's business partner, to represent the cattle interests in Washington. The brief statements in the minutes of the executive committee reveal the situation. The entry for a meeting on August 4, 1885, recorded the fact that "Gov. Warren [was] in attendance for consultation." Throughout the year, the Governor often attended discussions of the executive committee of the stock growers' association to learn its wishes concerning the enforcement of the quarantine law. One statement in the Minute Book reads, "Res. That we recommend to Gov. Warren the issuance of a revised proclamation modifying the quarantine restrictions regarding Mo. [Missouri]," and again, "Communication from Gov. Warren on subject of letter to Gov. Oglesby of Ills. on quarantine question. Com[mittee] decided to recommend removal of quarantine from all Co.'s [counties] in Ills. except Du Page."⁶⁰ At times Carey and Warren personally paid the bills for the publication of these quarantine proclamations protecting the Wyoming range. The executive committee instructed its secretary on at least one occasion to refund the amount expended by Carey and Warren for newspaper publication with the understanding that the cash would be returned by the Governor if the legislature could be persuaded to appropriate the necessary funds.⁶¹

At the annual spring meeting in 1885, the members of the association were in good spirits, the range cattle industry was flourishing, and the organization was aware of its potential political power; but there were men in Wyoming who bitterly resented the political influence of the association. This editorial in the *Rawlins Carbon County Journal* should have served as a warning:

⁵⁹Elliott S. N. Morgan to Sturgis, March 24, 1884, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁶⁰Minutes of the Executive Committee, August 4, October 16, 1885. For further information on Francis Warren's role in the enforcement of the cattle quarantine laws, see W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wyoming Cattle Quarantine, 1885," *Annals of Wyoming* (Cheyenne), XVI (July, 1944), 147-61.

⁶¹Minutes of the Executive Committee, October 16, 1885.

The Wyoming Cattle Growers' Association has been in session in Cheyenne the past week. It would seem from reading an account of the proceedings that they imagine themselves endowed with powers not only to make rules for their own government but to legislate for the whole range country. There is no doubt that the association is a good thing when kept within proper bounds, but when it assumes to dictate to all cattle owners, whether members of the association or not, as to how they handle their cattle they overstep their powers and become an engine of evil. It seems to us that if a good deal of arrogance and selfishness were weeded out of the association and the rights of the small owner better respected, that the association would not only become more popular with the people at large, but productive of much more good not only to themselves but to every stock owner, as well as to everybody else interested in the prosperity of this great industry.⁶²

During the winter months of 1885-1886 excessive cold and snow wrought havoc on the range. By spring 85 per cent of some herds were gone and with the coming of fall the Wyoming cattlemen realized that the stock prices on the Chicago market were slowly declining so that cattle were bringing the lowest price in history. The years of temporary decline for the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association had set in. The summer season of 1886 was hot and dry and the grass was poor. The snow came earlier than usual the following winter and was soon followed by blizzards and extremely low temperatures. Thousands of cattle froze to death or starved, and, as a result, most of the old-time Wyoming ranchers were economically ruined.⁶³ An atmosphere of tragedy and disappointment prevailed over the annual meeting of 1887; the President, Vice-President, and Secretary were not in attendance.⁶⁴ Membership in the association had dropped from 443 to 363, and the appeal of Acting Secretary Adams reflected the desperate situation:

The period of time covered by this report has been one full of discouragement to everyone interested in stock growing. . . . It is in times like these

⁶²Rawlins *Carlton County Journal*, April 14, 1885. For editorial written by John C. Friend, see Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁶³Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, 217-22.

⁶⁴Pelzer, "Cattleman's Commonwealth," loc. cit., 49.

that the undermining influence of indifference, discontent and financial disappointment are apt to work most powerfully at the foundations of the association. It is times like these that all who have the welfare of the association at heart should rally to its support.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, during the meeting many opinions concerning the advisability of abandoning the association were expressed.

The political enemies of the association now took advantage of its unfortunate economic plight. Governor Thomas Moonlight, a "Granger" who had succeeded Warren in 1887, was delighted that the large cattle companies were on the road to ruin and volunteered to lead the political opposition to the stock interests.⁶⁶ Juries of the territorial courts refused to indict cattle "rustlers" or to convict those whom the association had brought to trial on the grounds that the association had used "highhanded" methods in obtaining evidence. Prejudice against the organization was reflected by instructions from the bench. The association Secretary confessed to one member: "In view of the recent occurrences in Cheyenne, in connection with the criminal trials brought forward by the Association, I do not feel encouraged to undertake any more 'special detective work' . . . but we must devise some better system for the detection of illegal branding and cattle stealing."⁶⁷ To another he wrote, "The day will come when the community at large will be sorry that we were treated so shabbily by the authorities."⁶⁸

In spite of the economic disaster and the political difficulties with the executive and judiciary, the Wyoming association was by no means politically impotent. In these troublesome years Adams emerged as the forceful character determined to preserve the power of the association. With anxiety and interest he prepared for the meeting of the tenth legislative assembly in January, 1888. He con-

⁶⁵Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899. The proceedings of the annual meetings of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association found in this scrapbook were first printed in the *Northwestern Live Stock Journal*, published by A. S. Mercer of Cheyenne. The association's secretary clipped the accounts from the paper, pasted them in the scrapbook, and inserted additional comments in longhand when he felt essential information had been omitted.

⁶⁶W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Administration of Thomas Moonlight, 1887-1889, Wyoming's Time of Trouble," *Annals of Wyoming*, XVII (July, 1946), 139-62.

⁶⁷Adams to R. C. Butler, January 3, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁶⁸Adams to August Pasche, January 3, 1888, *ibid.*

fided to a friend, "If the legislature does not destroy our association by malicious legislation, I hope we will still be able to be a considerable power in the territory."⁶⁹ Firmly convinced that the Maverick Law of 1884 would be repealed or amended by the legislature, he wrote to R. B. Harrison, secretary of the Montana association, about the stock laws of that territory. If the annual income from the maverick fund which had been \$30,000 in 1886 was taken away from the association, Adams knew that the inspection and detective work could not continue. Montana had established a territorial board of livestock commissioners and Adams desired detailed information relative to the relationship between this commission and the Montana stockmen as well as the methods it used to protect the range.⁷⁰ In the extensive correspondence which followed, Adams received constructive suggestions in rewriting the Wyoming statute, and he confessed to Harrison: "I think that by making the round-up foremen territorial officers, and having the law enforced through territorial authorities it will dissipate to a large extent the prejudice now existing against the association. . . . This prejudice is generally felt for reason that many suspect that the large fund derived from the sale of mavericks is used for the protection of the few against the many by the association."⁷¹ The Secretary also reported to Carey in Washington that

upon my suggestion a meeting was held at the Court House, and a committee appointed who have drafted a law looking toward the formation of a Live Stock Commission for this Territory who shall supervise . . . the Maverick Fund for the benefit of the stock interests of the Territory. The law has been carefully prepared with the advice of counsel and we hope to put it through the Legislature with very little amendment.⁷²

Although the Wyoming cattlemen were well represented in the 1888 legislature, the ranchers of the 1870's and early 1880's who composed the "old guard" of the seventh, eighth, and ninth sessions were conspicuously absent. Some of the stockmen in the council had grievances against the

⁶⁹Adams to Butler, January 3, 1888, *ibid.*

⁷⁰Adams to R. B. Harrison, August 23, 1887, *ibid.*

⁷¹Harrison to Adams, August 27, 1887; Adams to Harrison, September 2, 1887, *ibid.*

⁷²Adams to Carey, January 26, 1888, *ibid.*

association,⁷³ and the house of representatives was full of newcomers to the cattle business. Adams was at first discouraged by the strength of the opposition and complained to a Nebraska cattleman, "It seems as if cattlemen will not only have to suffer the loss of over half of their property, but will have to stand a good deal of abuse from the granger interests and from traitors in their own ranks."⁷⁴ Within two weeks, however, Adams and his colleagues secured enough votes to pass the bill in both the council and house, but when it reached Governor Moonlight he found it unacceptable because the livestock commission created thereby could fill vacancies in its membership. This he considered an infringement of the appointing power of the executive. Adams made bitter charges against the Governor for attempting to delay action which was so desperately needed by the stock interests, and the legislation was finally enacted over the Governor's veto. The passage of this law transferring the protection of the Wyoming range to a territorial board of livestock commissioners on a basis agreeable to the association was the greatest achievement of the association in this legislative session and revealed that the stock growers continued to exert some political influence.⁷⁵

This session of the assembly devoted a great portion of its time to removing stock laws from the statute books. In the council, Holliday, Carey's unsuccessful opponent for Congress in 1884, introduced three bills designed to repeal the Maverick Law of 1884, the basic statute "Regulating the Branding, Herding, and Care of Stock," and the 1875 statute which had authorized the county commissioners, with the advice of the stock growers' association, to appoint and pay the salaries of range detectives. The county commissioners were no longer authorized to pay rewards from the county treasury for the arrest of stock thieves. The territorial veterinarian was to be appointed for a specified two-year term by the governor with the confirmation of the council and the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association

⁷³Of the six association men in the council, two were disaffected. Smith resigned from the executive committee in 1887 when that body refused to remove one of his employees from the "Black List." The association brought his employee to trial as a cattle thief, and Smith's bitterness toward the organization drove him into the enemy's camp in the legislature. Caleb P. Organ of Laramie County also resigned from the association in 1887 because well-known officials had not been forced by the executive committee to explain their ranching practices.

⁷⁴Adams to Louis L. Wyatt, February 3, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁷⁵Adams to James G. Parker, February 14, 1888; Frank M. Canton to Adams, March 2, 1888; Adams to Claude L. Talbot, March 3, 1888, *ibid*.

need not be consulted as in past years. Taxation of live-stock on the open range was increased.⁷⁶

When the association assembled for its sixteenth annual session in the spring of 1888, the full effect of the disastrous years of 1886 and 1887 was very much in evidence. Although during the year the executive committee had voted an assessment of two cents per head on 70 per cent of each member's cattle, the Treasurer reported a deficit of \$3,658. He opened his annual report with the terse statement, "the receipts have been less than they were last year and the year before, and the funds have fallen short of what it was necessary to expend." Some employees of the association had been dismissed and again there was talk of abandoning the association. The executive committee, however, resolved to continue the association in order to assist the livestock commission in performing its duties and to see that reliable cattlemen were selected as its members. It was agreed that the association's initiation fee should be abolished and that dues should be lowered. Each member of the association was urged to engage in missionary work to increase the membership of the organization. After the election of the new officers, "Heck" Reel accepted his sixth term as treasurer and remarked:

We all want to hold together and push ourselves ahead to protect the cattle we have left and make more out of them. We all have a few still. I can remember when many of you started with less in number than you have today, and I believe I started with less myself than I have now. Although we lost heavily last winter, I do not feel discouraged. All businesses have their depressions and reverses, and we had no right to expect ours would be an exception. We have seen our darkest day, and if this association will take a new hold we can do a great deal for the stock interests and can protect one another. There is no use in lying down or giving up. All we have to do is to use a little energy, persevere, stand firm and when an opportunity presents itself to push to the front.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Wyoming *Session Laws*, 1888, Chap. 9, p. 23; Chap. 10, p. 23; Chap. 14, p. 25; Chap. 28, pp. 46-54; Chap. 48, pp. 109-10.

⁷⁷Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899, pp. 101-102.

Adams optimistically reported to Carey in Washington, "Our 'Cheyenne Guard' is getting along nicely, & only lack a little support from the Executive."⁷⁸

The livestock commission, created in 1888, received no financial support from the territorial legislature on the assumption that the sale of mavericks would provide essential funds. The executive committee of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association provided the commissioners with the money necessary to conduct the spring roundup of 1888 and at the annual meeting in 1889 instructed its legislative committee to draft legislation bolstering the stock commission and placing it upon a sound financial footing.⁷⁹ The cattlemen in the eleventh territorial assembly made two significant achievements. Many of the laws which the previous assembly had hastily repealed were restored to the statute books and provisions were made for reorganizing, simplifying, and codifying all stock legislation of the territorial period.⁸⁰ An immediate appropriation of \$10,000 was granted the stock commission and continuous territorial financial support guaranteed whereby the needs of the commission would be annually estimated and reported to the governor who could recommend an appropriation by the legislature. The annual appropriation for this general expense fund was not to exceed \$2,000; other funds could come from the sale of mavericks.⁸¹

In the spring of 1890 when the association held its annual meeting the officers realized that the role of the Wyoming stock growers had changed and that its more important functions had been assigned the commission. Membership in the association had dropped from 349 to 183 between the annual meetings of 1888 and 1889; no figures were announced for 1890. The association's treasurer reported a \$29 balance. The executive committee had resolved to abolish all special assessments on the members and to curtail operating expenses. The Secretary closed his annual report with the observation, "Questions will undoubtedly be asked at this time. What is there for the association to do? Shall its organization be maintained? Are we justified in maintaining its existence?" The assembled stockmen debated these questions at length and resolved to continue the association. Babbitt, who succeeded Carey as president of the Association in 1888, died

⁷⁸Adams to Carey, August 7, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁷⁹Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899, pp. 110-11.

⁸⁰Wyoming Session Laws, 1890, Chap. 39, pp. 51-61.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, Chap. 53, pp. 93-100; Adams to Fred G. S. Hesse, March 29, 1890, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

in the summer of 1889 and the new president chosen at this session, John Clay, Jr., assured the members: "There is going to be but very little work for the association during the next year, and my duties will not be very cumbersome. Whatever those duties are you may be certain that I am going to be in the front and do the best I can for the stock interests of the territory."⁸²

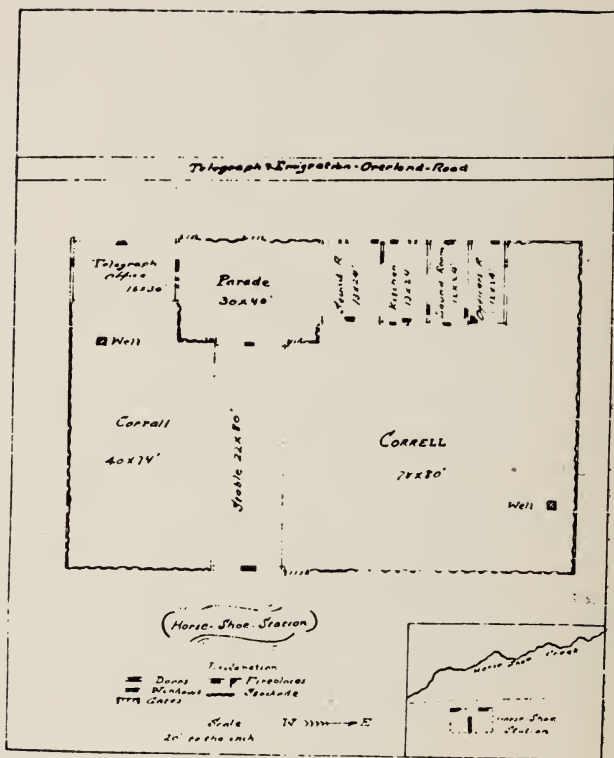
The association also accepted the change in its political position which had been developing since 1887. No longer could the organization speak with the authority of the years 1882-1886. Local politicians, who were not so fully aware of these changes, continued to write the association officers in Cheyenne for political endorsements for themselves and for friends. Secretary Adams explained to one member: "I doubt very much the wisdom of attempting to raise an 'election fund' . . . by the Association. Once or twice there have been accusations made against the Association for taking a hand in politics, but fortunately, thus far, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no money has ever been expended *by the Association* in the interest of any political aspirant."⁸³ To a candidate for office he wrote, "I cannot discriminate in favor or against Democrats or Republicans as I cannot in any way encourage the belief that has gained ground recently that the Association is a political machine."⁸⁴

In these years of temporary decline the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association displayed great wisdom in curtailing its political activities and in making friends throughout the new state of Wyoming. Its voice was continuously to be heard and its influence felt in matters affecting the Wyoming stock interests, but never again was the association to reach the heights of political influence enjoyed during the territorial period when it dominated the political scene and its will was the law in Wyoming.

⁸²Proceedings of the Annual Meetings, 1884-1899, p. 120.

⁸³Adams to Horace C. Plunkett, August 18, 1888, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association Papers.

⁸⁴Adams to I. J. Wynn, April 14, 1890, *ibid.*



HORSE SHOE STATION
 (Courtesy Fort Collins Pioneer Museum)

American Pioneer Trails Association

**An Address Delivered by L. C. Bishop* at Fort Laramie,
Wyoming, July 2, 1947, at a meeting of Pioneer
Citizens With Officials of the Pioneer
Trails Association.**

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests and Pioneer Friends:

I have been asked to tell you something of what we know today as the Old Oregon Trail across Wyoming. I deem it a privilege as well as pleasure to do this.

I only wish I knew more about this famous transcontinental route, over which countless thousands traveled between 1834 and its abandonment about 1867, when the Union Pacific Railroad was built across Wyoming. William H. Bishop, who was a brother of my great grandfather, traveled this trail with his family as a Mormon emigrant in 1850. His name is inscribed on Independence Rock.

The first white establishment in the vicinity of this old outpost was near the south end of the present buildings. It was established as a fur traders post about 1834 and it was first called Fort John, then Fort William after William Sublette, William Patton and William Anderson. In 1849 it was bought by the U. S. Government and converted into a military post at the present site. In 1842 a small stockade and trading post was built in the forks of the Laramie and Platte Rivers called Fort Platte. The first Indian treaty negotiated at Fort Laramie was in 1851 when more than 10,000 Indians gathered from a radius of more than 500 miles.

My interest in these old trails has been, and will continue to be, to help preserve for posterity their actual location.

The trail that traverses the north side of the North Platte River and which passed this historical location was commonly called the Platte Road in the early days. I have

*Loren Clark Bishop, son of Spencer A. and Edith L. Bishop, was born on the Bishop ranch on La Prele Creek, near Ft. Fetterman, March 4, 1885. He has been active in engineering and irrigation projects in Wyoming for many years and has served as Wyoming State Engineer since 1939. Deeply interested in Wyoming historical matters Mr. Bishop served as secretary of the Wyoming Pioneer Association from 1925 to 1932 and as Vice President in 1946 and 1947. He served as president of the Wyoming section of the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1946 and is a member of the Wyoming Engineering Society and a life member of the National Rifle Association. He is past Commander of the Samuel Mares Post of the American Legion and a 32nd degree Mason.

a map made by the Army Engineers in 1859-60 which shows both of these old trails. The one on the south side is labeled "Platte Road." My father was a pioneer of the early seventies and he referred to this trail as "Platte Road" and the one on the north side of the Platte River as "Mormon Trail."

Neither of these roads were used exclusively by either class of emigrant. During the spring when the Platte River and tributaries were in flood, the north road was used to avoid the two crossings of the river and tributary streams, such as the Laramie River, Cottonwood, Horseshoe, La Bonte, La Prele, Box Elder and Deer Creeks. At other times, the south road was preferred as there were better camping places with necessary grass for the oxen and water for both man and beast. Also the wagon trains were better protected from attacks by marauding bands of Indians.

I was born and reared on a ranch on La Prele Creek near Fort Fetterman and less than two miles from the old trail. When I was a small boy, I hunted Indian arrowheads, lead bullets and wood telegraph insulators along this old trail and the Fort Fetterman-Rock Creek Road, which crossed the Oregon Trail about a mile and a half east of the crossing of La Prele Creek. I regret that I did not have the foresight to save more of the insulators. The fact is that I only saved one, which I brought along on this trek to show you what they were like. The others I used for targets for my single-shot 22 rifle.

During more than thirty years past, I have crossed and re-crossed this old trail many, many times at my work as a surveyor.

It has been my privilege to know many of the old pioneers of Wyoming. I will only mention a few from this immediate locality. First on the list is John Hunton, a pioneer of the sixties who was the sutler here at Fort Laramie at the time of its abandonment. Mr. Hunton was the first president of the Wyoming Pioneer Association in 1925 and I was its secretary. I became very well acquainted with him during the two years he served as president. I will relate as near as I can remember a couple of early day incidents that he related to me.

He was owner of a sawmill on Little Box Elder Creek in Saw Mill Canyon on the Fetterman Wood Reservation, where he sawed lumber for Fort Fetterman and where cordwood was cut for use at the Fort.

One Sunday several of the employees went deer hunting and one fellow did not return. A search was instituted the following day and his remains were found about two miles from the camp near the head of a small draw. His body was pierced by Indian arrows until he looked like a

porcupine, according to Mr. Hunton. The Indians had taken his rifle and everything he possessed, including his clothing. He was wrapped in a government blanket and buried where he was found. When I was a small boy, my father showed me a grave in this locality near the head of a draw, well marked by a mound of stone, and at the head was a bull wagon fellow on which was inscribed "E. E. G. 1870." When I told Mr. Hunton about this he said the year was about right but he did not remember the man's name. He thought possibly that this was the grave of the man that was killed by Indians near his sawmill camp. I believe it is. A few years ago I visited this old grave and the wagon fellow was gone and I marked a stone "E. E. G. 1870" and placed it at the head of the grave to take the place of the old marker.

Another incident he related was concerning a foreman by the name of Boswell on one of his ranches. I believe it was the Bordeaux Ranch. One day Boswell was accidentally shot by a loaded rifle that Hunton always kept at hand. The bullet lodged in Boswell's shoulder. Hunton hitched a team to the ranch buckboard and drove Boswell to Wheatland, where Dr. Phifer located the bullet by X-Ray and much to his astonishment found another lead slug near the one that he removed. Boswell informed the Doctor after some reflection that he was shot in a "bit of a mix-up" at Fort Laramie about forty years before, but had nearly forgotten the incident. Hunton suggested to the Doctor that if he should examine Boswell more closely that he would very likely find some more bullets and possibly some Indian arrowheads.

My father whacked bulls for Hunton before he went in the freighting business for himself. He said that Jack Hunton was a man whose word was as good as his bond and a friend that could always be depended upon.

Other pioneers in this locality with whom I was acquainted were Mike Henry, who soldiered here at Fort Laramie in the '50's and John D. O'Brien in the '60's. Mike Henry later established a ranch on the Bozeman Trail at Brown Springs and John D. O'Brien on La Prele Creek both in what is now Converse County. John D. O'Brien was Captain of the Douglas Infantry Company in the Spanish American War. Both have long since gone to their reward.

Charles Guernsey, who owned the Posy Ryan Ranch on the Laramie River near here, was a pioneer of the early '80's. The town of Guernsey and Guernsey Dam across the North Platte River just up stream from the town of Guernsey were named for this distinguished pioneer citizen.

I will not attempt to tell you about all of the points of interest along the old trail between here and Casper, but will enumerate a few, beginning with the Old Pony Express station at Sand Point, where the trail first enters the Platte River bottoms after leaving here. Just down stream from here, you will observe the names on the Sandstone Bluff. Then, as you proceed on the old trail, you cross a ridge where the wagon wheel ruts are deep in the sandstone. Next you pass the Lucinda Rollins grave on the right of the trail, above the present river bridge, south of the town of Guernsey, then on to Warm Springs.

After crossing Cottonwood Creek, the trail can be followed over the Divide where the bases of some of the old telegraph poles can be found. Next you come to Twin Springs where M. A. Mouseau operated a ranch in 1868. About four miles beyond is Horseshoe Station. The old well used by J. R. Smith when he established a ranch there, after abandonment of the trail and stage station, about 1866, is still in evidence. I have here a copy of a sketch plan of this station copied from the original on display in the Fort Collins Museum with the letters of Caspar Collins to his mother. (My friend, Ed Shaffner, borrowed the sketches from the Fort Collins Museum and returned them after I made the copies.) I also have a copy of a description of an Indian battle in which John R. Smith and others participated at his Horseshoe Ranch (Horseshoe Station) and Twin Springs Ranch, that should be preserved.

In commenting on this battle, and the John R. Smith account of it, about 1927, John Hunton, at my request dictated the following memo:

"In March, 1868, there was located on La Bonte Creek, a road ranch owned and run by M. A. Mouseau. There was a ranch at the old abandoned stage station on Horseshoe Creek, which was conducted by William Worrel and John R. Smith; and a ranch at Twin Springs, four and one-half miles east of the last named ranch, also owned by M. A. Mouseau, who employed a man to run it; a ranch on the west side of Cottonwood Creek where the Fetterman "Cut-Off" Road crosses the creek, run by two men known as Bulger and Bouncer, and a ranch on the east side of Cottonwood Creek at the same crossing. Sometime between the 15th and 25th of that month a war party of about sixty Sioux Indians, under American Horse, Big Little Man, and other noted warriors, attacked all five of the ranches and destroyed and burned them.

"A" and 2nd Cavalry, commanded by Captain Thomas Dewus, was ordered to go as far as Horseshoe and to repair the telegraph line and render such assistance as they could and bury the dead.

"Myself and several other citizens (William H. Brown and Antone La Due, I remember) accompanied the cavalry company. We found and buried two of the men of the Horseshoe ranch party on the east side of Bear Creek draw, just north of and almost under the telegraph line.

(signed) JOHN HUNTON."

The Smith account does not exactly correspond with this article by Hunton but when you consider that Smith was a participant and wrote his account 25 years after the battle and that Hunton was not a participant and wrote his account 60 years after, the different versions are to be expected.*

From Horseshoe Creek the trail swings away from the river to avoid crossing of steep draws or gulches. Next point of interest is La Bonte Station. Here seven soldiers were killed in battles with Indians and buried nearby. The remains were removed to Fort McPherson, Nebraska, about 1895. I also have a sketch map of this station by Caspar Collins. Some of the old foundations are still in evidence on what is now the Dilts Ranch, (originally the Pollard Ranch). Here the trail is yet some distance from the river, continuing northerly across Wagon Hound Creek and through bad lands, crossing Bed Tick Creek on the present Gedney Ranch. It crosses the Upper La Prele Road just above a tunnel of the La Prele Ditch. A few hundred feet north of this point and between here and the Old Oregon Trail Monument, a branch road goes northeast to Fort Fetterman. Next the trail enters Sand Creek and follows it very closely, some of the distance in the bed of the stream, to near its mouth, then northwesterly along La Prele Creek to La Prele Station opposite the buildings on the Nels Rasmussen Ranch (Old George Powell Ranch). Here an Indian battle also took place and the stage station was burned and several soldiers were killed and buried nearby. Their remains were later removed to Fort McPherson, Nebraska.

From La Prele Creek, the trail runs northwesterly over the Divide to the crossing of Little Box Elder Creek on the O. D. Ferguson Ranch (formerly the Jim Abney Ranch). It then crosses Big Box Elder near the buildings of the Upper S. O. Ranch. Next, after this crossing, it enters the

*De Barthe, Joe, *The Life and Adventures of Frank Groulard, Chief of Scouts, U.S.A.* Comb Printing Co., St. Joseph, Mo., 1894, pp. 525-540.

river bottoms about five miles southeast of old Deer Creek Station (now Glenrock). Just south of the present highway is the grave of A. H. Untank, who was buried there in 1850. In the bend of the river here was one of the old camp grounds of the trail. Just before the trail crosses Deer Creek on its left, and, on the right of the present highway as you proceed towards Casper, is the grave of C. B. Platt, who was buried there in 1849. His remains were reinterred in 1938 by Jean Poirot, Ed Shaffner and me. Across Deer Creek and just north of the present C. & N. W. R. R. are the remains of the foundations of the old buildings which conform closely to the Caspar Collins' sketch. Up Deer Creek three miles above the old station, was the Upper Platte Indian Agency and Lutheran Mission in 1855, and 6 miles up Deer Creek was a Mormon Settlement in 1857.

From Glenrock the highway parallels the old trail on the south for several miles. The graves of M. Ringo and Parker are on the right of the highway and the left of the old trail between Glenrock and Parkerton. At Parkerton is the grave of Ada McGill which I moved 30 feet when I surveyed the highway in 1912.

Near Casper there is Platte Bridge and Fort Caspar, and above Casper, Richards Bridge where the old trail crossed according to the 1859-60 map. I believe this was near the old Goose Egg Ranch in Bessemer Bend. (Some well informed people believe this bridge was below Casper.)

I will conclude with the observation that I hope to see this old road surveyed, and a map prepared showing its location with relation to the present roads, and markers placed at all points where it crosses the main highways. At present it is hard to find the old road most of the distance across Wyoming. Many of the present markers are not located at the actual crossings of the trail and many are not on the old trail or even near it.

From Casper and beyond, others will tell you more about the old trail. I thank you.

ACCESSIONS

to the

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

May 1, 1947 to November 1, 1947

- Moyer, Ralph, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of World War I souvenirs including folders, war bonds, and post cards. May 13, 1947.
- Crain, Charlie, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of leather license plate used by Senator F. E. Warren on his first automobile, a 1908 Studebaker. June 3, 1947.
- McGrath, Mary A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of badge and souvenir key ring from Diamond Jubilee of Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association meeting. June 6, 1947.
- Wheeler, Mrs. H. J., Rawlins, Wyoming: Donor of Beatty organ belonging to Jennie Reschke, daughter of Jim Baker and grandmother of Mrs. Wheeler. March 19, 1947.
- Guy, Major George F., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of twenty-four mottoes of Japanese war criminals, with both Japanese characters and English translations. June 20, 1947.
- Wilhelm, D. C., Gillette, Wyoming: Donor of 1921 Wyoming license plate which is very rare and completes the Department's collection. June 26, 1947.
- Marquart, Mrs., Laramie, Wyoming: Donor of silver plated water cooler, hanging stand, and one cup given to George Bescherer by the Durant Volunteer Fire Department of Cheyenne, in 1884, when Mr. Bescherer was foreman of the company. June 20, 1947.
- Denny, Mrs. E. A., Mt. Morrison, Colorado: Donor of small Vermont spinning wheel belonging to Allen family, a skirt fluter, instrument used by wagon makers to measure the circumference of wagon wheels, box of percussion caps. July 3, 1947.
- DuQuoin, Carl, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of large Indian collection including four pairs Sioux moccasins, one pair Blackfoot, and one pair baby moccasins; Sioux shell necklace and tomahawk from Buffalo Bill show, two Sioux head dresses; Sioux beaded leggings and apron; two Cree ceremonial clubs; Navajo medicine bowl and unfinished rug; three Cree bags and one belt purse; one Chippewa mesh bag; one Sioux knife sheath, bag, needle case, peace pipe and three sets arm bands and two feathered bustles; Cree child's arm bands; Sioux, Blackfoot and Crow head bands; Tamaulipa drawn work, Navajo blue corn bread; artifacts. July 14, 1947.
- Rhoads and Morgan Jade Shop, Lander, Wyoming: Donor of seven excellent pieces of Wyoming jade. July 15, 1947.
- Tisch, Mrs. Henry, Wheatland, Wyoming: Flag of the Henry Tisch Post No. 112, Dept. Colorado and Wyoming, G. A. R., Wheatland, Wyoming. July 10, 1947.

- Sheahan, Mary G., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of white christening dress used in 1876, a baby's bib, and a gold and blue enameled ladies' watch belonging to Miss Sheahan's mother and bearing the imprint "Zehner & Buechner, Cheyenne, Wyoming," about 1887. August 12, 1947.
- Rees, Dan, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of cowboy outfit used by John H. Rees as Inspector and Livestock Detective for Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, 1882-1901, including 45 Colt six-shooter and scabbard, silver mounted drip-shank spurs with spur straps made by L. C. Gallatin, 60-foot hand made rawhide lariat, fine 50 foot rawhide lariat used for front-footing horses, commission from Association, powder horn and muzzle loading rifle. August 21, 1947.
- Watts, Clyde, executor of Estate of Maude E. Johnson, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of Souvenir Edition of Cheyenne Daily Leader, 1903. August 21, 1947.
- Scanlan, Mrs. W. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of mustache cup given to William J. Scanlan, as a wedding gift July 14, 1886. August 20, 1947.
- Owen, C. W., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of twenty-one pieces of Anassizi pottery from the Mogollon mountains of New Mexico. April 1, 1947.
- Emerson, Dr. Paul, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of one James Montgomery Flagg poster of World War I, one 1930 calendar showing all of the insignias of World War I divisions, and one chair made by a German soldier in a trench. September, 1947.
- Peters, Oran A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of one shaving soap dish issued to soldiers in the Civil War. September 9, 1947.
- Rothwell, John, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of a reptile fossil, a French bayonet dated 1877 and several jade specimens. September, 1947.
- Shannon, W. R., Hawk Springs, Wyoming: Donor of a letter by general ticket agent of Union Pacific to John London, 1885, one freight bill, 1882, and one bill of lading, 1882, both addresses to John London, Fort Laramie. October 10, 1947.
- Marsh, Emily E., Cornwall, Connecticut: Donor of a picture of Henry O. Bookiah monument on Hawaii and a copy of the inscription on a monument to him in Cornwall. August, 1947.
- Meng, Hans, Hat Creek, Wyoming: Donor of bread pan thrown away by Sioux at Lance Creek. October 23, 1947.
- Hesse, George, Buffalo, Wyoming: Donor of pair of hand made, silver mounted button spurs. October 23, 1947.
- Burgess, Warren: Donor of double rowel spur found in a cut bank at Weber Canyon. October 23, 1947.
- Stemler, Hugh, La Grange, Wyoming: Donor of running iron designed by his father in the 1870's. October 23, 1947.
- McIntosh, J. L., Splitrock, Wyoming: Donor of Pony Express horse shoe found at blacksmith shop at Station on the Sweetwater, and insulator used on first transcontinental telegraph. October, 1947.

- Sun, Mrs. Tom, Alcova, Wyoming: Donor of bracket used on first transcontinental telegraph. October, 1947.
- Gould, E. L., Saratoga, Wyoming: Donor of police nippers carried by Joe McGee of Warm Springs in 1880, and a spur found near Encampment. October, 1947.
- Nois, C. J., La Grange, Wyoming: Donor of pair of "XL" spurs. October, 1947.
- Pollard, Harry P., Douglas, Wyoming: Donor of bootjack used in Jim Ferris Hotel at Ft. Fetterman, 1883. October, 1947.
- Thorp, Russell, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of cake of harness soap used on Black Hills Stage Line, postal stamp from Ft. Steele, bull shoes used on oxen on Cheyenne-Black Hills Trail, horseshoes found on Cheyenne-Black Hills Trail, collar buttons, cuff adjusters and high collars from store at Ft. Steele. October, 1947.
- Donegon, Francis, Gillette, Wyoming: Donor of bit made by first blacksmith in Gillette in 1892. October, 1947.
- Nagle, George, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Donor of thirty souvenir badges of Woman's Relief Corps and G. A. R. Encampments. October, 1947.

Books—Purchased

- Jackson, Clarence S., *Picture Maker of the Old West*. Scribner, New York, 1947. Price \$5.00.
- Nelson, Bruce, *Land of the Dakotahs*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1946. Price \$2.50.
- Fisher, John S., *A Builder of the West*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1939. Price \$3.33.
- Young, Stanley Paul, *The Wolf in North American History*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1946. Price \$2.34.
- Towne, Charles Wayland and Wentworth, Edward Norris, *Shepherd's Empire*. University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1946. Price \$2.34.
- Potter, David Morris, ed., *Trail to California*. Yale University, New Haven, 1945. Price \$3.15.
- Hyde, George E., *Red Cloud's Folk*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1937. Price \$3.15.
- Drury, Clifford Merrill, *Marcus Whitman, M. D.* Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1937. Price \$3.34.
- Mulford, Ami Frank, *Fighting Indians in the 7th United States Cavalry*. Mulford, Corning, N. Y., 1878. Price \$7.50.
- Cummins, Sarah J., *Autobiography and Reminiscences*. Allen, Freewater, Oregon, 1914. Price \$7.50.
- The Central Northwest*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1947. Price \$3.34.
- Gunther, John, *Inside U. S. A.* Harper, New York, 1947. Price \$3.34.
- Dunraven, Earl of, *Hunting in the Yellowstone*. Macmillan, New York, 1922. Price \$2.00.

- Phinney, Mary Allen, *Jirah Isham Allen*. Tuttle, Rutland, Vt., n. d. Price \$7.00.
- Fryxell, Fritiof, *The Tetons*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1946. Price \$1.67.
- Lyford, Carrie A., *Quill and Beadwork of the Western Sioux*. Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kan., 1940. Price \$.68.
- McWhorter, Lucullus Virgil, *Yellow Wolf: his own story*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1940. Price \$2.33.
- Cooper, Frank C., *The Stirring Lives of Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill*. Parsons, New York, 1912. Price \$1.50.
- Kraft, James Lewis, *Adventure in Jade*. Holt, New York, 1947. Price \$2.00.
- White, Nelson, *Westward in '47*. Dixon, Salt Lake City, 1947. Price \$1.00.
- The Westerners Brand Book, 1945*. Bradford-Robinson, Denver, 1946. Price \$7.50.
- Westermeier, Clifford P., *Man, Beast, Dust*. World Press, 1947. Price \$5.00.
- Fougera, Katherine Gibson, *With Custer's Cavalry*. Caxton, Caldwell, Ida., 1942. Price \$2.00.
- Morgan, Dale L., *The Great Salt Lake*. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1947. Price \$2.33.
- Vestal, Stanley, *Jim Bridger, Mountain Man*. Morrow, New York, 1946. Price \$2.33.
- Waller, Herbert H., *Famous Historical Places*. Hobson, Cynthia, Ky., 1944. Price \$2.05.
- Lynam, Robert, ed., *The Beecher Island Annual*. Beecher Island Battle Memorial Assoc., Wray, Colo., 1930. Price \$3.00.
- Davidson, Levette J., and Blake, Forrester, ed., *Rocky Mountain Tales*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1947. Price \$2.00.
- Stenger, Wallace, *Mormon Country*. Duell, Slean & Pearce, New York, 1942. Price \$2.00.
- Linderman, Frank B., *American, the life story of a great Indian*. Day, New York, 1930. Price \$2.50.
- Burdick, Usher L., ed., *David F. Barry's Indian notes on the Custer Battle*. Proof Press, Baltimore, 1937. Price \$3.00.
- Ghost Towns of Colorado*. Hastings House, New York, 1947. Price \$1.83.
- Burdick, Usher L., *Jacob Horner and the Indian Campaigns of 1876 and 1877*. Wirth, Baltimore, 1942. Price \$2.00.
- Hunt, Frazier and Robert, *I Fought with Custer*. Scribner, New York, 1947. Price \$2.34.
- Steele, John, *Across the Plains in 1850*. Caxton Club, Chicago, 1930. Price \$21.00.

Books—Gifts

- Official Brand Book of the State of Wyoming.* Kintzel Blue Print, Casper, 1946. Donor Livestock and Sanitary Board, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
- Cheyenne City Directory, 1907.* Polk, Salt Lake City, 1907. Donor Stella Seanlan, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
- Wyoming Compiled Statutes, 1945.* 5 vols. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1946.
- Bibliography for the History of Wyoming.* University of Wyoming publication, Vol. 12, No. 1, University of Wyoming, 1946.
- Cram's Unrivalled Atlas of the World.* 1901. Donor Dr. Paul Emerson, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
- Hill's Manual of Social and Business Writing.* 1874. Donor Dr. Paul Emerson, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
- Mitchell's School Atlas.* 1849. Donor R. I. Martin, Saratoga, Wyoming.
- People's Pictorial Atlas.* 1873. Donor R. I. Martin, Saratoga, Wyoming.

Miscellaneous Purchases

- Glass shelf for display case. Cost \$15.00.
- Remington-Rand Portograph machine and dryer. Cost \$193.12.
- Photostats of two maps of General Phil Sheridan's expedition across the Big Horns. Cost \$2.00.

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No. 2

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The Steamship "Naphtha" was launched April 5, 1889 on Yellowstone Lake. She was neat and trim and licensed by U. S. Statute to carry 125 passengers.

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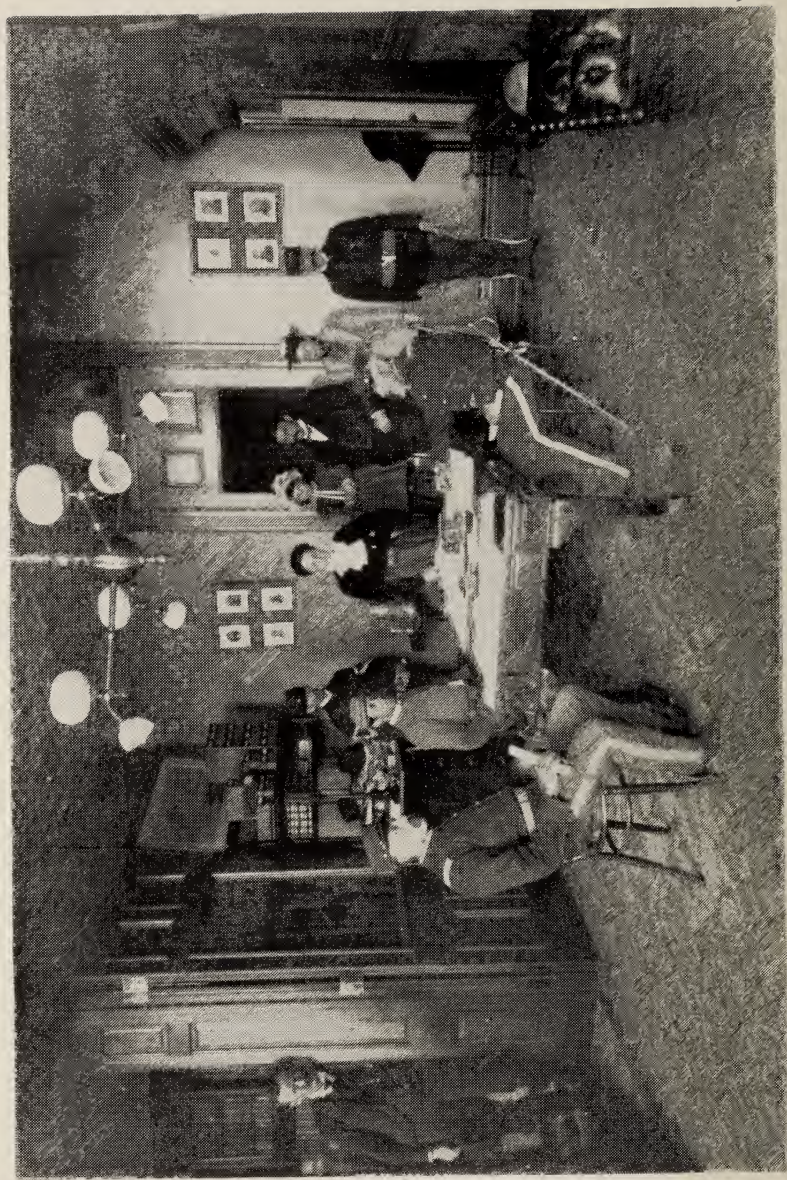
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Office of Governor W. A. Richards in State Capitol about 1898.

Wyoming's Fourth Governor -- William A. Richards

By MRS. ALICE McCREERY and TACETTA B. WALKER*

The Honorable William Alford Richards, governor of Wyoming, 1895-1899, was a man of outstanding ability and character, a man of whom Wyoming may be proud, for he played the game well and honestly. He was just and sane in all his decisions and showed a level head at the appearance of any crisis. He was what is termed a self-made man for through his own efforts and ambitions he climbed steadily to the top and no man could say that the highest honors were not well deserved. No matter how high the scale of the ladder which he climbed, he remained the same unassuming person he was, when, as a boy, he came west.

William Alford Richards was born at Hazel Green, Grant County, Wisconsin, on March 9, 1849. His father, Truman Perry Richards, was a native of New York. The first of the Richards to settle in America was John Richards, from Dorsetshire, England, who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1630. He helped found New London, Connecticut, and for a century he and his descendants were prominent in the affairs of that place. Truman Richards' mother was Ruth Ticknor, daughter of Colonel Elisha Ticknor, of the New Hampshire troops in the Revolutionary War. The mother of W. A. Richards was Eleanor Swinnerton of Ohio. Her maternal grandfather, Nathan Carpenter, served at the Battle of Bunker Hill and later under his uncle, Ethan Allan, at Ticonderoga. He was the first to settle Delaware,

*Tacetta B. Walker was born at Cozad, Nebraska, the daughter of Rev. and Mrs. W. L. Dillow, Nebraska pioneers. When she was eleven the family moved to Montana and she had her first experience at pioneering. As soon as she was old enough she took up a homestead in Wyoming, and shortly thereafter married Loyd Walker. On the ranch she learned to break broncs, brand cattle and sheep and on occasion herd the sheep. She is a graduate of the Billings, Montana, high school and has attended the University of Montana, University of Wyoming, Columbia University and Rosebud Normal. While living the lonely ranch life she became interested in the stories of the cowboys and wrote "Stories of Early Days in Wyoming." She has also contributed numerous articles to various newspapers in Wyoming and Montana. Mrs. Wilkie M. Smith of Casper is Mrs. Walker's only child. Since the end of the War Mrs. Walker has stopped teaching and resides with her husband on a farm near Worland.

Ohio, on May 1, 1800. The first of his mother's family to come to this country was Job Swinnerton, who arrived in Salem in 1657. This family intermarried with the Carpenter family of Rehoboth. Abiel Carpenter, the great grandfather of William Richards, married a sister of Ethan Allan of Revolutionary fame.

Here was a family of pioneer stock, ready to serve their country, ready to brave the hardships of a new continent and once on that continent to keep moving westward in the wake of new trails. The rigors of pioneer life were never made a cross but rather an adventure. In keeping with their heritage they moved westward in the early forties to Wisconsin where they settled at Hazel Green.

William was the second of three sons who grew to manhood. The death of a sister was deeply mourned by the whole family. The Richards were leaders in community life in Hazel Green. They were hard-working and God-fearing, and they brought up their children to be industrious, thrifty, and, above all, to be honest. They instilled into their minds the principles of morality. What greater heritage after all than these: morality, honesty, industry? Young William had much indeed with which to make his start in the world, for with the training he received from his parents, money was not an essential.

Truman Perry Richards, father of William, was in turn a miner, mechanic and farmer. Whatever work his father followed, William was on hand to do his share. He went to the district school until he was fourteen years of age. In September 1863, he took a fancy to become a soldier and joined his brother Alonzo, in the Army of the Potomac but on account of his youth, he was denied enlistment. But here was a first sample of his determination, that determination which was to carry him so far in after life. He took a position as ambulance driver and in this way served his country. He later told of that experience when he went to Washington as Commissioner of the General Land Office.

"I had always lived in the country," he related, "and the train on which I came to Washington from Galena, Illinois, was the first passenger train I had ever seen. I started with a through ticket, five dollars in money, and a box of luncheon. Our train was delayed three or four days by the movement of the Eleventh Army Corps, which was being sent west to reinforce Rosecrans at Nashville; consequently my five dollars dwindled away on living expenses, and I reached Washington dead broke and without money enough to pay carfare. I walked from the Baltimore and Ohio depot to the signal corps camp, two miles from Georgetown, where an elder brother was stationed.

I wanted to enlist, but I was too young, only fourteen. I finally got a place in the service as an ambulance driver. I was one of the few drivers in camp who knew horses and soon, by trading, I had a good team. In those days every ambulance driver drove fast as he could and there were some mighty fine races. One night I was driving back to camp, when, in turning on High Street, I saw an ambulance ahead. I started to pass it and we had a lively race for half a square or more, when I got ahead and kept ahead, giving the other fellow all the dust, and it was mighty dusty at that particular time. When I got to camp and turned in from the main road I was pretty well scared by seeing the other ambulance turn in after me, and was scared still more when I saw that it was occupied by the commanding officer of the camp—Colonel Nicodemus. Next morning the colonel sent for me and said: 'Young man, I believe you passed me last night and made me eat dust all the way to camp.'

"I admitted that this was true, but said that I didn't know the colonel was in the ambulance, or I wouldn't have tried to pass him. 'Well, what I want to know is, where did you get that team?' said the colonel.

"I told him that I had made it up by trading and matching till I believed I had the best team of mules in Washington. The colonel said, 'After this you will take no orders from anybody about this camp excepting from the quartermaster or from me.'

"And for the rest of my time in the service my ambulance was attached to headquarters."

Upon his return to Wisconsin in the spring of 1864, William Richards went to work on a farm. In 1865, he went to high school at Galena, Illinois, where he graduated at the head of his class. In the summer of 1866, he taught school in Grant County and from then on until he was twenty years of age, he taught school. When he was not teaching, he was doing farm work not only helping himself but a younger brother. Truly, this young man did not seem to be afraid of hard work.

At this time he was tall, six feet in height, dark, good looking, and much sought after by the girls of the countryside, but as yet girls were something to be shunned. The call of his pioneer ancestry was urging him west and in 1869 he was in Omaha piling lumber to make a living until something better showed up. He won the lifelong friendship of his employer, who became one of the most extensive lumber dealers of the country. In the campaign of 1894, twenty-five years later, although of opposite political faith,

he wrote a letter which aided in the election of his former employee to the governorship of Wyoming.

Omaha was a town in the making when young William Richards landed there. Nebraska was still a prairie where Indians roved about at will and great herds of buffalo were still to be seen. It was a country to appeal to the young and adventurous. It was a country where a man might get his start but it was a young man's dominion, for none of the luxuries of civilization were there to soften life.

William Richards joined a government surveying party and worked for four years upon the public surveys of Nebraska. About this time he received a surveying contract for himself, largely through the influence of the following letter from General Grant, then president of the United States.

Executive Mansion
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1870

Dear Sir:

Permit me to recommend to your favorable notice Mr. Wm. A. Richards, now a citizen of Nebraska. Mr. Richards is a worthy, industrious young man, and well qualified for such work as our surveyor generals in new states and territories have to give. He is a young man who would highly appreciate any opportunity given him to make a fair start in the world. With great respect,

Your obedient servant,
U. S. Grant.

William Richards was well fitted for the life of a surveyor for he was physically strong and he was at the age when he welcomed adventure and to survey in Nebraska then meant adventure galore. He liked this kind of work so well that he supplemented his practical experience with hard study until he became a capable surveyor and civil engineer.

After spending several years surveying, William Richards returned to Omaha to take up the study of law under Judge E. Wakeley, but he did not practice. He appears to have been a very versatile young man for in 1871 and 1872, he was employed on the *Omaha Tribune* and *Omaha Republican* in editorial work for which he developed a good deal of talent.

During his sojourn in Omaha, he met Miss Harriet Alice Hunt and for the first time in his life became interested in women and in one in particular. Miss Hunt sang in the church choir. She had fine musical talent, which had been carefully cultivated from early youth and she

was prominent in all musical circles. When William Richards did fall, he fell hard. And from the time he met Miss Hunt until his death, there was only one woman in the world as far as he was concerned.

His summers were still spent in surveying in Nebraska and Wyoming. During 1873 and 1874, in partnership with his brother, Captain Alonzo Richards, he surveyed the southern and western boundaries of Wyoming. In Yellowstone Park with a party of surveyors, Richards shot a deer and wounded it. He did not like to leave a wounded deer so he followed it for a long way. He came upon an unnamed geyser. It was not shown on any of the maps. Years afterwards some scientist made himself famous by discovering the same geyser.

Returning from Wyoming, William Richards again took up surveying of public lands in Nebraska.

Miss Harriet Alice Hunt had moved to California with her parents and young Richards was not long in following. He procured a pass on the strength of the fact that he wanted to go out to be married but did not have the money for the trip. His audacity got him the pass. He was married to Miss Hunt in Oakland, December 28, 1874. They went to live in San Jose soon after the birth of their first child in 1876.

In 1877 he was elected County Surveyor of Santa Clara County and his private practice as a surveyor grew so rapidly that he was in a fair way of accumulating a fortune, when suddenly, out of a clear sky, came reverse. A serious illness compelled him to abandon work, his physicians believing that he had consumption and would not live a year. He went, upon advice of friends, to Colorado Springs, determined to recover his health and yet succeed. Here again his perseverance won the day. Within two years, during which time he did most strenuous outdoor work, he had regained his health and was elected county surveyor of El Paso County and city engineer of Colorado Springs. There was no holding this ambitious young man down. Wherever he went people soon knew about him and pushed him to the front.

He became attracted by the possibilities of irrigation and in 1884 went to the Big Horn Basin, Wyoming, where for three years he was engaged in constructing an irrigation ditch twenty miles long to irrigate twenty thousand acres of land near the present town of Worland. During this time, he made a homestead entry and desert entry at the foot of the Big Horn Mountains. This became known as the Red Bank Ranch. He was back on familiar boyhood ground once more and it was natural that he should begin

raising horses and cattle. Stock raising was the chief industry of Wyoming at this time.

In 1886 he interested a number of Colorado Springs men in the irrigation enterprise on the Big Horn River. Many claims were filed. He ran a line for a ditch taking water from the Big Horn. One by one the other men failed to prove up on their land, but he kept his, and later the town of Worland was built on what had been his land, later owned by the Red Bank Cattle Company, of which he was president and part owner.

When the Worland ditch was surveyed, his original line was followed but they went farther up the river for the beginning. Thus, it was in reality Governor Richards who began the first great irrigation project in the Big Horn Basin.

William Richards made his headquarters at his Red Bank Ranch, though his wife and two daughters, Alice and Ruth, still remained within the bounds of civilization, spending their time in Oakland, Omaha, and Colorado Springs, where husband and father could be with them part of the time.

One morning William A. Richards was at his ranch alone. His partner, Gus Colman, had gone off somewhere. There was snow on the ground and it was disagreeable weather so that Richards had not yet gone outside. He was in his cabin when suddenly the door opened and a couple of big husky bucks walked in carrying their guns. They demanded breakfast in no pleasant way. Richards complied with their demands, setting out some breakfast on the table. As they sat down, they leaned their rifles against the wall.

William Richards washed his hands and went over to the roller towel to dry them. His six shooter was hanging in its holster beneath the towel. When he went to dry his hands, he quickly slipped his gun out, pointed it at the Indians and told them to get out. He made them leave their guns. After they were outside, he called in the squaws and papooses and gave them their breakfast.

Among the Indians was an educated squaw who could speak English. The governor motioned to the bucks outside who were sitting on the woodpile and asked the squaw what they were saying.

"They are saying, 'What a strange fellow a white man is to have his squaws eat first'," said the woman in perfect English.

When he learned that she had been educated at some eastern school, he asked her why she still went about with the Indians, dressing and living as they did.

She said, "What else is there for me? If I stayed among the white people, I would have to work in their kitchens. I would not be one of them; I would only be among them. With my own people, I am at least an equal. But to live with them I must live as they live."

When the squaws had finished their breakfast, Richards called in the bucks and let them eat.

It was decided that family life was not at all satisfactory with one of the Richards living on a ranch and the rest here and there, having no home in particular. So in 1887 the family joined him at the Red Bank Ranch. It must have looked pretty forlorn to the gently raised Harriet Hunt for the house consisted of one large room, with a dirt floor and a sloping one at that. The "city folks" spent the next two weeks at a nearby English "home ranch" where they had many of the comforts foreign to most western ranches.

That first winter for the little family was a very severe one. Mail from the outside world was received but once, and several times travelers came in almost frozen to death. Mrs. Richards, city raised though she was, took it all happily and did not complain. Indeed, she became the sunshine of that section of the country.

The next spring an addition consisting of two large rooms was built to the house, and the goods which had been shipped from Colorado Springs the fall before, were brought in from the railroad at Casper, one hundred and seventy miles away, and installed in the new home. These goods included a massive, square Chickering piano which W. A. Richards hauled in himself on a trail wagon. Mrs. Richards had missed her music greatly at Red Bank, and trying to make the hard life of the ranch as pleasant as possible, Mr. Richards had decided she should have her piano, so he had had it shipped from Colorado Springs to Casper. They told him at Casper that he would never get it out to his ranch, but he did, and that, with an outlaw horse in his six horse outfit that no one but himself could handle. The outlaw was still so lively at the end of the journey that, scared by a rattlesnake, he came prancing into the ranch as though he had not pulled a heavy load for one hundred seventy miles.

W. A. Richards was not to be allowed the privilege of being a plain rancher. Already he was gaining a reputation for his exceptional abilities and was becoming known throughout that section of the country as an honest, industrious man with a level head and an ability for being fair in decisions.

A petition, signed by one hundred and twenty-two voters of the Big Horn Basin, was presented to Mr. Richards,

asking that he consent to become a candidate for county commissioner of Johnson county. Recognizing the claims of the settlers on that side of the range for representation on the board of county commissioners and the almost unanimous desire that Mr. Richards be their representative, the Democratic convention endorsed him and in 1886 he was elected to fill that office.

Part of each summer was necessarily spent at the county seat, Buffalo, ninety miles away, reached only by going over a range of mountains. He had to make a trip during one of the winters and had the misfortune to be caught in a heavy snowstorm. He was compelled to make part of the journey on foot in order to reach home where he found his family much concerned for his welfare.

The nearest school was sixty miles distant. Eleanor Alice, the oldest child, enrolled and succeeded in attending a few days. There were no churches, although Mrs. Richards did act as superintendent of a small neighborhood Sunday school. But neighbors were too scattered to have much of a Sunday school, the nearest neighbor being four miles distant.

During part of her residence at the ranch, Mrs. Richards acted as postmistress. When she answered a questionnaire to the effect that there were eight persons residing in the "town of Red Bank," the postal authorities at Washington, D. C., sent her a severe reprimand because she had not been more careful of her figures. They could not understand that a post office doing quite a large volume of business was not in a town, but it so happened that that post office covered a large section of the country.

"The only social life," says Eleanor Alice Richards, speaking of those days, "was the winter dances, where we would go in the evening, dance all night, and return home in the early morning. Sometimes we would catch a few hours rest and go on to the next party. One trip, I remember, occupied over a week as we went from Red Bank north to what was then Hyattville and back again. There were, that winter, about a hundred men in the Big Horn Basin and seven women, one of the seven being myself, only eleven years old. I was allowed to dance very little. The men were very respectful and well behaved. I remember at one dance that a couple of the boys who became intoxicated were taken out, placed on their horses and shown the way home. I do not remember seeing any intoxicated men at the parties. There were so many of them and so few women that they knew they must behave if they wished to have a good time. Some of the men were splendid, but some were not; some were honest, but some were crooks;

some were college graduates, but some were uneducated. Many had come for adventure; some to escape from deeds they had left behind. But all were chivalrous to the women and to the one lone little girl.

"My mother was very particular that we should get into no bad habits of speech or action and was very careful to see that I used good grammar and did not lean on the table when I ate, as I wanted to do, for some of the men did. I had many responsibilities as my mother had had a bad attack of muscular rheumatism before we left California, which had left her with joints that became badly swollen when much in water, and I had to do most of the dishwashing and help in every way I could. As our family was seldom less than eight, I was kept busy, but I never grew to dislike dishwashing. To this day I get a thrill in having everything nicely cleared up and put away."

W. A. Richards came in one evening from a trip to the railroad. The family and men all lingered long at the table for they were all eager for news of the outside world and Richards was a good narrator. But after a while he rose and said, "Come into the other room and we will open the packages."

The group responded eagerly, some of the men as curious as the little girls. First, he passed some candy, just one piece to each, the rest being put away to be "doled out" later to the children, piece by piece. Then he unwrapped an accordin, asking Bill, one of the boys who worked on the ranch, to play. Bill required a good deal of coaxing, since he knew his limitations, but he finally tried to play Swanee River. It was terrible but all were patient. Finally, Tommy, a Welshman who sat in a far corner, blurted out, "Why all this butchery?"

Everyone turned on him. "Play it yourself if you don't like Bill's playing."

Much to the surprise of all present, Tommy took the instrument, fingered it lovingly, and began to play. Amazingly from the cheap instrument flowed music from the masters. Then followed the airs of his native Wales and folk songs. Never had the assembled company heard such music. They glanced at each other dumbfounded. Who was this man and why was he out here in the wilds? He played on, holding them all spellbound until Richards at last said, "Well, boys, it's time to turn in. We will hear more from Tommy later and tomorrow I send to town for a decent accordin."

It developed that Tommy had been a master player in his village, had contended at the national Eisteifford, but being disappointed in taking only second place, had taken

his prize money and had come to America and on to the West.

In 1889, W. A. Richards was employed at a salary as foreman of a large "cow outfit" by Crawford and Thompson, a company owning many thousand cattle. He was at work on the round-up when he was appointed United States Surveyor General for Wyoming by President Harrison. The family then moved to Cheyenne, leaving the ranch in the hands of a manager.

At this time George McClellan, better known as "Bear George," who was later senator, was working as cowboy on the ranch at Red Bank. Bear George had come into the Basin in 1887, stopping at Hyattville where he became famous as a bear hunter. At the time that McClellan came into the country, Mr. Richards had decided to raise horses to supply the cattle outfits, but the winter of '86 had put many of the big outfits out of business. Seeing this market was going to be no good, he decided to raise better horses, and he sent some pure-blooded heavy Percheron stallions to the ranch. Previous to this, he had had Ralph, a Kentucky stallion, who mated to Dude, an Indian mare, each the fastest of its kind in the Basin. Some fine colts were produced from this stock.

During a visit back to the ranch, Richards found one of the fine stallions dead. He said, "George, what killed the stallion?"

George replied, "Well, general, I guess I killed it, trying to cure a bad barbed wire cut."

This honest reply so pleased the surveyor general that he put George McClellan in charge of the ranch. Later, he was taken into partnership. Bear George was a unique character noted for his bear stories, some of which were true, and others were told with the usual exaggeration of an old-time westerner. Governor Richards delighted in telling stories of his foreman's hunting episodes.

McClellan was a large, well-built man, a daring hunter and an excellent shot and was without doubt the best bear hunter in the country. He had many hard and close fights with the bruin tribe. On one occasion he rode upon the bears and roping one, held him until he shot the other. With his horse plunging and rearing and the bears making for him he had a very exciting time of it. Altogether, he killed seven bears with nothing but a six shooter for a weapon.

At another time he killed an enormous animal, trailing him on foot and crawling through the underbrush and over fallen timber until he got him. For the hide of the bear he received fifty dollars.

In spite of his position in Cheyenne as surveyor general, Mr. Richards did not lose interest in the ranch or the community where he had been living. At this time he was one of the stockholders and a moving spirit in the Red Bank Telephone Company, a locally organized rural company with seventy miles of line and thirty subscribers. Practically all of the subscribers were stockholders, while Richards was general plant, traffic, and commercial superintendent, chief engineer and auditor.

The line ran from the Rocky Mountain Bell toll station at Lost Cabin over the Big Horn Mountains through the most remote and isolated parts of Wyoming to Tensleep.

"One winter," related W. A. Richards in speaking of this line, "I was passing a few months in California and my manager used to write me from time to time of conditions on the ranch, until the snow in the mountains got so bad that it was impossible for the mails to get any farther than No Wood, fifteen miles from the ranch. There were some things that Mr. McClellan thought I should know, so what does he do but call up No Wood on the telephone and dictate a three page letter over the wire to the clerk, who wrote it out and forwarded it to me in California."

He liked to tell this story of Bear George:

"I once had out with me for a hunting trip Dr. Harris of Chicago, who is one of the most noted surgeons of that city. On our way to the railroad at the end of his visit, we stopped at a ranch where word was awaiting us that one of the neighbors ten miles away was very sick and wanted the doctor to come over and see him. Dr. Harris had an appointment in the East and could not stop but he called up the sick man's ranch and asked his wife a few questions. She answered them and was told that the sick man had a severe case of appendicitis. 'You had better telephone over the mountain to Dr. Walker and tell him that if he doesn't operate in twenty-four hours, it will be too late.'

"With these instructions we continued our journey toward the railroad. Dr. Walker was forty miles away, but that night when I called up the ranch I learned that Mr. McClellan was down at the lower ranch administering the ether while Dr. Walker performed the operation by the light of a kerosene lamp. And the next night as we neared Casper, a hundred miles from the ranch, we again called up, and this time we found Bear George at home. 'How is your appendicitis patient?' asked Dr. Harris.

"'Oh, he's all right. Me and the other Doc, we pulled him through,' and they did."

The advent of the telephone into the community was a real asset. It was especially useful for the spring or fall

round-up. When the foreman of the general round-up had wanted to assemble the riders and outfits, it had meant that a couple of men would have to ride three or four days in every direction to notify the ranchmen, and it would be almost a week before everyone could be ready to start. After the coming of the telephone, all they had to do was to call up the various ranches the night before and they would be ready by the middle of the following morning to start. The telephone was not only useful in the community, but it brought the outside world in closer touch, which was a great thing in the lives of those who lived miles from a town.

November 30, 1893, a successor was named by President Cleveland, the newly elected Democratic president, for the position of Surveyor General for Wyoming, and in February 1894, W. A. Richards took his family back to the Red Bank Ranch in Johnson County and resumed the business of farming and stock raising. City life had not spoiled him for work. That spring he "broke up" forty acres of sod himself and by irrigation raised 115,000 pounds of oats on it.

On August 4, 1894, W. A. Richards was nominated by the Republican State Convention as candidate for governor. This nomination was due to the energetic and efficient manner in which he had discharged the duties pertaining to the office of Surveyor General, for which place he was especially well fitted by previous occupation and experience. Before the convention it was believed that Frank Mondell would receive the nomination for governor; instead, he was nominated for congressman and Richards for governor. Upon receiving the nomination for governor, W. A. Richards made the following speech:

Before coming to Casper I was advised by one well-skilled in politics, to prepare myself with a speech, not to be delivered under such conditions as those which now exist, but a speech endorsing and ratifying the nomination for governor of my competitor, the gifted statesman from Weston County whom you have just nominated for Congress, Senator Frank Mondell. If the occasion had presented itself I could have congratulated you upon his nomination for governor with only a shade less enthusiasm and no less sincerity than that with which I now congratulate you upon his nomination for Congress. He will bring to the office of congressman, to which he will surely be elected, a wisdom in legislative affairs gained by years of service to

the state, a masterful mind, accustomed to the decision of questions of great importance with promptness and unerring judgment, and a patriotism and a devotion to his country and her best interests as represented by the Republican party second to none, and of which no greater guarantee could be asked or given than that shown by his magnanimous conduct today, which is appreciated by none so highly as by myself.

You have adopted resolutions that are good enough for any Republican. I stand squarely and firmly on the platform of Wyoming Republicans, adopted here today, and pledge myself to the principles therein enunciated.

In nominating me as your candidate for governor, you have conferred an honor which is fully appreciated. If the people at the polls in November shall certify to the wisdom of your action here today by electing me, then all the honor that the people can confer will have been given me. Whether or not the office brings any honor will depend upon myself and how I perform the duties which it imposes. An office only gives back to the holder and makes known the honor which he brings to it. From early youth I have cherished and been guided by the precept expressed by the poet when he said:

“Honor and fame from no condition rise:
Act well your part, there all the glory lies.”

The greater portion of those present need no introduction to me, and my official career is known to you all. I am inclined to believe that the manner in which my public duties have been performed has had a large influence upon your action toward me today.

If elected Governor I promise you that upon the appointed day I will walk up the broad steps of our capitol in full daylight; that I will enter the office through the open door and proceed to the discharge of my duties with a determination that business principles and devotion to the best interests of the state shall guide and govern my conduct. As to what part I will take in the coming engagement, I will say that my campaign has already commenced.

Although not a professional politician, politics will be my profession for the next three months, and I will devote my entire time to the interests of the party and the election of the whole ticket, and it is my sincere belief that when the election returns are made known, they will be received with a grand Republican cheer that will be heard from Egbert on the east to Evanston on the west, from Sheridan on the north to Saratoga on the south, and the echo of which will go rolling back from Rawlins to Red Bank.

From Mr. Duhig, a resident of Hyattville at that time:

When Richards was a candidate for governor, he was up in the Hyattville country. He was a man who had lived simply, and had never put on airs. It was supper time, and getting out of his rig, he dug out his towel and soap, straddled an irrigating ditch and washed for supper. He did not do this for effect nor to make a good fellow of himself. He did it because he was an old-timer and it was the natural thing to do. He did it without ostentation of any sort.

He entered actively into the campaign, making a thorough canvass of the State, for here was a man who did everything with thoroughness, and in November he was elected by the largest vote polled in the state of Wyoming up to that time. He was inaugurated in January 1895, and served until January 1899, a term of four years.

Frank Bond once wrote of him:

The sterling qualities of William Richards as a man and a citizen, his likable personality, always accessible, always ready to hear both sides of a controversy, always convincing even to the loser in a cause—these were the attributes of his mind schooled from its youth up, in fitting its owner for the duties of new undertakings, before it accepted their responsibilities. He was a successful surveyor and engineer before becoming Surveyor General; a man qualified in land laws and regulations before he became Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the step from Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner was easy, because, before his promotion, he had fully qualified for the greater and higher service. A similar condition of pre-

paredness preceded his nomination and election as Governor of Wyoming, so that, consciously or unconsciously, preparedness seems to have been his guiding star, leading him step by step up the stairway to a useful and worthwhile life. It was not scintillating brilliance but calm and measured dependability that insured the acceptable public service he always rendered.

During his term as governor there were several matters of more than ordinary interest and importance which came up for action. The first of these was a threatened invasion of the western portion of the State, in Jackson's Hole, by the Bannock Indians from the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho. These Indians had been in the habit of hunting in Wyoming regardless of our state statutes, which practice Governor Richards determined to stop, as he could see no reason why Indians should hunt in the State during the closed season, while Wyoming citizens were not allowed to do so. Several arrests were made of Indians who were violating the law and nominal fines were imposed, which did not have the effect of stopping them from hunting. Finally, one band resisted arrest, and, after they had finally surrendered to a superior force, attempted to escape. In the confusion which followed one of them was killed which led to the threatened outbreak. Several hundred hostile Indians congregated in the vicinity of the settlement in Jackson's Hole. This body of Indians was not alone composed of Bannocks, but renegades from all the surrounding tribes joined them and there was great danger of a very serious conflict. Governor Richards was confident of his ability to protect the people with the forces at his command, but the general government took charge of the matter and sent out a body of troops under command of Brigadier General Coppinger who dispersed the Indians without any fighting and compelled them to return to their reservations. Subsequently, a test case was taken into the courts to determine whether or not the Indians had a right to hunt in Wyoming, notwithstanding our statutory regulations, which right was claimed for them by the government on account of an existing treaty between the government and the Indians. This case was known as the "Race Horse" case, that being the name of the Indian who was tried. It became quite celebrated, being finally taken to the Supreme Court of the United States where the position of the governor and his action were fully sustained. This case furnished a precedent which has been followed by the governors of surrounding states in their management

of Indians with respect to hunting in violation of the statutes.

Governor Richards was Wyoming's war governor—his initials being W.A.R.—as well as being at the head of affairs during the Spanish-American War.

In the war with Spain the quota of Wyoming was fixed at one battalion of four companies of infantry, which was considerably in excess of the number which Wyoming should have furnished in proportion to its population. The call for troops was made upon the 23rd of April 1898, and by consolidating some of the companies of the national guard and disbanding one company in order to get its equipment, the quota of Wyoming was reported to the Secretary of War on May 10th as filled, each of the four companies having been mustered in with a maximum number of men, fully armed and equipped and ready for active service. Inquiry at the War Office upon that day elicited the fact that Wyoming was the first State to make such a report. Montana reported later the same day, May 10, 1898.

Shortly after this time, at the earnest solicitation of our delegation in Congress, who were directly representing the sentiment of the people, the government accepted a battery of light artillery, which was mustered in and together with the infantry battalion, rendered good service in the Philippines. Subsequent to this time seven companies of cavalry were organized in Wyoming and mustered into the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry; but these companies were not organized under the direction of the governor. This is mentioned only to show the unusual number of troops sent to this war from Wyoming, being more than five times the quota which we should have furnished according to our population.

A newspaper clipping:

Governor Richards' arrival in San Francisco proved a very fortunate thing for the Wyoming battalion. According to previous arrangement, it had been decided that our battalion, with other troops, would not get away with the detachment that sails tomorrow and would remain in San Francisco several weeks longer. Governor Richards became cognizant of the arrangement and commenced at once to endeavor to have the order changed and through General Otis and General Merritt, the battalion from this date was selected as a part of the third expedition. The boys feel very grateful to the Governor for his efforts on their behalf.

Governor Richards was filling his position to the satisfaction of everyone. His genial, cordial manner in greeting everyone, his readiness to listen to suggestions, the promptness with which he attended to business, won him a great deal of admiration. All of his appointments were made without a dissenting vote from the senate and it was said that he thought first of the people and then picked the man whom he thought could best serve them.

The Chicago Times Herald made an effort to ascertain the religious views of the governors of the states and territories. They received the following from Governor Richards:

I believe in the doctrines of Orthodox Christianity and try to make my life and actions conform to them. I have always been a church attendant and take great interest in church work. My parents were members of the Christian church and I was brought up in that faith. My wife and children are members and active workers in the Baptist church, and while I visit all churches, I attend that one more than I do others. I am at present a trustee of the First Baptist church of Cheyenne.

Eleanor Alice Richards was the private secretary to the Governor. At one time the papers were full of the "girl governor." This came about when the governor and his staff went to St. Louis, Missouri, to a meeting of southern and western governors. A reporter accosted Adjutant General Frank A. Stitzer asking for news. He told him that the daughter of the governor of Wyoming, a girl of twenty, was "acting governor." The reporter enlarged upon it and the item was published nationwide. Mrs. McCreery, the daughter referred to, says, "I received many letters, some from Mexico and fashion news from Paris. Several offers of marriage! I was in charge of the office but Secretary of State Burdick was the acting governor.

"Only one time did I act officially. The governor of Colorado sent up extradition papers. Both the governor and Secretary Burdick were away. It was an urgent case, so the attorney general, B. F. Fowler, gave me permission to sign the paper with my name following the governor's.

"Many of the old-timers, W. E. Schnitger in particular, always insisted that I was the first woman governor, but I really was not. My father, however, often would talk things over with me, then say, 'what is your opinion?', asking me to give him any immediate reaction. He believed in woman's intuition."

A clipping from an Omaha paper speaks thus of this girl governor:

The new woman has demonstrated herself rather strongly, she being at this moment governor of one of the sovereign states—Wyoming. The fact that Governor W. A. Richards of that state is visiting in Omaha at this time supplies an excuse for calling attention to the further fact that while he is away a woman—presumably a pretty woman and certainly a young woman—occupies the actual position of Governor of the State. This young woman is the Governor's daughter, Alice, who is his private secretary and whom he acknowledges has a grasp on the affairs of the office which is frequently superior to his own. While the Governor is away, this remarkable young person attends the affairs of the State, telegraphing him daily that all is well.

The coming of Governor and Mrs. W. A. Richards of Wyoming to Omaha brings a whiff of the old, young days to Omaha people who knew them back in the seventies—old, young days because, although those days belong to the long-ago town, the people were all young and enthusiastic.

"The last piece of work I did in Omaha," said the Governor, this morning, "was to write up the Nebraska State Fair for the old Republican, then under the management of Major Balcombe. That was in the fall of 1875, and it was the year of the great horse race between Randall, Dr. Peck's horse, and Lothair. Lothair was put into the three-minute race as a horse without a record and he won, much to the amazement of everybody, for, the betting was all on Dr. Peck's Randall. It was subsequently found out that Lothair was not the name of the horse at all, but that his name was Small Oaks and that he had a record of 2:15. Everybody in Omaha remembers that race, I think."

"Yes, I lived in Omaha between the years of 1869 and 1875 and my wife and I always look back to Omaha as our home. There have been great changes here, even in the last six years. A great deal that was prairie a few years ago is now thickly populated. I am returning from St. Louis where we went to attend the interstate competitive drill. Governors McIntire of Nebraska and Sapp of Colorado

were also in attendance and we were treated with princely hospitality. The town turned out for us and, I declare, we had a royal good time. We arrived in Omaha day before yesterday and yesterday were driven to Fort Crook by General Copping.
. . .

"In my absence I leave my office in charge of my daughter who is also my private secretary. What is her name? Eleanor Alice, but we leave the Eleanor off usually. She sends me telegrams daily of matters at the office and of the welfare of our children, for she is at the head of the two establishments during our absence."

In regard to what the new woman was doing in Wyoming, Governor Richards said that the Wyoming woman was not so deep in emancipation as her sisters of Colorado. "The Wyoming women," he said, "go out and vote intelligently at election, but the holding of public office is mostly confined to positions on the school board. We have no women legislators. My wife often votes for what she wants, but it is always done quietly."

"What of the West? Well, I can say as far as Wyoming is concerned that the State is fairly prosperous. We did not feel the depression as much as other states, perhaps because we have not so much to lose. But there is no doubt that times are easier and people are spending more money. Emigration to the State is almost too large. The development of Wyoming as everybody knows, depends as much upon the mineral productions as upon the agricultural. Besides the supply of coal there is an unlimited supply of oil. We cannot put much refined oil upon the market against the Standard Oil Company, but the shipping of lubrication from Casper is becoming a big business. Our agricultural prospects are bright. We have taken advantage of the Carey Arid Law and one million acres have been donated to the State on condition that we will get capital interested in making the arid land productive."

Governor Richards declined to be a candidate for re-nomination and also declined to be a candidate for United States Senator, although urged to allow his name to go before the legislature in that connection. Shortly after the

completion of his term as Governor, he was appointed assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office by President McKinley. He, with his family, moved to Washington and entered upon the duties appertaining to that office on the 4th of March 1899.

Here, as in every other position he held, ex-Governor Richards made a decided success of the job. The Oklahoma Indian lands were opened to settlement during his term of office as assistant commissioner. Up to this time, the "rush" method had been used, where first come, first served, was the rule of the day. This gave the man with the fastest horse and the meanest disposition a great advantage over others. In 1901 it was decided to open to the white people portions of Indian Territory, including the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservations. The rush method had never been a success and other means were sought. Victor Mudock, editor of the *Eagle*, Wichita, Kansas; Dennis Flynn, delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory; Willis Van Devanter of Wyoming, assistant Attorney General for the Interior Department (later on the Supreme Court of the United States) and William Richards, ex-governor of Wyoming, were all interested in plans for the opening of this new strip. The plan of a lottery which consisted of a properly conducted drawing was suggested and finally adopted. Judge Van Devanter said he knew of only one man who could conduct the affair properly and that was W. A. Richards, so he was put in charge and told to go ahead. He was given full charge with very little of the red tape which usually surrounds government tasks.

There were 2,000,000 acres of land, divided into 13,000 quarter sections, each quarter being a prize and worth from \$500 to \$53,000—the ones near Lawton, Oklahoma, the new town, being the most valuable. Any male citizen and any woman over 21, who did not own 160 acres of land, could enter his name for the drawing. To do so it was necessary to go to El Reno or Lawton, Oklahoma and register for the drawing. As always "land hunger" drew men and women from all walks of life and from all parts of the United States. Thousands flocked to these new towns, usually staying long enough to register, though many remained for the drawing. Mushroom towns grew overnight. Ten thousand strangers flocked through El Reno every day. Registration lasted from July 10 to the 26, at which time the drawing began and through all the rush of throngs, and the needed clerical work, the man at the head of the job, W. A. Richards, kept a cool head and a steady hand on things.

The contrast between the Kiowa-Comanche opening and all the former ones held in Oklahoma was noticeable, especially to those who had taken part in former drawings. Those former drawings had been mere farces. Men were forced to get their certificates and make the run besides. Applicants had to stand in line for two and three days; many of them slept on the ground, went hungry or paid exorbitant prices for piece lunches in order to hold their places in the long line. Others grew discouraged and sold their places in the line for five dollars and some as high as ten dollars, while others, who were acquainted or posted on the character of the grafters inside the booths, would sneak in the back way and put up from one to twenty certificates. Those who "stood in" would get a number and fill it in themselves. It was one of the most clumsy and fraudulently conducted proceedings ever witnessed.

In contrast to the chaotic methods employed in these drawings, ex-Governor Richards conducted his drawing with superior generalship and in such a way as to bring no criticism upon himself or the government. The registering was attended with no hardships, no fraud, no suffering. As high as 16,000 were registered at El Reno in one day. The line was never so crowded that it meant a long wait for the applicant to be registered. When the crowd grew, Richards extended the facilities for registering and all were promptly accommodated. There was never any charge of bribery and no complaints as to unfair treatment.

An incident connected with that opening throws light on the character of the man. The lands, it will be recalled, were disposed of under the drawing system. Each tract was numbered, and prospective settlers, prior to the opening, were obliged to register and draw a card bearing some number. There being more settlers than lots, many cards were blanks. The great demand for these lots attracted thousands of people to booths opened each morning. When the registration was well under way one day, Delegate Flynn of Oklahoma appeared in Governor Richards' office with his daughter.

"Richards," said he, "my daughter and I want to take a try at those lots. Those lines outside are mighty long, and if we went to the end we would not be able to register for hours. Can't you get me a number some other way?"

"Donny," replied the governor, a close personal friend of the jovial delegate, "I would help you if I could help anyone. But there is no way for you to get a lot except to fall in line, the same as any other man, and take your chances."

"But my daughter here can't stand in line all day. Can't you do something for her?"

"There is a special booth for women," replied Richards. "The line is not so long there, but she must take her place at the end."

A look of surprise and disappointment spread over the countenance of Delegate Flynn, as he departed for the end of the line and as his daughter sought out the tail of another.

That was characteristic of Commissioner Richards, influence had no weight with him. Right was right and he could not be budged from its path.

Following the registration, there was no run to the land open for entry, and there were none of the killings that accompanied former drawings. When the applicant registered his part was done. If he was lucky enough to draw a number, he merely waited and took his turn at selecting his piece of land.

During the registration days, each person who wished to register was given an entry blank which had to be filled out. This slip was deposited with all the other slips in one of two great boxes, ten feet long and two feet square and stirred with an iron dasher. When the drawing started, each name was numbered as it was drawn out and notice was sent immediately to the person whose name appeared on the slip. Many names were not drawn, but everyone felt that he or she had had a fair deal.

On August 6th the land was thrown open for entry, and for days before, the roads were filled with people walking, riding horseback, in carts, carriages, on bicycles, in fact in any fashion, in order to get to the new county seat, Lawton. They were a motley crowd with all manner of baggage. They came from all strata of life, all with the same idea of starting anew in a new country. There were more men and women present than had ever before gathered for such an opening. The tale is told that Number One was selfish and instead of choosing his hundred sixty acres in one piece with the boundary on the town line of Lawton, he chose two eighty-acre pieces adjacent to the town. A girl was Number Two and she, perforce, took the land next to his. But selfishness does not always win. His land was marshy, hers was on higher ground and dry, and in the end was more valuable than his. Besides, some squatters who were on his land, "squatted" all the harder and refused to get off until he used force.

Ex-Governor Richards laid out the townsite of Lawton which grew rapidly. It was not long until the entrants had drawn their land and the town settled down to the quiet of ordinary towns.

An article in the *Saturday Evening Post* gives all the credit for the success of the drawing to W. A. Richards. Dated 1901, the article reads:

There was this other trait about the El Reno crowd, it kept moving. The average man stayed in El Reno less than six hours. He did not lag superfluous on the stage after he had registered. And here is where your Uncle Sam came in. The registration was conducted with exact fairness and unusual rapidity. When one considers that 10,000 human beings, which are contrary and untractable creatures at best, were taken into a half-dozen hot, stuffy little tents, seated courteously, adorned with "good morning" or "good evening" and then divested of the needed information, all in ten working hours and that, too, without riot or rebellion, one may realize what a remarkable work the registration was. The credit for this work is entirely due to the good sense, tact, and efficient industry of former Governor W. A. Richards of Wyoming. He represented the land department at El Reno. Richards' success lay in the fact that he is a Westerner and knew how to handle a Western crowd.

A man stood in the line one day with a Winchester. An eastern man would have sent for a policeman, a southern man might have shown some authority in taking the gun away, but Richards took it away so gently, so politely, and withal so good-naturedly, that the gunbearer felt the obligation to return the former governor's kindness. The clerks, in opening the envelopes after the drawing, found that many Texas people had given their place of birth as Michigan. This was because Texans, fearing that politics was to control the lottery, agreed that they could deceive the managers of the lottery by appearing to be northern men living in Texas, and hence Republicans and subject to favors. But when the drawing was over, no state was prouder to belong to a government that could run a fair drawing than the Texas people. Richards had the friendship of all Texans—as well as the rest of the union. Richards was discovered to the government by Willis Van Devanter, assistant attorney general for the Interior Department, to whom much of the success of the opening is due. He drafted the bill which made the opening. He prepared the president's proclamation. He worked out most of the details

of the drawing and of the land filing that followed. Van Devanter was formerly chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wyoming.

Ex-Governor Richards laid out the townsite of Lawton. It lies on a hillside and it is two miles long, a mile wide, gently rolling and sloping toward the south and west. In it there is a courthouse square; two other squares are reserved for school houses, after the American fashion. But Richards could not know everything. A man who bought a lot in Lawton dug a well. Then he nailed a sign to a stick and stuck it up for him who runs to read: "From this lot to water—two hundred feet—DOWN!" But on the section just south of the townsite there is an abundance of water at fourteen feet. Lawton may move from Lawton to the land adjoining it. Still, this is not likely as most of the town has been sold, and improvements are beginning. Next year there may be a system of water works, and wells may become obsolete and archaic—as they are in most western towns of over two thousand inhabitants. According to the rules of the game which the settlers were playing, the townsite of Lawton was to be left clear of squatters for inspection until the lots passed into the hands of owners at the auction. But between the first and sixth of August, 25,000 people had gathered around the boundaries of Lawton and had built a town of tents. This town grew on the south and west sides of the townsite as plotted for the government. There were two principal business streets of the town which met at the southwest corner of the townsite—Grand Avenue running east and west, and Goo-goo Avenue running north and south.

This land opening was declared the most successful one that had ever taken place in the United States. Not only Secretary Hitchcock, but the President commended Mr. Richards for his success. The Oklahoma Capital also sent its congratulations. His home state rejoiced in his success, and this evaluation of his achievement appeared in the *Daily Leader*:

The specter of red tape, a haunting thing to most westerners, had faded to nothingness before Governor Richards' performance at El Reno. With nearly 10,000 people registered each day without discomfort, without confusion, without misunder-

standings, a lot of patriotic souls in this region are changing their opinion about the manner of the government down at Washington.

For while the westerner holds the government in dear esteem, honors it above everything else on earth, is ready to fight for it, and appreciates its vast capacity, he has always until now accursed its bureaus of the fault of masterful delay. He has had an idea that the government, in its departmental work, took its time—and that interminable.

Governor Richards, being a westerner and having worked daily with western men, knew not only their impetuosity, but their love of fair play. His conduct of the whole proceedings demonstrated his knowledge of the psychology of the western man. As stated in the press:

To find its own impetuosity, its unconventional haste, and full-blooded eagerness met with and satisfied by a clerical force from Washington, is to the West astounding. That a small body of these servants of the government, transplanted from the leisurely atmosphere of Washington departments could supply the demands of thousands of eager, quick-moving, nimble-thinking westerners who wanted to register at once, was at first beyond belief.

A great many stories, amusing as well as complimentary to the management, were told or published following the drawing. One is the story of a man who walked up to a booth and registered and then wanted to know where the line was so he could get into it and begin waiting.

Governor Richards was given great credit for the efficient organization of his forces. The blanks for registration had been greatly simplified, no doubt through his efforts. There were no intricacies of phraseology to puzzle the applicants. So little clerical work was required that the men claimed they were "put through" in two minutes. The officials at Washington "stepped up" considerably in the estimation of the common Western man.

In 1903 ex-Governor Richards received another well-deserved promotion, this time from President Theodore Roosevelt. He was now made Commissioner of the General Land Office, a position for which his work and acquaintance with public lands well fitted him. It was probably about this time that he wrote the following article on *Our Defective Land System*:

The entire arid region, agriculturally considered, presents a spectacle of arrested development. Not only are individual citizens suffering, but the states themselves are oppressed with a burden too heavy for them to bear. While the public land has been a blessing and a source of profit to the eastern states, it is all of the opposite to the arid states. Nearly every arid state is confronted by the same need, that of population. Nature has supplied every condition which prosperity requires. Under our feet is a rich soil, over our heads a genial sun and in our rivers the unused waters. We lack only people to utilize these resources. As conditions are now, the people are not coming. Many of those who do come are unable to secure a foothold. Settler after settler who attempts to create a home in the West finds the natural conditions too hard and gives up and goes elsewhere. The reason for this is found in the fact that irrigated agriculture is a capitalized industry.

The settler of Iowa and Kansas needed only a plow to cultivate the soil and a habitation to shelter his family. From the very first his labor was productive. The settler who comes to Colorado or Wyoming confronts an entirely different situation. Before he can begin to farm, ditches must be dug, dams built, and the land prepared for the distribution of water. The average cost of providing the water will reach \$10 an acre. The cost of preparing the land for its application is half as much more. If the land is taken up under the desert land act the government charges \$1.25 an acre more, and compels him to furnish maps and plans and the testimony of a multitude of witnesses to establish the fact that he is fit to roam at large and ought not to be in the penitentiary.

The combined outlay for the reclamation of arid land is therefore too great for the homeseeker without means. The man who can afford to expend \$20 an acre on land before he raises a crop does not have to come west to secure it. He can buy a farm in the wealthy and populous east. If the outlook is discouraging for a settler it is no brighter for the ditch builder. To divert the waters of our large rivers, aggregations of capital are required. Many of the canal systems already constructed have cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, and in a few in-

stances the outlay on single enterprises has reached millions. In nearly every instance the building of large canals to water public land has proven a financial failure. In the beginning of this sort of investment such results were attributed to mismanagement. It is now known that they are the almost inevitable results of our defective land system.

During all of his career as a public administrator, only once was W. A. Richards accused dishonorably. A disgruntled employee made the charge that he had gotten hold of land dishonestly. It was speedily disproved but the very fact that the charge had been made, grieved Governor Richards sorely, for he was proud of his honor as well he had a right to be. He prided himself on never having been in on a shady transaction. One day while governor, some of the leading men of the state had been consulting him. When they left, he remarked, "I wish they would not countenance underhanded methods. It is not necessary."

Not only was his public life one of honor but his private life as well. He was always a devoted husband and father. His secretary, when he was commissioner of the General Land Office, J. T. Macey, often commented on the fact that Wm. A. Richards' first move when arriving at the office in the mornings, was to see if he had anything to do for his family. That done, he went to work.

He often remonstrated with the clerks in the office for watching the clock. He told them they would never succeed that way. He could not brook inefficiency and the sot was to him intolerable. On one occasion, in a single order, he swept from the special service of the General Land Office seventeen bibulous individuals whose places had been obtained through pull and whose services were marked by inefficiency and graft.

In all of his public life, his leaning was toward the people and not the big powers. Many of the old cobwebs that had been years in weaving were brushed aside and shorter cuts to justice were established. As an employer he was considerate and kind; as a superior official, he had the respect and good will of all subordinates. One of the most treasured of his personal belongings was an expensive and elegant gold watch presented to him by the employees of the General Land Office at Washington upon the occasion of his retirement.

For many years it had been the practice of each commissioner of the land office to leave a picture of himself to be displayed in the offices at the expiration of his term.

Ex-Governor Richards while in Washington, D. C., had sat for a painting by A. A. Anderson, a portrait painter who often hunted in the West and who owned what are called Palette I, Palette II, and Palette III Ranches near Meeteetse, Wyoming; but the portrait did not suit him. Later, however, it was presented to the State of Wyoming.

When he failed to present the land office with a picture, Frank Bond, chief clerk of the office under Richards, and a close friend of the former commissioner, carved a likeness of his friend from a block of pine.* It was twenty-four by thirty inches and was regarded as a perfect likeness. It was about three months in the carving. An interesting letter concerning the wood carving came to the ex-Governor from the assistant commissioner.

My dear Governor:

It may be news to you that your reception yesterday was attended by a large number of your friends, who, but a short time before, were not aware of your presence in the office. It came about in this way. Mr. Bond, our Chief Clerk, has produced a most excellent likeness of you, done in relief on wood, a form of wood carving, so far as I know, entirely unique. The picture is about the size of those hanging in our office of the former Commissioners. The face stands out one and one-half inches from the base and presents your features in profile. The whole is overlaid with a light brown stain, deepening into darker shades. The likeness is remarkable, a matter about which your old friends and associates testify, without exception. As a matter of art, I am not capable of criticising the work (I know too little of such things) but it is certainly a most lifelike presentation of you as we knew you while you were here.

It occupies a prominent position in the Commissioner's room and when it had been put in place the Commissioner sent word through the office, and thereupon the reception occurred of which I spoke at first. The people were coming and going all day and admiring the picture, without exception.

It is framed in plain dark wood, and carries your name and date of your service on a silver plate at the bottom of the frame.

*This carved likeness of Mr. Richards is now in the State Historical Museum in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

I am writing about this myself somewhat fully, because I want you to know how we feel about the picture in the office and I know Bond will be too modest to tell you of what we regard a wonderful piece of work.

It was while W. A. Richards was commissioner that he presented the Methodist church at Rawlins with an addition to their parsonage. His daughter, Mrs. Alice McCreery, was the wife of the pastor of the church of that place.

On October 27, 1903, occurred the death of Mrs. Richards, one of the tragic events in the life of the former governor of Wyoming. She had always been a helpmate during the early struggles of married life and had filled the higher duties that came with the higher offices with all the graciousness of her station, even though the formal calls and entertaining were most distasteful to her. She was mourned by a large circle of friends in addition to her family.

In 1907 W. A. Richards returned to Wyoming and his ranch, but the public would not let him enjoy private life. The following year he was appointed State Tax Collector, a newly created and most important office.

It would seem that such a busy man would have no time for hobbies, yet the ex-Governor's hobby was hunting. He joined a New York sportsman's group and qualified as having killed almost every kind of wild animal in America. His name was published in their honor roll in *Field and Stream* along with such notables as Theodore Roosevelt. In all he had killed forty different kinds of animals, among them a bison, moose, deer, mountain sheep, and grizzly bear. In his honor claim he has written:

In September 1869, I killed a wounded buffalo bull, able and willing to fight, with a hunting knife. George Kendall now of San Bernardino, California, witnessed it. I was near the Republican River, Nebraska, an Indian country. We were afoot, had only three cartridges, were miles from camp and I wanted the bull's scalp. This does not appear sportsmanlike now, but the plains in those days pastured millions of buffalo—I appreciate the reasons for omitting buffalo from the list, but throw this in for good measure.

Richards was a crack shot and enjoyed this sport immensely but he never killed wantonly.

During his later years, the former governor became much interested in western history but he had very little time to devote to it for with all his public duties, he was still actively interested in his ranch at Red Bank.

In 1912 occurred the tragic death of one of his daughters who with her husband was residing on a place near the Red Bank Ranch. Going to their home one day, the bodies of both husband and wife were found dead, one on the bed inside the house, the other in the yard some distance from the house. What occurred to cause the murder of these two young people has always been a mystery through the years and is today still unsolved. Coming a few years after the death of his wife, it broke Governor Richards to such an extent that his friends began to notice his failing health. In an effort to see him returned to his usual self, his friends persuaded him to go to Australia at the request of Dr. Elwood Mead, who was chairman of the State Water Commission of Melbourne. He gave freely of his knowledge of the science of irrigation which was new to Australia. In a letter to a friend, he stated that he found conditions very pleasant in Australia and that he had decided to stay longer and spend the remainder of the year in travel and in visiting with his daughters. After the tragedy of the death of his youngest daughter, the Governor could no longer bear to spend his time on his beautiful ranch which he had always loved so much.

Then suddenly came the news of his death. On July 25th, 1912 he died from a heart attack. The following account of the death of Governor Richards was printed in a daily paper in Victoria, Australia:

The career of a distinguished American citizen who had intended to make his home in Victoria was cut short by the death of former Governor Richards of Wyoming, which occurred suddenly early yesterday morning at Mena-house, a private hospital at East Melbourne. The body will be carried back to America on the steamer, Sonoma, by which Mr. Elwood Mead, who was a close personal friend of the deceased gentleman, will travel from Sydney this afternoon.

The late Mr. W. A. Richards came to Victoria on a visit with the American land seekers' excursion in May, with the object of inspecting the irrigation areas of the state, and also of renewing his acquaintance with Mr. Mead. He made so many friends in the state, however, and was so favorably impressed with the irrigation districts, that he decided to stay

here. He had only recently applied for an allotment at Shepparton.

On Thursday Mr. Richards attended the farewell luncheon at state parliament house in honor of Mr. Mead. He was in his ordinary health at that time, but when walking in the street subsequently with Mr. Mead he complained of pain in the region of the heart. At Mr. Mead's suggestion he consulted Dr. Mackeddie, whose surgery they were passing. Dr. Mackeddie took him to the hospital. Mr. Richards did not then appear to be seriously ill, but he had a heart seizure early yesterday morning and died at four o'clock.

Mr. Mead was much affected by the sudden death of his old friend yesterday. He cabled the news to Senator Warren of Wyoming, and Mr. E. F. Adams of San Francisco. Mr. Mead was also asked by the state ministry on its behalf to make all necessary arrangements for the conveyance of the body to America, and to express the cabinet's sympathy with the relatives of Mr. Richards.

The deceased was a wealthy widower, 63 years of age. He leaves two married daughters in America. Prior to his visit to Victoria he suffered severely from shock as the result of the murder under painful circumstances, of another daughter and her husband.

Many years ago, when they were friends in Wyoming, Mr. Richards and Mr. Mead together bought a cemetery allotment, saying they would be buried there when they died, side by side. "I am taking the body to America with me," remarked Mr. Mead, when interviewed yesterday prior to the departure of his train, "because I feel that in doing so I am paying a tribute to an old friend who died in a strange land. It is all I can do. He will be buried in the allotment he and I bought together before either of us thought of coming to Australia."

Mr. A. A. Sleight carried out the arrangements. The body was embalmed and robed in an evening dress suit (the American custom) and hermetically sealed in lead and oak caskets.

From a Wyoming paper came the following:

When, yesterday, in a foreign land, half the world's span distant from the state he loved and served so

well, William A. Richards died, Wyoming lost an able and distinguished citizen and hundreds of Wyomingites were bereaved of a warmly admired friend.

News of the death of Governor Richards will carry regret into every quarter of the state. During his long public service he became associated with men representing every locality of the commonwealth and through their reflection of his strength and virile progressiveness his influence was felt in all Wyoming in a manner which could not be attained through mere official functioning.

Governor Richards served Wyoming as chief executive at a critical period in the progress of the young commonwealth; to his wise administration may be credited much of the concurrent substantial advancement of the state. In federal and other state offices he rendered valuable executive and constructive service.

He had a most winning personality and was probably the most entertaining story-teller in the state. His fund of historical and political reminiscence was inexhaustible. Only those who knew him well fully appreciated this phase of his versatility.

Since retirement from public office and private business, Governor Richards had marked out for himself a course of reading and was doing a great deal of studying which he said, he had not had time for in his busier days.

When we last talked with him he was reading the history of the French Revolution and the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, and he discussed both in a most interesting manner.

W. A. Richards, while ordinarily regarded only as a plain business man and stockman called into public life, possessed a very keen, analytical mind, and President Roosevelt once said he would trust W. A. Richards' judgment and conclusion on a proposition as fully as that of any man he ever knew.

W. A. Richards' death is a distinct loss to Wyoming.

No further eulogy of this splendid man need be added other than the words of a friend, who said that Governor Richards was one of the great men of his time!

The Congressional Career *of* *Senator Francis E. Warren from 1890 to 1902*

By ANNE CAROLYN HANSEN

Continued from last issue.

CHAPTER VI

WARREN AND PUBLIC LANDS LEGISLATION

At the time of Warren's election to the Senate there was a general lack of understanding in the eastern sections of the country as to the effects of the application of the existing land laws in the western arid region. Webb says in *The Great Plains*, "It is not too much to say . . . that no law has ever been made by the Federal government that is satisfactorily adapted to the arid region."¹⁶⁰ The range cattle economy was based upon the theory of the right to the free grazing of livestock upon the vast unoccupied areas of the public domain. When the ranchmen took advantage of this alleged right, they were bitterly criticized by the settlers of the more humid sections of the East. The stock growers of the Middle West thought it unfair that these cattle which grazed upon the public domain should enter into competition with their stock produced on land which they owned and upon which they were required to pay taxes.¹⁶¹ The eastern Congressmen could not comprehend that ranching on the unirrigable reaches of the arid plains was vastly different from farming in the Middle West where a homestead of a few acres was sufficient to provide a livelihood. Osgood says:

Absurd as it was to talk about one-hundred-sixty acre homes for poor men in a country where it took anywhere from ten to thirty acres to furnish grass enough for a range steer, the country in general continued to think of this problem of adapting

¹⁶⁰Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1931), p. 399.

¹⁶¹Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), pp. 179-183.



Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, with Governor Brooks and Senator Warren at one of the Warren Ranches, 1910

the land laws to the arid West in terms of agriculture as it was known in the Middle West.¹⁶²

Major Powell in his report on the lands of the arid region of the United States recommended that the farm unit on pasturage lands should not be less than 2560 acres.¹⁶³ Osgood points out that the average size of farms in Wyoming in 1890 was 885.9 acres.¹⁶⁴

Of the three common methods of obtaining land under the laws of the United States—the Homestead Act, the Desert Land Act, and the Timber Culture Act—none was successfully adaptable to the conditions in the West and all were susceptible to fraud and speculation. Under the Homestead Act of 1862 settlers could acquire farms of one hundred and sixty acres free, except for a minor fee paid at the time of filing, with the condition that they must live on such homesteads for five years before getting their titles to the land. The ill fated Timber Culture Act was an attempt to increase the humidity. It provided that any person who would plant, protect, and keep in healthy growing condition for ten years, ten acres of trees would receive title to a quarter-section of land of which the ten acres was a part. Under this act great tracts of land were held for range purposes for two or three years with little pretext of compliance with the law. The same land was often entered, held for two or three years, and relinquished again and again in the process which went on indefinitely.¹⁶⁵ The Desert Land Act of 1877 permitted a desert land entry¹⁶⁶ of six hundred and forty acres to a settler who would irrigate it within three years after filing. A payment of twenty-five cents per acre was to be made at the time of filing and of one dollar at the time of making proof of compliance with the law. Under this act great areas of land came to be held speculatively by large cattle companies. Hibbard says:

In Wyoming a great deal of so-called ditching was done by plowing a few furrows or by cutting a ditch one foot deep where eight feet were needed. Moreover these ditches failed to follow the contour

¹⁶²Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁶³Quoted in Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

¹⁶⁴Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹⁶⁵Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

¹⁶⁶"Desert land" meant any land within the states of Arizona, California, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, excepting mineral and timber lands, that was not susceptible of cultivation without irrigation. In 1891 the provisions of the act were applied to Colorado. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

of the land with reference to the habits of water and often they began where there was no water to be conducted and ended where there was no field to receive; cattle companies contracted with themselves to put in the irrigating system.¹⁶⁷

William Andrew Jackson Sparks, Commissioner of the General Land Office under President Cleveland, said in his report of 1885 that the history of public land entries in the West had been "one common story of widespread, persistent land robbery committed under the guise of the various forms of public entry."¹⁶⁸ Determined to put an end to fraud under the public land laws, Sparks cancelled all entries which were suspected of being fraudulent. The *Sun-Leader* said,

"During the time Land Commissioner Sparks held high sway over the West it was impossible to prove upon desert land claims and many were abandoned."¹⁶⁹ Warren, as governor of the territory of Wyoming and representative of the cattlemen, protested to the Land Office. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1886 he declared:

. . . that land matters in Wyoming are misunderstood and misjudged [and that] . . . if an over zealous course is pursued and the acquirement of land by bonafide entrymen is made so difficult as to amount to almost proscription, very great injury is done to the class sought to be benefited by such efforts. . . . Well meant, iron-clad instructions do not so much hinder frauds as they embarrass and impoverish the poor pioneer.¹⁷⁰

When he became Senator, Warren tried to enact a law for the relief of those persons who had lost their claims by the cancellation of their entries. In 1894 Warren introduced a bill providing that if before March 3, 1891, under the Desert Land Act of 1877, any person made the first payment of twenty-five cents per acre and had filed a declaration of his intention to reclaim a tract of desert land and was unable for any cause, other than his own fraudulent or unlawful act to make final entry, he should be

¹⁶⁷Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

¹⁶⁸Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁶⁹*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, January 28, 1894. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁷⁰Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

refunded his first payment. Warren's bill failed to pass and he introduced the same bill in following sessions.

After repeated demands of the Land Commissioner, Congress in 1891 repealed the Timber Culture and Pre-emption Acts and amended the Desert Land and Homestead laws. The important changes made in the Desert Land Act provided that three dollars per acre should be expended upon the land for reclamation and that water should be made available for the entire amount, one-eighth of which should be put under cultivation. Osgood thus describes the general reaction among the small settlers:

The repeal of the preemption and timber culture laws, and the modification of the Desert Land Act appeared to them to be the work of the tools of the big corporations. After allowing the "cattle kings" to get all they desired, the Government now permitted the *status quo* to be preserved by reducing the settler to a mere 320 acres of desert land, which he could not possibly irrigate.¹⁷¹

Warren received the condemnation of the small settlers because of his vote for the bill. The *Cheyenne-Leader* for March 6 bitterly criticized Warren's vote on the bill and called the act "the most damnable blow that has ever been aimed at the interest of the poor and struggling people of the West."¹⁷² The article continued:

It practically gives every big land owner in the West a title to all the government land which he has enclosed with his railroad land. Until now any citizen or settler might go within the wire fences of big corporations and by filing a pre-emption claim secure title with comparative ease while at the same time earning his living elsewhere. Where is the settler now who would undertake to live for five years on such land to secure one hundred sixty acres that it is impossible to irrigate? He couldn't raise crops because he couldn't get the water with which to irrigate and the poor man who undertook it would slowly starve to death long before this generous American government would

¹⁷¹Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁷²*Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 6, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

give him title to the paltry one hundred sixty acres of arid land.¹⁷³

Perhaps it was because of the condemnation which Warren and other Republican Senators received that the next year Warren introduced a bill to reenact the preemption laws which had been repealed. This bill failed to pass and was unsuccessfully introduced in subsequent sessions.¹⁷⁴

It has been noted above that the early Western cattleman depended upon grazing his cattle upon the open range. As the land laws did not provide for leasing or selling grazing land in tracts large enough for utilization for grazing, the cattleman simply took what he wanted. He established his right to the land simply by prior use, and resented any intrusion on his domain. As more and more ranchers were attracted by the alleged profits of the range industry the range became crowded. In the 80's and 90's sheep began to displace cattle on the range and conflicts between the sheepmen and cattlemen were inevitable. The theory of the open range was denied and "dead lines" were drawn beyond which the sheepmen passed at their own peril. At the same time settlers were filing on land which barred the cattlemen from water. These settlers built fences which in winter were a deadly peril for drifting herds which might pile up against a fence and smother. The range became overstocked and close grazing ruined the grass. The culmination was the disastrous winter of 1886-87 which wiped out complete herds.

¹⁷³*Ibid.* The preemption right was mainly a possessory right, established by the construction of a dwelling house and the making of improvements. For many years the preemption privilege secured the settler in his right to purchase, at a minimum price, before the date of the general sale of the tract of which his claim was a part. After the passage of the homestead law and the discontinuance of the general sales, this provision was hardly applicable. Hence, it was provided that the preemptor should file his declaration of intent to purchase within three months after settlement upon the land, or in case it was not surveyed at the time of settlement within three months after the filing of the survey plat, and should make payment within fifteen more after filing his declaration. Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁷⁴In 1897 Warren introduced a bill to allow persons "who had commuted homesteads to avail themselves of the provisions of the Homestead Act." *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67. It cannot be determined exactly what Warren intended to accomplish by this act with out having access to the provisions of the bill. Under the commutation clause of the Homestead Act the settler might preempt his homestead and pay the minimum price of \$1.25 or \$2.50 per acre for it. From 1881 to 1904 a total of 22,000,000 acres or twenty-three percent of homesteads were commuted. Under this clause forested lands could be secured by paying as low as \$1.25 per acre. Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 388 ff.

It became apparent that some regulations must be imposed upon the use of the range to prevent its further destruction. Elwood Mead in 1910 thus outlined his ideas on the administration of the grazing lands:

If the value of the grazing lands is to be preserved, there must be some sort of administration which will put an end to the destructive overstocking and make it to the interest of individuals to protect and improve the areas they use. Whatever shape legislation takes, it should provide for the union of the irrigable and grazing lands. The irrigated homestead should be reduced in size in order to provide homes for the largest number of people, but its reduction should be offset by giving to the settler the right to lease a larger, but limited, area of grazing land. The chief industry in much of the West will always be the growing of livestock. Uniting the irrigable and grazing lands will divide the latter into a multitude of small holdings, increase the number of people benefited, and make the growing of live stock attractive to many who are now repelled by the risks and controversies of the open range.¹⁷⁵

Mead recommended that grazing lands be leased rather than sold.

Warren was aware of the need for legislation to provide for the leasing of range land. His arid land bill, which has been discussed above in connection with irrigation, provided for the leasing of pasturage lands. Following are the provisions of the bill in regard to the utilization of range lands:

All lands not subject to reclamation and useful only for pastoral purpose, and not taken under the foregoing provisions of this act, may be apportioned or leased to actual settlers and used in tracts not exceeding the lands lying contiguous or adjacent to any such settler's lawful claim or entry of land, under such stipulations or at such prices as the respective Legislatures aforesaid may by law prescribe, the apportionment of contiguous or adjacent pasture lands being held to mean a division of lands, so that each settler shall be entitled to rent the pasture lands which lie nearer to the lands of such settler than to those of any other settler,

¹⁷⁵Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

excepting as limited or bounded by mountain ranges, highland divides, deep canons, or other natural boundaries of different watersheds, hydrographic basins, or parts thereof, in which cases the said natural boundaries and barriers shall prevail.¹⁷⁶

Warren's bill anticipated Mead's subsequent recommendations in several respects. Both recommended the leasing of grazing lands as the most satisfactory way of utilization, and both provided for the union of irrigable and pasturage lands. Warren's bill limited the size of a holding to three hundred and twenty acres which was similar to Mead's recommendation that the irrigated homestead should be reduced in size.

The initiation of the policy of the United States government to set aside forest lands as reservations further reduced the amount of grazing lands available for the rancher. The open parks of the forest areas offered ideal summer pasture for sheep and cattle. Grass was abundant throughout the driest months of the year and mountain streams solved the difficult problem of securing water for herds. By 1890 Congress was becoming aware of the increasing need for legislation to protect and conserve the forest lands. By act of Congress in 1891 the President of the United States was authorized to set apart forest reservations on the public domain of the United States. Under this act President Harrison removed 13,416,710 acres of forest land.¹⁷⁷ In the sundry civil bill approved June 11, 1896, an appropriation of \$25,000 was made to "enable the Secretary of the Interior to meet the expenses of an investigation and report by the National Academy of Sciences on the inauguration of a national forestry policy for the forested lands of the United States."¹⁷⁸ Among others appointed on the commission were Alexander Agassiz, the famous botanist, and Gifford Pinchot, who later became Chief Forester. The commission began work July 2, 1896, and spent three months studying and visiting forest reservation sites. They recommended the establishment of thirteen additional forest reservations containing an aggregate area of 21,379,840 acres. The recommendations included the establishments of the Black Hills reserve¹⁷⁹ of South Dakota with an area of 967,680 acres and the Big Horn

¹⁷⁶*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., July 21, 1892, p. 6486.

¹⁷⁷Van Hise, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁷⁸*United States Statutes at Large*, XXIX, p. 432.

¹⁷⁹The report stated, "The forests on this proposed reserve have suffered seriously from fire and the illegal cutting of timber, the mines in this whole region having been practically supplied with timber and fuel taken from the

reserve with an area of 1,198,080 acres and the Teton Forest reserve with an area of 829,440 acres in Wyoming, and other proposed reserves in Montana, Washington, Idaho, California, and Utah. In accordance with this report on February 22, the one hundred and sixty-fifth anniversary of Washington's birthday, President Cleveland issued a proclamation adding approximately 21,000,000 acres to the United States forest reserves. The proclamation aroused considerable antagonism in the states concerned including Wyoming. On May 6, 1897, Warren presented letters and memorials relating to the new forest reserves. Included was a letter from Elwood Mead stating:

The present forest law is not only inadequate—it is unnecessarily oppressive. The law is inoperative so long as there are no patrols for the preservation and management of these reserves and there is no sense in prohibiting mining. There should be some provision for the legitimate use of timber by settlers on contiguous lands and some inexpensive process by which rights of way for needed roads, reservoir sites, and irrigation canals and ditches could be secured. None of those things would impair the usefulness of reservations, while their absence makes them a menace to local development and are clubs in the hands of those opposed to the whole reservation policy.¹⁸⁰

A letter from Governor Richards of Wyoming claimed that the commission made no adequate study of the Big Horn Reservation, and that there were valuable mining areas and reservoir sites included in the reservation, the development of which could not be continued under the order. He said, "It withdraws from the settlers occupying this region opportunity of making a legitimate or harmless use of the timber, and in one way and another vitally affects fully one-fourth of the people of the State."¹⁸¹ A meeting of the business men of Sheridan County, Wyoming, adopted this resolution which Warren presented in Congress:

Therefore be it resolved by the business men of Sheridan County, Wyoming, that we emphatically protest against the said action of the president in

public domain." *Senate Documents, Report of the Committee Appointed by the National Academy of Sciences*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., 1897, p. 39 ff. (Serial No. 3562, Document 105)

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Document No. 68, p. 1 ff. "New Forest Reservations."

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 7.

withdrawing such lands from settlement and development as destructive of the material business interests of the State and will entirely prevent the further development of northern Wyoming.¹⁸²

On May 5, Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota offered an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill appropriating \$150,000 for a survey of forest reservations and sites. The amendment provided for regulations governing forest reserves, allowing permits for the free use of timber and stone by settlers, miners, etc.; allowing prospecting and mining; and reserving the rights of the states to the use of the water on such reservations.¹⁸³ A proviso attached suspended the act of President Cleveland in setting aside these forest reserves. In a speech supporting the proviso, Warren voiced his belief in state control of forests and declared that he would like to see the order creating the reservations "abrogated in toto." He said:

The unfortunate part of the Executive order that was issued regarding these reserves is that it does not touch many places where we should like to have reservations laid out and where timber abounds, but it does include a great many localities where there is no timber of consequence and where there are large settlements.¹⁸⁴

Warren voted for the amendment with the proviso which was accepted by the Senate in a vote of twenty-five to twenty-three. The Senate's action in suspending the order was criticized in the East. An editorial in the *Harper's Weekly* accused the Senate of working for the mining corporations:

The chief depredators are great mining corporations like the Anaconda in Montana and the Homestake in South Dakota. These corporations take out millions of feet of timber every year on the permits granted by the Interior Department under

¹⁸²As late as 1902 people in Wyoming were protesting about the creation of forest reserves. An article in the *Lander Clipper* for November 7, 1902, said, "The new forest reserve recently created in the Big Wind River Valley is an outrage upon the people and meets with popular disapproval. Senators Warren and Clark and Representative Mondell will be appealed to by petition. Forest reserves are alright, but in Wyoming the proposition is being carried to a silly extreme." Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁸³This part of the amendment without the proviso was in accord with the policy of the President and the Secretary of the Interior. *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., May 5, 1897, p. 899.

¹⁸⁴*Loc. cit.*, May 6, 1897, p. 913 ff.

the law. . . . In the meantime small settlers cannot obtain the timber that they actually need. In view of what was to be prevented and of what was to be accomplished it might have been supposed that the order would be left undisturbed. But the timber-depredators had the ear of the Senate, and an amendment annulling the order was added by that body to the sundry civil bill.¹⁸⁵

With the segregation of great areas of national forest lands, Western stock owners began to demand that the grazing of cattle and sheep be permitted within the reserves. The policy of the government to prohibit such grazing aroused the opposition of the sheep and cattle owners. In 1899 the Wyoming Legislature passed a memorial asking Congress to modify the rules and regulations governing the forest reserves to allow the "unrestricted grazing of livestock."¹⁸⁶ When the Secretary of the Interior ordered the exclusion of livestock from the Uinta reserve, Warren protested. In a letter to the Wyoming Industrial Journal, Warren asserted that he had tried to induce Secretary Hitchcock to revoke the order of exclusion relating to the Uinta reserve and "to convince him that the very laudable and praiseworthy effort of the government to preserve the forests would not suffer by allowing livestock to range upon the reserves."¹⁸⁷ When in the winter of 1899 Warren and Mondell requested of Hitchcock that permits be issued to allow sheep to be wintered in the forest reserves of Wyoming, the Secretary replied that Congress had created the reserves for the purpose of preserving the water sheds and that he had been informed that sheep grazing denuded the forests of the undergrowth and thus partly defeated the law in its purpose.¹⁸⁸ The Report of the committee appointed by the National Academy of Sciences had stated that allowing grazing would destroy the seedling trees and prevent natural reproduction, thus ultimately destroying the forests.¹⁸⁹ The Secretary had, therefore, determined to restrict rather than extend the grazing privileges and would certainly not allow sheep to winter within the limits of the reserves.

¹⁸⁵*Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1897, Vol. 41, p. 307.

¹⁸⁶*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 13, 1899, p. 1781.

¹⁸⁷Clipping from *Daily Sun-Leader*, July 29, 1899, in Warren Scrapbook. There were several different views in regard to allowing sheep to graze on the reserves. Gifford Pinchot said that to regulate pasturage if it was correctly done was usually better than to prohibit it altogether.

¹⁸⁸*Laramie Daily Boomerang*, December 11, 1899.

¹⁸⁹*Senate Documents*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., 1897, p. 20 ff. (Serial No. 3562, Document No. 105.)

In 1899 when it was proposed to set aside the Medicine Bow National Reserve in southeastern Wyoming, Warren tried again to secure the grazing of sheep on the reserves. In a letter he wrote to Hitchcock, Warren said:

In this connection I suggest that cattle and sheep be not excluded indiscriminately from grazing within forest reserves. They should be excluded from places where it is all timber and where there is young hard wood growth which the livestock would devour, but, where there is a coniferous growth only, the livestock need not be excluded.¹⁹⁰

The culmination of the stockmen's attempt to secure the right to graze their flocks in forest reserves occurred in 1900 when the General Land Office initiated the policy of allowing the grazing of sheep and goats in the forest reserves under regulation of the Land Office. The report of the National Conservation Commission stated, "It has been found that reasonable grazing has been of great benefit in keeping down the full growth of grass and so making the control of fires vastly easier."¹⁹¹

Warren tried to secure for the state school fund of Wyoming the money secured by the federal government from the sale of coal lands on school sections. The act admitting Wyoming as a state set aside sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township for school use, except mineral lands. The state was authorized to select an equal quantity of other unappropriated lands if the Department of the Interior found that parts of section sixteen and thirty-six were mineral lands. Warren introduced a bill providing that the government should pay the state of Wyoming for the use of public schools all money received from the sale of land in these school sections. An article in the *Cheyenne Sun* declared that if the bill passed it would "be of immense benefit in making Wyoming pre-eminent among states in its educational facilities and endowments."¹⁹² A letter from S. W. Lamoreux, Commissioner of the General Land Office, stated that prior to the admission of Wyoming as a state, 1,850 acres had been sold at a total price of \$28,525 and that subsequent to the state's admission 400 acres had been sold

¹⁹⁰*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, October 4, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. The Medicine Bow forest reserve was created in 1902.

¹⁹¹*Senate Documents*, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., II, Reports of National Conservation Commission, 1908-09, p. 423 ff. (Serial No. 5398)

¹⁹²*Cheyenne Sun*, March 25, 1896. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

at a total price of \$5,200.¹⁹³ The legislature of Wyoming in 1893 had memorialized Congress to the effect that instead of the selection of lands by the state in lieu of any of the lands of sections sixteen and thirty-six which proved to be coal lands, the United States should pay to the state all money realized from the sale of such coal lands. Such money was to constitute a part of the permanent fund for the benefit of the common schools of the state.¹⁹⁴ Warren was attempting to carry out the policy outlined by the Legislature of Wyoming.

Warren was anxious to secure the grants of federal lands to the states for the support of educational and charitable institutions. This was in line with the Morrill Act of 1862 which granted federal lands to those states which would establish and maintain agricultural colleges. The funds derived from the sale or rental of such lands was to be applied towards the support of such colleges. Warren introduced several bills in line with that policy. In 1894 and several succeeding sessions he introduced bills granting to the states federal lands, the proceeds from which were to be used for the endowment and support of state normal schools.¹⁹⁵ In 1897 he introduced a bill granting each state 100,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress for the support of public institutions.¹⁹⁶ Also in 1897 he introduced a bill allowing a portion of the proceeds of the public lands for the endowment and support of mining schools in the states for the purpose of extending similar aid in the development of the mining industries as had already been provided for agriculture.¹⁹⁷ In 1900, in the debate on a bill which proposed a grant of land in support of the school of forestry in North Dakota, Warren said:

Every donation of land for such a purpose as this is sought to be used for, will enhance in value the government lands which remain two or three or perhaps ten times as much as the value of these donated lands taken from the public domain would be worth. I do not think any other distributions of the land as wisely made as the granting of such comparatively small amounts as these for such purposes.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., December 16, 1895, p. 164.

¹⁹⁵*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, March 14, 1894. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, May 14, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

¹⁹⁷*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 68.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., February 24, 1900, p. 2179.

In 1897 Warren introduced a bill granting to the state of Wyoming fifty thousand acres of land to aid in "the continuation, enlargement, and maintenance of the Wyoming State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home."¹⁹⁹ In 1895 the legislature of Wyoming had donated thirty thousand acres of land as a permanent endowment and in 1896 there were twenty-seven inmates of the institution. The same bill was subsequently brought up in later sessions of Congress. In 1900 Senator Cockrell of Missouri objected to the bill and asked for further information, saying, "When there are millions of acres of such lands that are yet to be disposed of by Congress, is it not right, when we are beginning to make a disposition of them, that we should have the facts stated?"²⁰⁰ Warren replied that the state of Wyoming did not seek to acquire the land for purposes of sale but for the revenue that might be derived from the rental of farming and grazing lands. He further stated that settlers who desired to lease the grazing land adjoining their property were unable to do so under the land laws of the United States.²⁰¹

Warren's attitude on public land questions was liberal. His efforts to secure the liberalization of public land policies was directed towards the interests of the Western stock growers. His attempts to secure relief for those settlers whose entries for desert land had been cancelled under the Sparks' regime, to have the preemption laws reenacted, to allow the leasing of the public domain, and to secure permission for the grazing of sheep in the forest reserves were intended to aid the settler and stockman. His attempts to secure donations of land to the states for aid to educational and charitable institutions was apparently intended to help the states in establishing such institutions. Yet had these lands been granted to the states, quite a sizable portion of the public domain would have been intrusted to the states for the purpose of securing revenues by leasing. As the federal government made no provision for leasing the public lands, the ranchers and farmers would have been materially benefited by this addition to the state's domain. Warren heeded the protest of Wyoming citizens, miners as well as stockgrowers, whose interests were endangered by the national conservation program. This attitude is representative of the difficulty inherent in any program which, intended for the welfare of the country as a whole, hurts a few individuals. Fortunately, the national program had

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., May 17, 1897, p. 1083.

²⁰⁰*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., February 9, 1900, p. 1667.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*

sufficient impetus to proceed in spite of these objections. In regard to the allowance of grazing on the public domain, the federal government yielded and today the grazing of sheep and cattle in the forest reserves is an accepted fact.

CHAPTER VII

FURTHER LEGISLATION DEALING WITH WYOMING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Beginning in the 1840's emigrants in increasing numbers crossed the Wyoming plains on their way to Oregon and California in quest of gold and free land. In the early part of 1850 sixty thousand gold seekers were reported to have traveled over the Oregon trail.²⁰² The emigrants were constantly harassed by the Indian tribes who resented and feared this intrusion upon their domain. For the protection of the emigrants against the Indian attacks the United States government established military forts along the trails. One of the most famous of the early forts was Fort Laramie built in 1849 for the protection of the travelers on the Oregon trail. At this historic spot thousands of weary emigrants stopped to recuperate and purchase supplies before continuing their journey. Here expeditions against the Indians were fitted out and many important treaties were concluded with the tribes. Fort Bridger, about thirty miles east of the present city of Evanston, Wyoming, was made a military post in 1858. In the 1860's, when the tribes on the Plains became more hostile and warlike than before, the cavalry stationed at Fort Bridger were kept busy guarding mails and protecting emigrant trains. Later when gold was discovered in Montana, the Bozeman trail became the route of numerous gold seekers to the north. This trail penetrated the Sioux country in northern Wyoming and was the site of numerous bloody encounters with the Sioux warriors. When Fort Phil Kearny was built along the Bozeman trail, it became the site of repeated attacks from the Sioux warriors led by their chief, Red Cloud. In December 1866, Captain Fetterman and his whole command were killed when they pursued an attacking party of Sioux who had molested a wood train bringing wood to the fort. When Colonel Carrington, commanding officer of the fort, being desperately in need of reinforcements from Fort Laramie, called for volunteers, a fron-

²⁰²I. S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918), I, p. 311.

tiersman known as "Portugee" Phillips offered his services.²⁰³ In spite of a raging blizzard, Phillips succeeded in reaching Fort Laramie and secured help for the besieged troops at Fort Kearny. Fort Fetterman was established in 1867 south of Fort Kearny and was named in honor of Captain Fetterman who had lost his life at the hands of Red Cloud's warriors.

When the Indians threatened to menace the construction of the Union Pacific, the workers were protected with the aid of the United States troops stationed at various places along the route. In 1867 the Army decided to make Fort D. A. Russell, just northwest of the present site of Cheyenne, a permanent post. Here troops were stationed for the protection of the railroad workers when the construction gangs had reached Cheyenne in 1868. Farther west, troops were stationed at Fort Sanders, near Laramie, at Fort Fred E. Steele on the Platte river in what is now Carbon County, and at Fort Bridger in the southwestern part of the state.

The army posts performed a distinct economic function for the thinly populated regions of the West by furnishing an additional market for the products of the earliest settlers. Supplying beef for the large number of men stationed at these posts and providing hay for the cavalry horses meant a good source of income for the cattle ranchers in the vicinity. In 1871 the army post at Fort Russell was paying a price of eight dollars and thirty-five cents a hundred-weight for beef.²⁰⁴ In later years these army posts still continued to be a source of income for the businesses established in their immediate vicinities.

When the tribes had been subdued, the abandonment of these military forts meant a dislocation of the economic interests dependent upon them for a part of their income. Accordingly the agitation for the continuance of the forts became strong and Warren, recognizing these demands, tried to secure legislation which would favor them.

Warren was indefatigable in his efforts to secure appropriations from Congress for the maintenance and enlargement of military reservations in Wyoming. In 1891 he tried to get an appropriation of \$50,000 for building barracks and stables and making repairs at Fort McKinney

²⁰³In March 1900, Warren secured a pension of five thousand dollars for Hattie Phillips, the widow of the valiant frontiersman. *Statutes*, XXXI, p. 1484. Also he tried to secure an appropriation for the erection of a monument to mark the site of the massacre. The monument was finally erected and was unveiled on July 4, 1908. Representative Mondell is given the credit for finally securing the appropriation. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, I, p. 283.

²⁰⁴Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

in Johnson County in the northern part of the state.²⁰⁵ As late as 1901, when it was apparent that there was no further necessity for the maintenance of the fort as a protection against Indian attacks, Warren tried to secure more troops to garrison Fort McKinney.²⁰⁶ Warren secured the appropriation of \$100,000 for the establishment of the military fort and reservation of Fort MacKenzie near Sheridan in northern Wyoming. The bill, approved by President McKinley on April 7, 1900, provided that the post should not contain less than one thousand, two hundred and eighty acres. The next Congress appropriated \$35,000 for continuing the work of constructing buildings for quarters, barracks, and stables at Fort MacKenzie.²⁰⁷

Frackleton, in the *Sagebrush Dentist*, relates an interesting incident that occurred in Sheridan, Wyoming, in relation to a visit of President Taft in 1911, that illustrates the strong opposition of business interests at the abandonment of military forts. Senators Warren and Clark and Representative Mondell, despondent at the order of the military department abandoning Fort MacKenzie, arranged a brilliant reception for President Taft, hoping that they might influence the President to revoke the order. The Senators and Mondell, not wishing to further invite the attacks of the Eastern magazines about the "pork barrel," arranged that Frackleton, the town dentist, should meet the visiting President. When he arrived, Taft was escorted through the town, which was decorated with colored bunting, and along the streets thronged with people. Finally he was driven out to Fort MacKenzie, where, by design, he was detained long enough to make a survey of the fort. At the end of the visit, Taft was presented with a buck deer, grouse, ducks, and other game of which he was very fond. In delight at the present he promised Frackleton to give him anything he desired and Frackleton replied that he would like to have the order rescinded regarding the abandonment of Fort MacKenzie.²⁰⁸ Accordingly Taft sent a telegram rescinding the order. At Fort MacKenzie today is a fine veteran's hospital which Frackleton says is "a monument to an observation car full of game and a promise by a president of the United States that has been faith-

²⁰⁵*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, February 15, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook. Fort McKinney was established on the Powder River in 1876. It was from Fort McKinney that troops were summoned to quell the Johnson County war in 1892.

²⁰⁶*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, February 5, 1901. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁰⁷*United States Statutes*, XXXI, p. 1168.

²⁰⁸Will Frackleton, *Sagebrush Dentist* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1941), pp. 232-7.

fully kept."²⁰⁹ Whether or not Taft was actually influenced by this ingenious scheme may be a matter of doubt, but this incident does show the general attitude common in Wyoming in regard to the abandonment of military forts.

Fort D. A. Russell has often been called "a monument to pork barrel legislation." The government has spent over \$7,000,000 to make Fort Russell one of the largest and best equipped military forts and reservations in the country. Warren was particularly assiduous in getting appropriations for the construction of buildings and the maintenance of Fort Russell. It was largely through his efforts that the fort has been maintained and enlarged. Warren in 1892 introduced a bill authorizing the location of a branch home for disabled volunteer soldiers on the reservation. This bill carried an appropriation of \$12,000.²¹⁰ In July 1892, he introduced a bill providing for the construction of an administration building for army purposes at Fort Russell.²¹¹ In 1896 Warren introduced an amendment providing an appropriation for the extension of the barracks,²¹² and two years later he secured an appropriation of \$30,000 for that purpose.²¹³ In 1900 he tried to get an appropriation of \$70,000 for continuing the work of constructing quarters at Fort Russell,²¹⁴ and the next year Congress appropriated \$35,000 for rebuilding quarters and officers' residences at the fort.²¹⁵ He also secured the establishment of the Pole Mountain military maneuver reserve which is auxiliary to the fort. This reserve covers an area of nearly one hundred square miles.²¹⁶ After Warren's death in 1929, by order

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 232.

²¹⁰*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., January 21, 1892, p. 467.

²¹¹*Ibid.*, July 27, 1892, p. 6831.

²¹²*Ibid.*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., April 9, 1896, p. 3741.

²¹³*United States Statutes at Large*, XXX, p. 629. Warren bought three of the frame houses at Fort Warren which were to be replaced under the provisions of the act. These houses were moved to Cheyenne and fitted up. *Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, July 31, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²¹⁴*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., April 6, 1900, p. 3829.

²¹⁵*Statutes*, XXXI, p. 1168.

²¹⁶An article in one of the "muckraking" magazines said in regard to the Pole Mountain maneuver reserve, "It was originally a forest reserve. Warren applied to the Forestry Department to be allowed to graze his sheep on this forest reserve. There were several thousand settlers on this reserve who had leased from the Government grazing privileges for their cattle, and cattle will not graze where sheep have grazed. The Forestry Department refused Warren the requested privilege. Whereupon Warren, through his influence as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, had the Pole Mountain reserve turned over to the Military Department as a target and maneuver ground. When the change occurred the Government immediately notified the settlers on the reserve that their leases were canceled, that the Government would refund them the money they had paid, and that no more leases of the reserve would be given." C. P. Connolly, "Senator Warren of Wyoming," *Collier's Weekly*, 49:10-1, August 31, 1912.

of the President of the United States, the name of Fort D. A. Russell was changed to Fort Francis E. Warren in honor of the Senator.

Although by 1890 the Indians had been subdued and placed on reservations, white settlers were occasionally subjected to annoyance and intimidation by Indian marauders. In 1891 Warren presented a resolution passed by the Legislature of Wyoming asking for the enactment of a law to disarm the Indians and prevent them from leaving their reservations without a guard.²¹⁷ In that year settlers in Star Valley in western Wyoming requested Warren to place before the Interior Department their complaint that the Indians from the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho were destroying game and intimidating people in that section.²¹⁸ In the summer of 1895 the settlers in the Jackson Hole area were troubled by the Bannock Indians, and in January of the next year Warren introduced a bill providing for the construction of a military road from Fort Washakie,²¹⁹ on the Wind River reservation in Western Wyoming, northwestward to the mouth of the Buffalo fork of the Snake river near Jackson's Lake. This was intended to make it easier for troops stationed at Fort Washakie to move quickly to the scene of any Indian disturbance in that vicinity. In 1898 Congress appropriated \$10,000 for the purpose,²²⁰ and in 1900, in accordance with a bill submitted by Warren, an additional appropriation of \$10,000 was made for repair and completion of the road.²²¹

One of the interesting natural phenomena on the Wind River reservation was the Big Horn Hot Springs. Settlers in the vicinity of the reservation were desirous of securing the cession of these springs to the state. Newspapers described the wonderful cures affected by bathing in the springs and predicted that these springs would soon rival the famous hot springs of Arkansas. Pioneers, anticipating the future development of the springs as a health resort,

²¹⁷*Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., February 16, 1891, p. 2718. By treaty with the Shoshone and Bannock Indians the Wind River reservation, including all of Wyoming west of the North Platte river and south of the Wind River mountains, was ceded to the tribes on July 3, 1868.

²¹⁸*Cheyenne Daily Sun*, July 14, 1891. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²¹⁹*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., January 29, 1896, p. 1069. Fort Washakie was established on the Wind River reservation in 1869, and in 1893 Congress made an appropriation for permanent improvements at the fort. Bartlett, *op. cit.*, I, p. 322.

²²⁰*Statutes*, XXX, p. 50.

²²¹*Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 632. In 1898 Warren secured an appropriation for investigation to be made of the improvements which had to be abandoned by white settlers when the Wind River reservation was created. *Statutes*, XXX, p. 591. In 1900 he tried to get an appropriation of \$12,311 to pay these claims.

laid out two town sites at the corner of the Shoshone reservation. It was predicted that soon these towns would become thriving and prosperous places. In December 1895, Warren presented the petition of the Legislature of Wyoming praying for the cession of the portion of the Wind River reservation containing the hot springs to the state of Wyoming.²²² Two years later on June 7, 1897, the act was passed granting to the state of Wyoming a tract one mile square including the hot springs.²²³ By treaty the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians agreed to relinquish a tract, ten miles square in return for \$60,000. The remainder of the land not ceded to the state of Wyoming was left open for homestead and town site entries. In 1899 there was a movement to secure the relinquishment of more lands in the reservation. The Legislature of Wyoming passed a memorial to Congress and Warren submitted an amendment to that effect.²²⁴

In 1899 an order was given by the War Department for the removal of troops from Fort Washakie. Warren protested to the War Department saying that to abandon the fort would mean a serious menace to peace and good order as the two tribes, the Shoshones and Arapahoes, and their agency "now in close proximity would be very remote and far beyond railway communication."²²⁵ Soon after Warren's protest Secretary Alger countermanded his previous order and retained the garrison,²²⁶ with the result that troops were stationed at Fort Washakie until 1909.

In 1892 Warren introduced a bill which provided for changing the boundaries of the Yellowstone National Park. The bill proposed to limit the area of the Park to the state of Wyoming and to open to settlement a portion of the timber reserve which had been set aside by executive order. It is difficult to determine what Warren hoped to accomplish by the bill. In the course of the debate Senator Vest of Missouri stated:

A persistent and unscrupulous lobby are able to do almost what they please with the public domain. The portion of the park cut off upon the north is being cut off simply because the friends

²²²*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., December 9, 1895, p. 58.

²²³*Statutes*, XXX, p. 93-6.

²²⁴*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 28, 1899, p. 2553. In the same year the stockmen of Wyoming secured the right to lease for grazing purposes surplus lands on the reservation. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, February 11, 1899.

²²⁵*Lander Clipper*, May 26, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²²⁶*Cheyenne Daily Sun-Leader*, May 31, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

of the park are unable to resist the aggressive action of a lobby in the city of Washington that for years have been endeavoring to force a railroad into the park under a charter from Congress in order to sell it for a large sum to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company.²²⁷

Warren himself maintained that the purpose of the bill was not in the interest of any railroad company, but that his object was to benefit those who had mining and ranching interests in the vicinity of the park.²²⁸ The bill opened up to settlement part of the timber reservation which had been set aside adjacent to the park. Within the reservation were small settlements of miners and ranchers who claimed that their rights were taken from them by this timber reserve. It seems probable that Warren was attempting to protect these settlers. Further evidence that he was interested in keeping the mines in the park open to the public is found in a bill which he introduced in 1897 proposing to open the Yellowstone Park Timber Reserve for the location of mining claims.²²⁹ Also in 1898 an article in the *Big Horn County Rustler* stated that Senator Warren desired all who had mining interests in the Sunlight and Stinking Water mining interests to write him protesting against including these districts in the Yellowstone Park.²³⁰ The Stinking Water interests were located near the eastern boundary of the park and the Sunlight interests were in the extreme northwestern corner of Big Horn county near the park. A pamphlet issued by the Wyoming Secretary of State in 1898 said, "All these mines would become valuable properties were there adequate railway facilities to develop them and carry off their products."²³¹

In his work in relation to military forts and Indian reservations in Wyoming and the Yellowstone National Park, Warren was undoubtedly trying to protect and support certain economic interests in Wyoming. He realized that the business conducted with the military forts was of considerable importance to small communities near which they were situated and he worked incessantly to maintain that relationship. He was influential in securing to the state of Wyoming the cession of the Big Horn Hot Springs

²²⁷*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., May 10, 1892, p. 4120.

²²⁸*Ibid.*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., May 10, 1892, p. 4121.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., March 19, 1897, p. 67.

²³⁰*Big Horn County Rustler*, April 2, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²³¹*State of Wyoming*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

which have since become of considerable economic value to that vicinity. Also he endeavored to protect the mining interests in the vicinity of Yellowstone Park which were threatened by the government's policy of conservation.

The popularity of a delegate to Congress is to a large extent dependent upon the benefits which he is able to obtain for his constituents. Warren's popularity in Wyoming was due, at least partly, to his success in securing appropriations and other legislation which directly contributed to the prosperity of the people of the state. Warren was unusually successful in securing legislation favorable to the interests of Wyoming. Eastern newspapers derided the size of the "pork" which Wyoming's delegates obtained in proportion to the small population which they represented while Wyoming editors boasted of the splendid achievements of their delegation in the state's behalf.²³²

CHAPTER VIII

MILITARY AFFAIRS

Although his chief interest lay in western problems, Senator Warren devoted much time and effort to military affairs. It was natural that Warren, who had won the Medal of Honor for gallant service in the Civil War, and whose ancestor had distinguished himself in the War for Independence, should have interested himself in military matters. For many years he worked on the Senate's Committee of Military Affairs. He was in sympathy with the "large policy" men like Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, senator from Massachusetts, who advocated the enlargement of the army and navy and an expansionist policy. Although Warren was not primarily interested in foreign affairs, he reflected an interventionist and imperialistic policy in various foreign difficulties which arose from 1892 to 1900. In 1892 when American sailors on shore leave in Valparaiso were attacked, some fatally, by Chileans, Warren in an interview thus expressed his opinion: "Reparation should be made or else war should be declared."²³³ In 1895 began the Cuban insurrection, and tales published by the Yellow Press of the sufferings of the insurgents

²³²Closely related to the subject of military forts is the public buildings bill. While Warren was Senator between 1890 and 1902 Wyoming secured appropriations for public buildings at Cheyenne, Laramie, and Evanston. In the same period Warren introduced a total number of eighty-four pension bills but secured passage of only six.

²³³*Chicago Herald*, January 26, 1892. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

under the regime of "Butcher Weyler" aroused in the people of the United States a feeling of sympathy for the Cubans and indignation against the Spanish imperial policy. People in Wyoming responded to the popular sympathy for the Cuban cause, and as early as 1897 the Wyoming legislature passed a joint resolution which Warren presented to Congress asking for the recognition of the Republic of Cuba.²³⁴ When the United States battleship *Maine*, lying in Havana harbor was destroyed by an explosion, Warren recommended intervention and "the ultimate and absolute independence of Cuba, and full satisfaction for the *Maine*."²³⁵ When the war was won and Spain driven from her island possessions and the United States was faced with the problem of what to do with Spain's former dependencies, Warren advised cession to the United States to "secure the best possible results in the way of commercial advantages."²³⁶ He defended this imperialistic policy on the grounds that it was a "practical policy" and the only way "to derive benefits commensurate with our outlay in the conduct of the war."²³⁷

When President McKinley called for volunteers on April 23, 1898, two days after the declaration of war on Spain, Wyoming responded wholeheartedly. The First Infantry Battalion from Wyoming, organized in May 1898, and Battery A from Cheyenne, organized in June 1898, totaled 462 men, including seventeen commissioned officers.²³⁸ The battalions were transported to Manila where in August they took part in the battle of Manila.

Warren introduced the bill in Congress which authorized the recruiting of three regiments of cavalry. Colonel Jay L. Torrey, of Ember, Wyoming, had previously acquainted President McKinley and Secretary of War Alger with the idea. Senator Warren and other Congressmen became interested and encouraged the plan. General Miles, chief commander, officially endorsed the bill introduced by Warren:

The services of men whose lives are spent in the saddle as herdsmen, pioneers, scouts, prospectors, etc., would be exceedingly valuable to the government in time of hostilities. They are accustomed to a life in the saddle, most excellent horsemen, fearless, intelligent, enterprising, accustomed

²³⁴*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 2 Sess., February 17, 1897, p. 1914.

²³⁵*Cheyenne Sun-Leader*, April 11, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²³⁶*Baltimore Sun*, July 19, 1898. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²³⁷*Ibid.*

²³⁸"Wyoming Volunteers." (Pamphlet in the Warren Scrapbook.)

to taking care of themselves in bivouac, skillful in landcraft, and as a rule excellent riflemen. Such a force would be a valuable auxiliary to an army.²³⁹

The bill was passed as an amendment to the volunteer army bill of April 22, 1898. The best known of the "rough rider" regiments was that made famous by Theodore Roosevelt, who was second in command of this battalion, which took part in the capture of San Juan Hill, near Santiago, Cuba. Another regiment was commanded by Colonel Melvin Grigsby. The third regiment was recruited in Wyoming by Colonel Torrey himself. In an official communication from Secretary of War Alger, dated April 28,²⁴⁰ Torrey was authorized to organize a regiment of volunteers "possessing special qualifications as horsemen and marksmen." The regiment was officially known as the Second United States Volunteer Cavalry and consisted of twenty-five commissioned officers and 567 enlisted men. This "cowboy regiment" captured the popular fancy of Wyoming people and the progress of the recruiting and training at Fort D. A. Russell was watched with enthusiasm. The cavalry regiment was entrained to Jacksonville, Florida, where it was still waiting for embarkation for Cuba when Spain capitulated.

Other bills which Warren introduced give an idea of the kind of legislation he was trying to procure for the benefit of the volunteers participating in the war. In 1899 he tried to get a bill passed which provided that when an officer or enlisted man had died on duty after January 1, 1898, and his remains had been transported and buried at the expense of family or friends, the money so expended should be refunded by the United States government.²⁴¹ Warren secured the consent of the United States government to remove the bodies of five members of Torrey's cavalry who had died while in service, so that they might be buried in the cemetery at Fort Russell where the regiment mobilized.²⁴² In 1900 he introduced a bill to provide for the medical care and surgical treatment of honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines.²⁴³ Warren and Colonel Torrey worked together to get travel pay for those soldiers in the volunteer army who were on sick furlough when mustered

²³⁹Walter B. Stevens, "The Story of the Rough Riders," *Leslie's Weekly*. (In Warren Scrapbook)

²⁴⁰Copy of the order is to be found in the Warren Scrapbook entitled "Wyoming Volunteers."

²⁴¹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., March 2, 1899, p. 2696.

²⁴²*Leslie's Weekly*, *op. cit.*

²⁴³*Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., December 4, 1901, p. 125.

out.²⁴⁴ Warren introduced a bill to "authorize the payment of traveling allowance to enlisted men of the regular and volunteer forces when discharged by order of the Secretary of War and stated by him as entitled to travel pay."²⁴⁵

Warren believed that the army should be considerably enlarged and made more efficient. As early as 1892 he introduced a bill to that effect.²⁴⁶ In 1897, Warren, then a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in an interview printed in the *Army and Navy Journal* said that he believed that at least five thousand men should be added to the enlisted forces and that the personnel of the army should be reorganized for greater efficiency.²⁴⁷ The war with Spain, short as it was, revealed the incompetency and inefficiency of the War Department and the Army. A letter written by Theodore Roosevelt, then enlisted in the Volunteer Cavalry, written to his friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, illustrates the conditions of inefficiency which prevailed during the war. Roosevelt wrote from Port Tampa, Florida, where he was waiting with other members of his regiment to depart to Cuba, "No words could describe to you the confusion and lack of system and the general mismanagement of affairs here."²⁴⁸ When Roosevelt became president at the death of McKinley, he appointed Elihu Root to replace Alger as Secretary of War. In his annual report of 1899 Root stressed the lack of system and planning of the army set-up. Jessup says in his biography of Root, "The army seemed to him very much like a corporation run without a general manager or board of directors, by the superintendents of the various departments of the business."²⁴⁹ Root formulated the Army Reorganization Bill which contained his ideas on army reform. Senator Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, a friend of Root's and chairman of the Senate's Committee on Military Affairs, introduced the bill. Warren, although he was not the chairman of the committee, apparently played an important part in getting the bill through. Among other newspaper items crediting Warren with having charge of the bill, this item appeared in the *New York World*:

²⁴⁴*Leslie's Weekly*, *op. cit.*

²⁴⁵*Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., March 15, 1900, p. 2917.

²⁴⁶*Congressional Record*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., February 1, 1892, p. 708.

²⁴⁷*Army and Navy Journal*, November 13, 1897. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁴⁸*Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 303.

²⁴⁹Philip G. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company) I, p. 354.

Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, shrewd, sagacious, silken, sleek, oily, is in a quandary. He would like to know how to pass the administration army bill. Hawley, of Connecticut, is chairman of the committee, but he is getting along in years and is not so active as formerly, and the real work of engineering the bill and executing flank movements devolves upon Warren.²⁵⁰

Two factions developed in the Senate during the debate on the bill. The administration forces included Senators Spooner, Elkins, Lodge, Hawley, and Warren. The anti-expansionists were opposed to the bill and supported instead the Cockrell bill, offered by Senator Cockrell of Missouri. In a speech supporting the Hawley Bill²⁵¹ Warren expressed his belief in the necessity of increasing the percentage of commissioned officers to enlisted men, claiming that the Hull-Hawley bill provided, with the army at the maximum strength of 100,000, for 27.8 men for each officer while the Cockrell bill provided for one officer for each thirty-one men. At its minimum strength of 60,000 the army under the Hawley bill would have a much lower percentage of men to officers. He also stressed the desirability of increasing the personnel of the staff because during the war the staff had been too shorthanded to handle its work efficiently. He claimed that the native armies proposed by the Cockrell bill to police the new acquisitions of the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico would not be dependable.²⁵² Another objection that Warren made was that the president, and not Congress, was authorized to appoint for the outside forces all the commissioned officers as he saw fit. Warren was unwilling to give the president this power. He concluded with an appeal for the expansion of the armed forces of the United States.

On February 27, Senator Gorman of Maryland introduced an amendment to limit the standing army of the United States to 29,000 troops after July 1, 1901. Warren

²⁵⁰*New York World*, February 13, 1899. Clipping in Warren Scrapbook.

²⁵¹*Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., February 21, 1899, pp. 2138-2142.

²⁵²The Cockrell bill authorized the president, at his discretion, to organize a military force in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Pacific Islands to be composed of the inhabitants of such islands under such qualifications and limitations as he might prescribe. Such forces were to be officered as the President might direct and were to be under the control and subject to the orders of the president and the officers assigned to duty by him. The number of such forces was not to exceed 35,000 men. The bill provided for reducing the permanent army to a peace footing at the discretion of the president. *Ibid.*, p. 2142.

objected to this amendment declaring that 29,000 men were too few for adequate protection of both coast and interior. He alluded to the Indian Wars and tried to impress the senators with the possibility of future Indian outbreaks and the need for troops stationed in the interior for the protection of western settlers. The bill as finally passed increased the size of the standing army from the 31,000 to which number the army would have been reduced after demobilization, to a minimum of 60,000 and a maximum of 100,000 troops.²⁵³

Another policy advocated by Root was the continuance and enlargement of the United States Military Academy at West Point for the training of future United States army officers. Warren was in charge of the military academy appropriation bill of 1902. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs had increased the appropriation to \$6,500,000 for the construction and improvement of buildings at West Point. This appropriation had been many times the amount of any previous appropriation. Warren called up the bill in the Senate on June 5. An argument between Warren and Senator Bate of Tennessee concerned the spending of what the latter called an "extravagant sum."²⁵⁴ Warren explained that \$2,000,000 of the sum was to be spent in the construction of new buildings and supplying the older buildings with modern accommodations as well as providing new hospital quarters. Sarcastically Senator Bate wanted to know what had become of the appropriation of the previous year of \$258,000 for the same purpose. In spite of the opposition of Bate and other Senators, the bill passed the Senate in the form recommended by the committee.

Warren's chief interest as a United States Senator was to secure legislation which would directly benefit the West. The previous chapters have dealt exclusively with issues which were particularly pertinent to the western section of the country, or were local manifestations of national problems. Warren was not interested in protecting the wool producers in Ohio, and likewise he was not concerned with the fact that consumers in eastern cities might be subjected to wearing clothing made from "filthy" shoddy. His concern was that the importation of shoddy would force down the prices of Wyoming wool. His interest in conservation was not primarily the maintenance and preserva-

²⁵³Jessup, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Root had secured the statements of a great number of military men urging a larger force. Warren in 1901 expressed his belief that the standing army of the United States should number 100,000 men. See *Congressional Record*, 56 Cong., 3 Sess., January 15, 1901, p. 1026 ff.

²⁵⁴*Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., June 5, 1902, p. 6309 ff.

tion of the forests, but the benefits which might be derived for the livestock interests by allowing grazing within the forest reserves. In this chapter has been discussed Warren's interest in issues which were not local in scope. He believed in the maintenance of a large standing army and undoubtedly he exerted influence in that direction. Twice he had been instrumental in quelling disorder in Wyoming by the use of federal troops. In 1885 he had requested federal troops to quell the Chinese Riot in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and in 1892 he was believed to have used his influence as United States Senator to aid the stockmen in the Johnson County War. In a sense there is a sectional aspect involved in the disposition of a standing army. Warren wanted to secure the stationing of a large part of the army in the interior, while people in the East felt that the army should be stationed along the coast. Probably Warren's attitude toward imperialism was largely political. Since Warren was a staunch Republican, he readily fell in line with the policies enunciated by that party. In the late nineties the Republicans launched upon an imperialistic and aggressive foreign policy and Warren probably supported it because of his party connection.

An auto club was organized in Laramie in August 1903 to further the interests of the eighteen automobile owners in that vicinity. Elmer Lovejoy, president of the club, stated to a local reporter that there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the car owners owing to the fact that those driving teams about the city streets did not observe the rules of keeping to the right of the road and hence there was danger of a collision between an auto and a team. He further stated that the small boys about the town were a great annoyance as they persisted "in playing in the streets and made a regular business of waiting until an auto is almost upon them before getting out of the way."

The thousands of circles on the western prairies which appeared every spring were called by travelers "fairy rings." They were formed during the buffalo calving period. The buffalo bulls, in order to keep off the gray wolves that singly or in great packs hunted over the prairies, formed regular beats to guard the cows. In walking these beats the bulls made circular paths in the new grass.

Indian Legends from the Indian Guide,

Published at Shoshone Agency

The Waters of the Weeping Buffalo

Let us look at this fine mountain lake through summer eyes. It is situated high up in the mountains, twenty-five or thirty miles north of the school; set in a background of lofty green canyon walls dotted everywhere with trees, shrubbery and flowers.

The approach is either by trail across the foothills or by a very good wagon road partly along the course of Big Wind River. The road leads directly to where the lake outlet, Bull Creek, empties into the river. Here we have a most desirable camping ground, there being plenty of shade and more plentiful fishing.

Just a little west of this point looms up Crow Heart Butte, so named from a desperate conflict between the Crows and a hostile tribe of Indians. The Crows were overcome and driven to the top of the Butte, where a Crow's heart was mercilessly cut out, hence the record of this towering memorial. Turn now to the south, follow the creek for two or three miles and the lake, or lakes rather, there being a chain of them, come to view, the lower one of which is covered with pond lilies, yellow, white and fragrant.

Follow on around the lakes, the scenery is grand and peaceful. The source is to be found at the head lake. It is a stream fed from winter snows melted by summer suns and at times swollen by summer rains.

One of the attractions of this place is in the legend attached to it by the Indians. At certain seasons of the year there is a strange moaning sound, caused by some subterranean action, of what we do not know. The Indians say it is the cry of the Weeping Buffalo, and for reasons of their own, regard it with much superstition and dread. They will abandon their camp at once on hearing the sound and fly as from an evil spirit, which indeed it is to them. We too must leave this fine scene, but it is with regret and many desires to return again on some future occasion to the Waters of the Weeping Buffalo.

Crow Tradition

Several years ago while in the Crow country, an old Indian nearly ninety years of age, related the following tradition to us, and we give it to our readers just as it was given to us. It runs as follows:

Many, many years ago Sakawarte (the Crow name for Great Spirit) came down to earth near the Stillwater. He looked around and saw two pillars of rock. He then passed his hands over one of the pillars and blew his breath on it, and it became a man. He then did the same to the other pillar and it became a woman. He then said to the man and woman that he would give them one of four things—grass, buffalo, water, or ponies. He did that to test them. He told them that he would go away for awhile, and that they should go down into a "cooley" and think it over and make a wise choice.

After several days he came to them and asked them if they had thought over what he had said to them and if they had chosen what they wanted.

They said that they had.

He then asked them what was their choice and they said that they had chosen the buffalo, and they had reasoned this way—if we choose the buffalo, Sakawarte will have to give us grass for the buffalo to eat; water for the buffalo to drink and ponies with which to hunt the buffalo. Sakawarte when he heard their choice said that it was good and that they were wise Indians.

He then told them that they should take a piece of an ash tree and make a bow of it and arrows with which to hunt the buffalo. He told them to take the entrails and make the bow-strings; that they should take the feathers of the eagle and put them on the arrows with the sinue of the buffalo; and that they should get sharp stones and put them on the end of the arrows and that they should cut a groove in their arrows so as to let the blood ooze out and then the buffalo would die quickly.

He told them to do this and that he would return to them.

So after a little while he left them and in the course of a day or two he came again to them and brought with him six boys and six girls. These he sent out in pairs, and from them sprang all the other people. He then asked them if they had done what he had told them to do, and they said they had.

Then when he saw what they had done, he told them that it was good, and that they should be good Indians and ever after to hunt the buffalo.

Sakawarte then disappeared and has never since been seen by man.

Another Crow Tradition

Once upon a time a party of Crow Indians were out hunting the buffalo and they had with them a blind man, who being a great hindrance to them in their hunting, they put up a tepee for him on the bank of the Stillwater and told him to remain there until they returned.

They left him something to eat and built a fire for him. Then they drove a stake in the ground and stretched a lariat to the Stillwater, so he could get water and also stretched another lariat to the timber and told him to follow that and he could get wood. Thus they left him and shortly after another party of Crows coming along, and they also having with them a blind man, concluded to follow the example of the other party and leave him to keep the first company. The two men sat down and spent their time relating their "coos" to each other. The hunting parties were detained and the two blind men ran out of food and became very hungry. They sat at their fire and talked and wondered what they would do for something to eat. Finally they could stand it no longer and one of them suggested that they go down to the Stillwater and try to catch a fish and eat it. "No," said the other one, "Sakawarte (the Great Spirit), told our people to hunt the Buffalo and it would make him very angry for us to catch and eat fish." But finally hunger getting the better of him he consented.

They then went to the water and it was not very long before they caught a large fish. They came back to their tepee and made a fire and proceeded to cook it.

They were sitting on either side of the fire talking and when the fish was nearly done Sakawarte came quietly to them and reaching over took the fish out of the pot over the fire.

Soon they discovered that the fish was gone and then they began to accuse each other of having taken it. From words they went to blows and while they were fighting, Sakawarte was standing there and laughing at them.

At last he spoke to them and told them to stop fighting and that he, Sakawarte, had taken the fish to try them.

He then told them that they were bad Indians and that they had broken his command to their people, which was to hunt the buffalo. But he said that he would try them. That they should go down to the Stillwater and take some mud and rub it on their eyes and then to wash

it off and that they would then see. Then he told them that they should obey him and go and hunt the buffalo.

Then he left them.

They did as he had told them to do and in a short time they could see.

They then sat down and talked over matters, their hunger increased, and the hunting parties not returning, they at last were compelled to go down to the Stillwater and catch a fish. They had no sooner landed a fish, than they both lost their sight again.

In remorse they sat down by their fire and again Sakawarte came to them and told them what bad Indians they had been, but he said he would try them a second time. So he told them to go again to the Stillwater and to take mud and put on their eyes and wash them, then when they received their sight they should never again fish or else they would lose their sight and never again recover it. Instead he told them that they should always hunt the buffalo.

So they did as he told them and they immediately received their sight a second time.

Then they went and made themselves bows and arrows as Sakawarte had told them to do and while they were thus at work their friends returned from the hunt and gave them food.

The hunters were very much surprised to find that the blind men had received their sight and when they were told how it was, they said that they would always be good Indians and ever after hunt buffalo.

When the old Indian, who related the traditions to us was told that he had said that Sakawarte had never been seen by man after he had first created the Crows, he replied, "Blind men cannot see."

Lone Bear's Story

Few of the Indians of this reservation are better known or more highly esteemed than our friend Lone Bear, the second Chief of the Arapahoes. He is now about fifty years of age, of fine physical powers, and a noble commanding face, with an expression full of kindness and intelligence. Years ago when he was an Indian of the Indians, few could equal and none excel him in all of the arts and practices, which the Indians used to most esteem. He was a mighty nimrod in his day and there are those of his tribe now living, who have seen him kill two buffaloes with one arrow; and he was also one who could perform the seemingly impossible feat of driving his arrow completely through

a buffalo so that it fell out on the other side. Now however he has abandoned all thoughts of such pastimes and devotes himself earnestly and successfully to learning the arts and practices of the white men; and is one of our most successful farmers.

The following story we heard him tell to a party of white men and Indians seated around a camp fire near the place on the banks of the Big Horn River, which the Arapahoes call "ah-cah-can-ah-mes thai," or "where we left our lodge poles." Here it was that they abandoned their lodge poles when they left the reservation in 1874 and went on the war path for the last time.

His story was heard very attentively by his audience and all of the Indians seemed to be familiar with it. It may be that it has some foundation in fact. Here it is just as he told it, and Tom Crispin interpreted it.

Long ago there were some Indians of the Comanche tribe, who live a long way south from here and they speak the same language as the Shoshones. Some think they are the same people but they live far apart.

Some of these Indians were out hunting once and there was a young squaw along with them. They were running buffaloes and at night the squaw was missing. She had fallen off her horse or been thrown or had lost her way—at any rate she could not be found. The next day all the party looked for her but they could not find her. Many days after they looked but they could not find her, so they went back to their lodges without her and everybody thought she was dead.

Two snows after, while hunting wild horses, they saw a herd and rode as near to them as they could. The horses ran away and the Indians chased them.

They saw in the herd a strange animal which they had never seen before, but they could not get near enough to tell what it was. They went home and told what they had seen, and the tribe held a council and said we will send forty of our young men on our best horses to catch or kill this animal. Two days after the young men rode out of the village.

They rode to the place where the wild horses had been and spent three days looking for them. At noon on the third day they saw the herd grazing a long way off. They did not disturb them that day, but next at the first light, the young men started out to chase them. When they were about half a mile from them the herd started to run and the Indians put their ponies to the top of their speed.

Leading the herd was the strange animal and they saw that it looked like a man.

No horse was so fast as it was, and the Indians soon saw that they could not catch it on their horses.

They stopped chasing it then and held a council. They said, "We will surround the herd tomorrow and maybe we can catch the animal that way." In the afternoon they saw the herd a long way off, and placed six of the best riders along a ravine through which it would have to go. Then the riders began to drive the herd toward the ravine and it passed near to one of the young men, who was there. The animal was leading the herd and running very fast—faster than any horse could run. The young man rode towards it as fast as his horse could go, and as the animal ran past him he saw that it was a man or a woman. He had his lasso ready and threw it around the man's breast, but before he could tighten it, the man caught it in his hands and pushed it off over his head.

Several other of the young men rode across the ravine in front and they surrounded the animal, and it stood still. Its eyebrows were so long that it pushed them up with its hands and looked up at the young men and they saw that it was a woman. Her hair hung down to her feet. They tied her with ropes and took her with them. When they came to the village one of the squaws said, "That is the woman who was lost two snows ago."

They said, "How do you know her?"

She said, "Look on her leg and you will see a scar. She was dressing a buffalo robe one day and the scraper slipped and cut her." They looked and saw it was the woman. They kept her for three days but she would not eat; neither would she wear clothes. The third day her brother came into the tent and saw that she had torn her clothes off and he killed her.

Early emigrants suffered from grasshoppers, as have the later farmers. A military order in January of 1875 commanded Lieutenant O'Brien of the 4th Infantry and Lieutenant Norris of the 9th Infantry at Fort Laramie, and Lieutenants True and Brown of the 4th Infantry at Fort Fetterman to report to Omaha to help in the distribution of supplies to the grasshopper sufferers.

All members of the Johnson County delegation to the state legislature were chloroformed and robbed by burglars on the night of December 4, 1890, while they were sleeping in a Cheyenne home. The next night, members of the Fremont County delegation, sleeping in another Cheyenne residence, had a similar experience.

Thomas Jefferson Carr, A Frontier Sheriff

Compiled from C. G. Coutant's notes made in 1884-1885

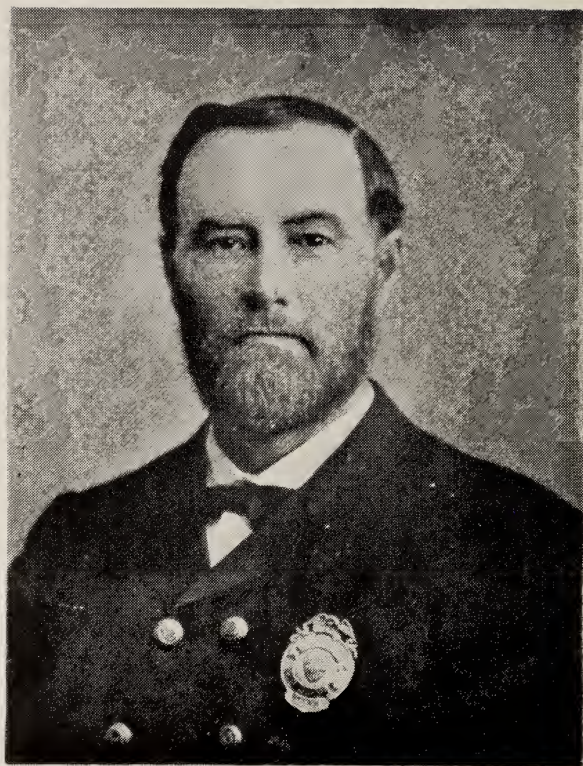
Thomas Jefferson Carr, was born near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 18, 1842. About 1857 his father, Josiah Carr, who for many years had been a pilot on the Ohio and Mississippi river boats, moved to Jackson, Ohio, the county seat of Jackson County, and engaged in the general merchandise business. Young Jeff acted as a part time clerk and attended school until, at the age of 19, he began teaching in the district schools of Jackson and Pike counties, Ohio. With the beginning of the Civil War he was engaged as a clerk in the Quartermaster's Department of the Ohio Troops, serving under General J. D. Cox at Kenawha Falls, Charleston and Ganely Bridge.

Being discharged from the army after a severe attack of pneumonia Carr returned to Pittsburgh and received a diploma as bookkeeper and accountant from the Iron City College. For a time he served as an accountant in the "Board of Trade Rooms" for George H. Thurston but soon the Pike's Peak gold fever attacked him and in 1864 he arrived in Denver. Here he became interested in the Metropolitan Mining and Exploring Company, a group of approximately twenty men, who with Jack Jones, an old mountaineer as guide, prospected the headwaters of the Big and Little Laramie Rivers, west of the present site of Laramie City. The company found numerous traces of precious minerals but not in paying quantities and, being constantly harassed by Indians, returned to Denver and abandoned operations.

From 1864 to 1867 Jeff Carr staked a large number of claims in the Central City-Idaho Springs area but failed to strike a "bonanza." In interims between his mining endeavors he acted as a clerk in the office of the County Clerk and Recorder in both Gilpin and Clear Creek Counties, Colorado.

Finally "busted" and disgusted, Carr arrived in Cheyenne, October 24, 1867, and went to work for S. F. Nuckolls in his large, new store on Seventeenth street. Somewhat later he was engaged as a bookkeeper by Charles D. Sherman, manager of Kountze Bros. Bank, located on the corner of Eddy and Sixteenth.

In the latter part of January 1868, Carr went to Fort Fetterman as a bookkeeper for Colonel Robert Wilson and Charles D. Cobb, post traders, and remained there until December 1869, when he returned to Cheyenne. It was during



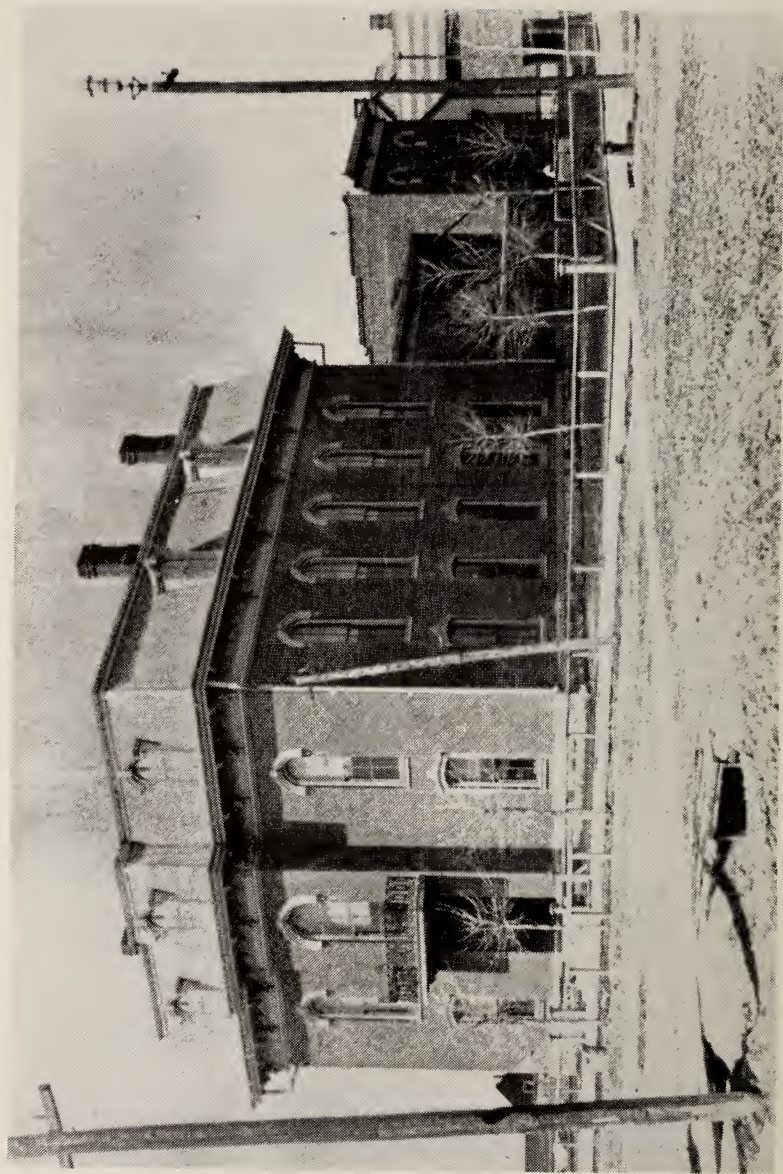
T. Jeff Carr

the fall of 1869 that Carr had an encounter with John Richards or Reshaw, a noted half-breed desperado. Reshaw rode into Fort Fetterman singing the Indian death song, and coming to the door of the sutler's store, commenced firing his Winchester. Corporal Francis Conrad, Co. E, Fourth Infantry was killed and several other citizens and soldiers barely escaped death at the drunken Reshaw's hands. Carr dashed from the store, snatched Reshaw's rifle, throwing it to the ground and attempted to take his revolvers. But Reshaw instantly recognized his danger and turning his horse rode rapidly off across the Platte where he joined a band of hostile Indians, who constantly harassed the post, at one time even threatening it with capture. One of the main purposes of Reshaw's visit to Fort Fetterman was to kill Joe Merrival, a Mexican guide and scout, employed there. Joe, being familiar with Indian ways, heard the death song long before Reshaw arrived at the camp and hid himself securely in his house near the store until Reshaw had departed.

In December 1869, Carr was glad to bid adieu to Fort Fetterman and the Sioux and depart for Cheyenne. Traveling between Fetterman and Fort Laramie was usually accomplished with the aid of a military escort for the protection of persons and mails. Carr set out with Antonie Reynolds, M. Mousseau, Tom Smith and Gliddens, several other men and two or three freight wagons.

One night while enroute the party had a narrow escape. Early that same morning Reshaw and his band of renegades had attacked a ranch on the Laramie, badly wounding two sheep herders and driving off a number of cattle. That night they camped on Cottonwood Creek. So did Carr and his party. As they sat around the fire feasting on Buoyli or a soup made by the old French pioneer Reynolds, they spoke of the danger of making targets of themselves by sitting in the fire light. At that very time they were being viewed by Reshaw and his band, who were deliberating whether or not to fire on the party. By Reshaw's own story, later told, it was decided not to molest them, since he knew most of them and had been friendly with them. It was very lucky for Carr that Reshaw was with the band or most likely he would never have reached Cheyenne.

Soon after arriving in Cheyenne Mr. Carr was elected by both branches of the legislature, then in session to act as Sheriff of Laramie County. There being a question as to whether the legislature or the governor had the power to appoint officers the question was taken before the Supreme Court, which decided that the legislature could not



Laramie County Court House and Jail on Nineteenth and Ferguson Streets, 1873.

appoint or elect officers, so that Mr. Carr could not act as sheriff and Mr. S. M. Preshaw served as sheriff until the general election in the fall of 1870.

In the general election Carr was nominated on the Democratic ticket and elected Sheriff and Collector of Taxes and Licenses for Laramie County, defeating S. M. Preshaw.

These were "rough times" for Cheyenne and surrounding country as the city and county were infested with a large number of hardened criminals of all classes and murder was common. The Sheriff had to take his life in his hands to do his duty and had to face the most desperate of criminals.

Shortly after becoming Sheriff, Carr had a narrow escape from death at the hands of a notorious desperado named Charlie Stanley, who was keeping a low "Robber's Roost" and house of ill fame on Ferguson street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets called "Golden Gate." Numerous men had been beaten nearly to death, robbed by the male and female inmates and pitched out into the alley or street to die or be cared for by whomever chanced to find them and assist them. In March 1871, a warrant was issued by Justice Howe of the District Court for the arrest of Stanley. Stanley had been defying the law and officers for a year or two and when Carr attempted to arrest him he made an attempt to escape. He and his brother, West Stanley, armed themselves and openly boasted on the streets that they would not allow Carr or anybody to take them. Carr met the Stanleys on Sixteenth street, near Ferguson. He stated his business and seeing that they were heavily armed he immediately seized Charles by the wrists to prevent him using his revolvers, and after a long and desperate struggle Deputies O'Brien and Gavin came to his assistance and the two Stanleys were overpowered and disarmed, the officers thought, as three heavy revolvers had been taken from them. Carr then proceeded up Sixteenth street toward the jail with Charles Stanley, thinking Stanley had no weapons about him. When they arrived at the corner of Sixteenth and Eddy, Stanley suddenly jumped to one side into the street and within six feet of Carr fired deliberately with a Derringer heavy caliber, which he had concealed in his coat sleeve. Carr dodged downward and forward, the ball grazing his right ear enough to bring blood and severely stunned him for a minute. Carr, in jumping toward Stanley, had seized his right hand as he fired, wrenched the Derringer out of Stanley's hand and hit him on the head with it. Stanley fell and a piece of the stock of the pistol was broken off. At the same instant Deputies N. J. O'Brien and Gavin re-

turned from jailing West Stanley and seeing the commotion immediately took Stanley in charge and carried him to the jail. He was immediately tried, convicted and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On April 5, 1871, Sheriff Carr left with him for the penitentiary at Detroit, Michigan, where he was delivered in "good order."

The most important duty which devolved upon Sheriff Carr was the first legal execution in Laramie County which occurred April 21, 1871. The hanging was the result of a double murder committed by John Boyer, an Indian half-breed. On October 27, 1870, Boyer wantonly shot James McClusky and Henry Lowry at the "Six Mile" Ranch near Fort Laramie and was convicted by a jury at the March term of the District Court. The hanging took place in an old, vacant, government building on Sixteenth street near Eddy. It was witnessed by a large number of people inside the building as special deputies. In the streets outside the building special officers had difficulty restraining the excited people from bursting the windows and doors, in their eagerness to witness the execution. The event passed off without accident and Sheriff Carr conducted everything in a creditable manner.

During the remainder of his term Sheriff Carr transported several notorious characters to the penitentiary at Detroit, among them being Herbert F. Nourse, who had attempted wholesale murder. He was employed at Ed Creighton's Ranch on lower Horse Creek, when he killed William Parks, foreman, and M. L. Eastman, and wounded Andrew Mattice, on December 14, 1870, apparently without provocation. At his trial in July 1871, he was convicted of first degree murder but through a technicality was allowed to plead guilty in the second degree, which saved his neck. Carr likewise took to Detroit, F. Phillips for the murder of Julia Cunningham in March at Cheyenne, Frank McGovern for a Sweetwater County murder in 1871, and George Blake for an assassination at "Six Mile" Ranch in 1872. Carr delivered J. Griffin, John Taylor and James Clark to Detroit for attempted murder in 1871 and 1872.

In the fall of 1872 Jeff Carr was renominated by the Democrats and reelected Sheriff and Collector of Taxes and Licenses, defeating his opponent J. O'Brien. During this term, 1873-74, he had many criminals of all grades to deal with. Among them he took the following murderers to the penitentiary: Dan Titus, Richard Pierce, Gordon Tupper, and Phil Timmons. On November 19, 1874 he executed Toussaint Kensler by hanging him at Cheyenne in an old stone building on the corner of Bent and Twenty-first streets. Kensler had been found guilty of the assassi-

nation of Adolph Pinea at the Ecoffey and Cuny Ranch on Sibylee Creek. The execution was witnessed by many and pronounced a first class job, everything about the scaffold working like clock work. Carr adjusted the rope and knot with great care, so that the fall would break his neck and not strangle him, conducting the disagreeable duty with the coolness and skill of an old hand.

About the end of his second term as sheriff, Carr was appointed Assistant Superintendent of the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency and its agent for Wyoming by D. J. Cook, Sheriff of Denver and General Superintendent of the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency. During 1875 and 1876 Carr was engaged in this detective business and invested largely in real estate in Cheyenne, building the "Carr" block on Ferguson street in the summer of 1876. Acting as detective, Carr recovered many stolen horses and other property, capturing a number of criminals, among whom was the notorious horse thief of Colorado, John Doen, alias Regal, alias Myers. On August 23, 1876 he was arrested by Detective Carr and Constable Clark Devoe in the act of selling a stolen horse to Carr and while having three horses in his possession which had been stolen near Denver. After being arrested and while walking along Eddy street, he darted into an alley, running like a deer, pursued by Devoe and Carr, who called on him to stop but he kept on running. Carr and Devoe began shooting into the air but Doen returned the shots and showed considerable fight. Finally a shot brought him down and he dropped his pistol when covered by the revolvers of both Carr and Devoe. He was badly wounded and died the same evening. The detectives did not intend killing him nor did they intend allowing him to escape, which he likely would have done, as he was a better runner than they. Superintendent Cook and many others in Colorado tendered Carr and Devoe a vote of thanks for a good deed.

In the fall of 1876 Carr was again elected Sheriff and Collector for his third term, and served during the Black Hills gold excitement and travel when the town and country were again overrun with "Bunko thieves," cut throats, road agents and the like. During these two years he handled many of the hardest class of stage robbers, murderers and horse thieves and still maintained his reputation as a "Terror to all thieves, pimps, Bunko and Three Card Monte men—they had to go." In Nebraska as far west as the Wyoming line, during this time and for several years previous, the Union Pacific railroad trains and towns along the road were overrun by Doc Baggs, Canada Bill and Three Card Monte gangs and robberies were committed

nearly every day, but not a single case occurred over the line in Laramie County or in Cheyenne. Carr handled them too roughly as Baggs, Tibbets, Sparks and Gavey could attest from experience in the Laramie County jail.

During this time many killings occurred in the county but the most noted was the murder of old Mr. J. P. Jackson and his son, March 29, 1877, at his house on Upper Horse Creek by Norman McCuaig. McCuaig was mounted and immediately rode away. He escaped and although every effort was made by Carr then and since to apprehend him he never has been caught. In July of 1877, Billy Webster alias Clark Pelton shot and killed Deputy Sheriff Adolph Cuny at "Six Mile" Ranch near Fort Laramie, while Cuny was nobly doing his duty guarding the notorious Dunc Blackburn, stage robber and murderer, whom he had just arrested. Webster and Blackburn both escaped but were later captured and Webster was sent to the penitentiary for four years—"an outrage and a shame" as he should have been hanged.

Shortly before the Cuny killing, Webster, Blackburn, Ready Bob McKinnie and others are supposed to have murdered, by shooting, John Slaughter, near Deadwood, while he was driving a stage.

Dunc Blackburn, together with Jim Wall, both road agents and stage robbers, were brought to jail in Cheyenne by Deputy Sheriff Scott Davis on November 23, 1877. Davis started from Lance Creek on the stage road near Deadwood, five days behind the robbers and followed the trail of seventeen head of horses they stole from the stage company. After a long, hard and gallant chase he overhauled them near Green River Station on the Union Pacific railroad, recovered the horses and captured them both, badly wounding Wall. Both were sentenced to the penitentiary for nine years.

During the remainder of the year 1877, Carr had numerous encounters with stage robbers, among them N. D. Flores, a Mexican banditte and Foncy Ryan, a notorious tough kid of Cheyenne.

On October 21, 1878, Billy Mansfield and Archie McLaughlin were brought in by Deputy Sheriffs Jim May and Jessie Brown and jailed for stage robberies. But since most of their crimes had been committed in Dakota, on November 2, 1878, May and Brown started with them for Deadwood by the Cheyenne and Black Hills stage. The next day, when a short distance beyond Fort Laramie, the "Vigilantes" stopped the stage and at the muzzle of guns forcibly took McLaughlin and Mansfield from the

officers and lynched both by hanging them to a cottonwood on the banks of the Laramie River.

The murderer and stage robber Al Spurs was brought in on November 20, 1878 and jailed as one of the murderers and stage robbers at Cannon Springs Station near Deadwood on September 26, in which he, Frank Bride, Charles Carey and others attacked the "Treasure Coach," killing Telegraph Operator H. O. Campbell and badly wounding Gale Hill, messenger and guard. They escaped with a large amount of gold bullion, gold dust and other valuables. Spurs, while in jail, was "worked" by Carr and confessed and gave up several hundred dollars in bills that he had sewed in his clothes and told Carr where \$5000.00 in gold bullion, his share of the robbery was buried on a farm near Lone Tree Station in Nebraska. It was soon after found by Luke Voorhees, Superintendent of the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Company. Spurs was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for life.

At the same time John Irvin was arrested and jailed. He was sent to Laramie for trial, convicted and sentenced for life for stage robbery and murder. "Dutch" Charley, notorious murderer and stage and train robber, was likewise arrested by Carr and jailed for horse stealing at Fort McKinney. However not sufficient evidence was found to hold him and he was released. Soon after he was lynched near Rawlins for train wrecking and the murder of Deputy Sheriffs Widdowfield and Vincent of Rawlins. This was the same murder in which Big Nose George and Jack Campbell were involved.

John H. Brown was brought in from Deadwood on November 25, 1878, being badly wounded from a shot received during his arrest. He, together with Charley Ross and Archie McLaughlin, were accused of robbing the stage passengers and shooting and wounding Dan Finn of Cheyenne and two other passengers, about July 1, at Whoopup Station near Deadwood on the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage road. Ross disappeared. Soon after Brown's incarceration a mysterious "red haired" girl called to see Brown, and seemed very anxious and concerned. Carr admitted her, but watched her closely and listened intently to what was whispered between them without their noticing it and heard her say she had heard from "Charley" and guessing she was Charley Ross' girl, concluded he might find out through her the whereabouts of the notorious Charley. He went to work by various methods to gain the information desired; at first she denied knowing him, but finally after forcible persuasion she unwillingly gave to Carr a letter she had received some three weeks before from Eureka,

Nevada, signed James Patrick and she also produced a photograph of Ross. Carr at once telegraphed as close a description as he could get of Ross to Sheriff Sias at Eureka, and sent him a copy of the photograph, telling Sias to watch for Patrick. In about two weeks Sias telegraphed he thought he had Ross, alias Patrick. Carr at once proceeded there, after securing extradition papers. Ross, in the meantime, claimed he was not the man, and being disguised as a miner did not look much like the picture. He tried continuously to escape and denied ever being in Wyoming until he arrived in Cheyenne and was identified by many who knew him, at which time he owned up to being Charley Ross. He was tried afterwards, being identified by Dan Finn as the man who shot him and the others at the stage robbery of Whoopup Station, and was sentenced to the penitentiary at Lincoln for a long term. He was a bold and desperate highwayman, having before this been engaged in robbery of Noble's men in Sweetwater County and the robbery of Cariboo Mines in Idaho. John Brown was tried and acquitted, being used as a witness in Ross' trial.

On June 30, 1878, Sheriff Carr arrested Ed. McGrand, a Texas bad man, at Sloan's Lake near Cheyenne, for the murder of a boy named John Wright at McCann's Ranch, near Sidney, Nebraska. He was tried and sentenced to life in the penitentiary.

During this term Carr again had a narrow escape from death and again was lucky. On December 16, 1877, when he opened the cage door for old Fritz Freemong to put in their suppers, without any suspicion or warning, Dunc Blackburn, the notorious murderer and stage robber, W. L. Baker, being held for murder, Jesse Williams, a burglar and James Collins, a soldier in jail for assault, all attacked him, seizing his two arms. Then began a life and death struggle for Carr's revolver in his rear pocket, Blackburn cursing and yelling to shoot Carr. Finally after a long struggle Williams, who was a very muscular man, got the revolver and instead of shooting Carr as they had planned, he immediately went out of the jail door through Carr's residence and out into the street to escape, much to the relief of Carr who had expected to be shot. It was fortunate for Carr that Williams got the revolver instead of Blackburn, who had intended to kill Carr before escaping. As soon as Williams ran away with the revolver Blackburn and Baker weakened. Carr soon broke them loose from him, knocking Collins down and scattering Blackburn and Baker, who all ran into their cells. Out of the large number of prisoners in jail no one escaped, Williams being caught by J. W.

Bruner, Clerk of Court and George Hawes and returned to jail. The District Court was in session at the time and the attempted break created a great excitement. There were a number of stage robbers in jail but none joined in the plot, remaining in their cells.

During this term Carr captured horse thieves and other criminals too numerous to mention, both at Cheyenne and over the surrounding states of Colorado and Nebraska. The most prominent of these captures occurred in 1877. Four mules, guns and saddles were stolen one night from the Union Pacific Railroad's stockyard on Crow Creek at Cheyenne. Carr had the thieves arrested, four of them, Ed Thoyer, Charles Pierce, Frank Wright and David Byers. Through the assistance of D. J. Cook and the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency the thieves and mules were headed off and caught near Grenada, Colorado, three hundred to four hundred miles away. On their way south the thieves had also stolen some horses at Greeley which were recovered and the robbers were held at Greeley for horse stealing.

During his three terms as sheriff and collector Carr gained a reputation as a close, good collector, honest and with his accounts in fine and intelligent form, although he handled large sums of public money.

In 1879 and 1880, Carr, as detective for the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency, arrested numerous criminals of all grades, among which we mention the arrest of Fred Bennett in June 1879, at Georgetown, Colorado, for wholesale stealing of forty head of horses from Bennett Bros., at La Porte, Colorado, a short time before and running them into Nebraska and selling them. Carr, tracing him all around, finally found him working in a mine at Georgetown, under the name of Bill Marshall and brought him to Fort Collins for trial in October where he was convicted and sent to the penitentiary at Canon City for six and one half years.

Carr and Cook deserve credit for the discovery of the mysterious murderers of old Mr. R. B. Hayward near Golden, Colorado, in 1879. Their work resulted in the arrest of J. Seminoe, among the Indians at Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota, and of Sam Woodruff near Council Bluff, Iowa, and the delivery of both at Golden City, in the fall of 1879. Both suspects were recognized by Mrs. Hayward as the slayers of her husband and were taken out of the jail by a mob of citizens on December 28, and hung. Woodruff was the same assassin who shot and killed John Freel in Laramie County, Wyoming, December 1874.

In September 1880, Carr brought about the arrest of John Latta for stealing four mules, wagons, a harness and

over a thousand dollars in cash from Hensley. For three months after he left the country Carr trailed him all over Colorado, back and forth to Kansas and into New Mexico and back to Pueblo and finally arrested him at North Park, Colorado, recovering the mules and wagons and a portion of the money. Latta confessed to the robbery and was brought back to Cheyenne where he was tried. Through legal technicalities he was acquitted.

The next important arrest made by Detective Carr was on July 23, 1880, at Cheyenne. He had received a telegraphic description of Fred Hopt, alias Welcome, who had been traced eastward and Carr was able to identify him at the Union Pacific Depot, arrest him and return him to Utah, where he was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to death. Hopt was accused of the murder of John Turner, a son of John W. Turner, sheriff at Provo City, Utah, and deputy U. S. marshal for Utah, near Park City. He stole two teams and wagons and robbing the body attempted to burn it up.

Carr was again nominated for sheriff by the Democratic Committee in the fall of 1880, for a fourth term but was defeated by his Republican opponent, S. R. Sharpless, through a bolt in the Democratic party. In 1881, February 3, Carr was appointed City Marshal and City Collector and continued in this position until July 6, 1883, when he resigned. During this term he distinguished himself by arresting many horse thieves and burglars and maintaining order in the city and ridding the town of tramps, pimps, thieves and fully sustained his past reputation as a "terror to evil doers of all classes." He earned praise from the city for his great efficiency as a collector of taxes and licenses due the city, having a very diminutive delinquent list each year and collecting thousands of dollars of past and previous years delinquent taxes for the city, which should have been collected by his predecessors in office. He still represents the Rocky Mountain Detective Agency at Cheyenne, as assistant superintendent, and is on the lookout for criminals who may chance to come his way and WOE BE UNTO ANY he may get hold of.

A man is entitled to vote and hold office wherever he has his washing done, regardless of where his wife lives, according to a Uinta County court decision of the early days. The decision was given in a suit contesting the election of William Sloan as county commissioner. It was charged that Sloan was not a legal resident of Wyoming because his wife lived in Salt Lake City.

Preservation of Wyoming Historical Relics

Wyoming should make provision for an historical building and adequate appropriations to maintain a proper museum. Every year we are losing many valuable historical pieces and collections either through sale or by donation to out-of-state organizations. The persons who donate their collections to out-of-state museums do so because they believe that better facilities are available for the care and preservation of their relics. All members of the Wyoming State Historical Department staff are making an earnest effort to care for new acquisitions in the best possible manner. Each item is accessioned under the donor's name and a card is marked showing the exact location of the item in the museum. If space is not available to display the particular item, it is carefully marked, wrapped, boxed, and stored in a fireproof vault. When a new building is erected these relics can then be shown. Diaries, personal papers, maps, journals, and pamphlets are similarly treated, but are kept readily available for the use of research workers.

The preservation of the relics which so graphically portray our beginnings in Wyoming is an important and necessary function of our state. It is important because it is primarily through these means that future generations can see and understand the heritage that is theirs. It is impossible to envision the future without knowing and studying the past. The state museum and its displays are important in the teaching of history. By viewing exhibits, students and visitors learn of Wyoming historical events and progress made from pioneer days to the present. Here can be seen the wagons, yokes, saddles, bits, spurs, and trappings that their forefathers used in their trek westward; pictures, diorama and even the actual items which were used by the trappers and traders in their wild and lonely life in the mountains. From a graphic display of Indian art and culture, they learn far more of the Indian way of life than mere words in a text book can tell.

If all persons interested in saving these valuable historic pieces, for coming generations, will work and support the bill for a new historical building, we will then have adequate facilities to care for these priceless items. Please give your relics of early Wyoming to **YOUR** state museum!



Wyoming State Museum

ACCESSIONS

to the

Wyoming Historical Department

November 1, 1947 to May 14, 1948.

Beck, Mrs. George T., Cody, Wyoming: Collection of beautifully designed clothing, 1865-1900. October 1947.

Emerson, Dr. Paul, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Collection of old pictures and china; a compass used by Elam S. Emerson on Texas cattle trails to Nebraska; World War I collection of medical supplies. October 1947.

Meyers, Ed, Seattle, Washington: Collection of books, badges, confederate money, Godey's Lady's book, a dress of the Civil War period, Orville Wright letter, American flag with 13 stars, a book whittled from wood, spoons, rocks. November 1947.

Hogle, Claron, Duluth, Minnesota: Three pieces of Lake Superior agate. December 1947.

Russell, I. E., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Three maps of Wyoming. January 1948.

Smalley, Mrs. E. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Pictures of Matthew and John Sloan, Thomas, Frank and Almeda Castle, Mary Jane and Edwin J. Smalley. January 1948.

Cheyenne Frontier Committee, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Large collection of Indian garments. January 1948.

Richardson, Warren and Emile, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Three Egyptian mummy pieces and bone from the prison cell of Socrates. January 1948.

McGrath, Mary A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Two Yellowstone Park booklets, Cody Stampede token, Thermopolis souvenir. March 1948.

Barthelemy, Mrs. R. E., Hollywood, Florida: Three photographs of early graves at Rock Springs and the Overland crossing of Platte in Carbon County. January 1948.

Fullerton, Ellen Miller, Los Angeles, Calif.: Cheyenne Opera House program, 1885. February 1948.

Siegel, Walt, Green River, Wyoming: Picture of Tom Horn. February 1948.

Snyder, Art, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Mess bell from Camp Carlin. March 1948.

Richardson, Clarence, Casper, Wyoming: Indian moccasins and pouch. April 1948.

Richardson, Laura and Valera, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Souvenir convention and lodge badges, Indian leggings, ladies fan. April 1948.

- Richardson, Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Photographs of Col. E. A. Slack, first Frontier Days Committee, first Frontier show, Alert hose team; three pair of moccasins, two beaded pouches, 1898 Frontier souvenir. April 1948.
- O'Mahoney, Sen. J. C., Washington, D. C.: Replica of original working patent model of McCormick Reaper. April 1948.
- Trosper, Clayton A., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Mining claim found in baking powder tin in Encampment mining area, old dictionary. March 1948.
- Knollenberg, Walter, Lander, Wyoming: Old fashioned ice scraper. March 1948.
- Governor's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Invitation to Pres. Calvin Coolidge to attend Cheyenne Frontier Days. March 1948.
- Moore, Mrs. Frank L., East Lansing, Michigan: Collection of manuscripts, letters, diaries, and newspaper clippings pertaining to the Rev. Frank L. Moore's activities in Wyoming on behalf of the Congregational Church. April 1948.
- Smith, John J., Cheyenne, Wyoming: Hand made silver inlaid bit. April 1948.
- Andersen, Mrs. Ida B., Newcastle, Wyoming: Three Spanish American jackets. April 1948.
- Guy, Mrs. Ben, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Baby dresses, child's cup and doll, letters and drawing books, programs, picture folder of the Holy Child Academy, World War I newspapers, copy of the Tokyo "Yank." May 1948.
- John Newell Estate, Buffalo, Wyoming: Framed picture of Camp W. A. Richards. May 1948.

Books—Purchased

- Sandoz, Mari, *The Tom-Walker*. Dial Press, New York, 1947. Price \$2.00.
- Russell, Charles M., *Forty pen and ink drawings*. Trail's End, Pasadena, 1947. Price \$3.15.
- MacFall, Russell P., *Gem hunter's guide*. Science and Mechanic's Publishing Co., Chicago, 1946. Price \$.90.
- Winther, Oscar Osburn, *Via western express and stagecoach*. Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford, Cal., 1945. Price \$2.70.
- Carrighar, Sally, *One day at Teton Marsh*. Knopf, New York, 1947. Price \$2.34.
- Preston, Richard J., Jr., *Rocky Mountain trees*. Iowa State College Press, Ames, 1947. Price \$2.25.
- Monaghan, Jay, *The Overland Trail*. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1947. Price \$2.50.
- Linford, Velma, *Wyoming: Frontier state*. Old West, Denver, 1947. Price \$3.38.
- McCreight, M. I., *Firewater and forked tongues*. Trail's End, Pasadena, 1947. Price \$3.15.

- DeVoto, Bernard. *Across the wide Missouri*. Houghton, New York, 1947. Price \$6.67.
- Child, Andrew. *Overland Route to California*. Kovach, Los Angeles, 1946. Price \$2.00.
- Bakeless, John. *Lewis and Clark, partners in discovery*. Morrow, New York, 1947. Price \$3.34.
- Wade, Mason. *Journal of Francis Parkman*. Harper, New York, 1947. 2v. Price \$6.67.
- Paden, Irene D., *Wake of the prairie schooner*. Macmillan, New York, 1945. Price \$2.00.
- Bangs, Francis Hyde, *John Kendrick Bangs*. Knopf, New York, 1941. Price \$.80.
- McCaleb, Walter F., *The Conquest of the West*. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1947. Price \$2.50.
- Historical Committee of the Robber's Roost Historical Society, *Pioneering on the Cheyenne River*. Lusk Herald, Lusk, Wyo., 1947. Price \$1.25.
- Allen, Albert H., *Dakota Inprints, 1858-1889*. Bowker, New York, 1947. Price \$5.85.
- Powers, Alfred. *Poems of the Covered Wagons*. Pacific Publishing House, Portland, 1947. Price \$2.00.
- Robb, Harry, *Poddy, the Story of a Rangeland Orphan*. Trail's End, Pasadena, 1947. Price \$3.15.
- The Westerners Brand Book, 1945-46*. Chicago, 1947. Price \$5.00.
- The Westerners Brand Book, 1946*. Denver, 1947. Price \$5.50.
- Schmitt, Martin F., *General George Crook, His Autobiography*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1946. Price \$2.00.

Books—Gifts

- Union Presbyterian Church, a history, 1871-1946*. Donated by Ella G. Dunn, Evanston, Wyoming.
- Hunt, Frazier, *The long trail from Texas*. Doubleday, New York, 1940. Donated by Stella Scanlan.
- House of Representatives, 33d Congress, 2d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 91. Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-54. Nicholson, Washington, D. C., 1855. Donated by Arthur W. Calverley.
- Franklin, John Hope, *The Diary of James T. Ayers*. Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1947. Donated by Illinois State Historical Society.
- Smith, Rev. Franklin C., *In Memoriam Edwin Major Smith*. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1947. Donated by Rev. Franklin C. Smith.
- A Record of the Deeds, Actions and Experiences of the Fifty-Fourth United States Naval Construction Battalion in North Africa*. Donated by the Battalion.

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